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FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF

WISCONSIN,

FOR THE YEAR 1854.

VOLUME I.

MADISON:
BERIAH BROWN, PRINTER.

1855.

REF 977.5 W753
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State Historical Society
of Wisconsin.
Annual report and
collections of the
1855-1857.

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DANIEL S. DURRIE,	JULIUS T. CLARK.

REPORT.

To His Excellency, William A. Barstow,

Governor of the State of Wisconsin:

Sir:—In accordance with the act granting to the State Historical Society five hundred dollars annually, we, the undersigned Executive Committee of the Society, herewith render the Treasurer's annual report of the manner of expenditure of the appropriation, with the vouchers therefor. The receipts of the year are there shown to have been $552 52, and thedisbursements $497 10, leaving a balance in the treasury of $55 42.

The organization of such a society was first suggested and urged by Chauncy C. Britt, Esq., in the Mineral Point Democrat of Oct. 22, 1845, and though the newspaper press of the Territory approved the proposal, nothing was done till the 30th of January, 1849, when the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was fully organized at Madison. But in the infancy of the State, and the too common neglect to preserve, by means of associated effort, memorials of the history of the past and passing events, little was accomplished till the year just drawn to a close. An act of incorporation was obtained in March, 1853; and, in January, 1854, the Society was re-organized with a view to more efficiency, when the

chief labors and duties were assigned to an Executive Committee, who were to meet monthly, and oftener when necessary. The last Legislature was memorialized for the small annual appropriation of $500, to be expended in making collections illustrative of the history of Wisconsin, no part of which should ever go to pay for services rendered by the officers of the Society; and the amount asked for, was granted in February last. This, together with the few volumes of state publications placed at the disposal of the Society to aid in effecting literary exchanges, has placed the Society upon a firm basis, and enabled it to enter at once upon a prosperous and honored career of usefulness.

In January last, the number of volumes in the library was fifty. During the year past, the Society has purchased a complete set of *Niles' National Register*, containing a most valuable current history of the times from its commencement in 1811, to its termination in 1849, in seventy-six volumes; and also fifty-four volumes of rare historical works, relating mainly to the West and North West. Among them may be particularly mentioned a copy of Lescarbot's History of New France, published in 1609; two volumes of the old *Jesuit Relations*, 1643 '44; a full set of the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, in twenty-six volumes, containing much rare historical matter recorded by the early Catholic missionaries in the North West, commencing in 1672; Evans' large and rare Map and Analysis of the Middle Colonies and the West in 1755; Carver's Travels in Wisconsin, with a portrait of that early western traveller; Mackenzie's Travels, and other early and valuable works. Beside these one hundred and thirty volumes purchased, eight hundred and seventy volumes have been received by the Society during the past year, either as donations or exchanges, from nearly two hundred different sources; making the present number in the library one thousand and fifty volumes.—Of these, seventy-five volumes are quartos, sixty-two volumes of newspapers, and the remainder chiefly of octavo size. They may be classified as follows:

Works on history, including newspaper files, and publications of Historical Societies	466 vol's.
Congressional publications	132 "
Agricultural, mechanical and scientific	124 "
Miscellaneous	197 "
State Laws and Journals	65 "
Unbound Works	66 "
Total	1050 "

There are sixty-two volumes of newspapers, besides Niles Register, all either bound or in process of binding; and several of these volumes embrace a period of two or more years; so that the entire series, including Niles, make about one hundred and forty years of printed matter, or over one hundred years aside from Niles' Register; and the Wisconsin papers alone comprise one half of these yearly files, commencing with the pioneer publication of Wisconsin, the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, which first appeared Dec. 11th, 1833. This collection of papers, large for the brief period the Society has made it a special object to secure them, is a matter of much felicitation to the members of the Executive Committee, knowing their inestimable value to the present and future historians, legislators and jurists of our State. But the collection, large as it may appear, is by no means complete; there are many files of Wisconsin papers extant that should early find their way to our library. The names of the donors of these several newspaper files are, Darwin Clark, Wm. N. Seymour, W. W. Wyman, Beriah Brown, David Atwood, L. C. Draper, J. W. Hunt, C. C. Britt, and S. G. Benedict, of Madison; E. Beeson, and Royal Buck, of Fond du Lac; Gen. A. G. Ellis, of Stevens' Point; John Delaney, of Portage City; E. B. Quiner, of Watertown; W. E. Cramer, of Milwaukee, and Patrick Toland, of West Bend. From the latter, a venerable volume of the Pennsylvania Evening Post, from August 1776, to August 1777. Ex-Gov. Doty has most kindly and liberally tendered the Society several files of newspapers published while Wisconsin was a part of Michigan

Territory, and which must prove a peculiarly valuable acquisition to our collection, and whose arrival may soon be expected.*

The Society has also been fortunate in securing, at a moderate cost, eighteen volumes of newspapers, published in the Atlantic States, in various years, from 1784 to 1832, containing much frontier historical matter, particularly relative to the war of 1812–'15, and the Black Hawk war; and these may be expected to reach here early in the ensuing spring.

Since March last, the Society has been in the receipt of twenty-nine Wisconsin papers, five from other states, and four magazines; all most generously donated by their publishers or editors. There are also preserved for the Society, by members of the Committee, nine Wisconsin papers, and three from other states. These fifty publications are all carefully filed for binding as often as there shall be enough of each to form a suitable volume; and they are deemed, not only by the Committee, but by all enlightened men, to be among the most important labors engaging the attention of the Society. This department alone of the Society's collections must speedily become vast in extent, and valuable beyond all estimation for purposes of reference, and as treasuries of the history, growth and progress of Wisconsin.

The department embracing the published transactions of kindred Historical Societies, and other learned institutions of our country, has received the early and constant attention of the Committee, and very gratifying success has attended their efforts. Prior to the past year, the Smithsonian Institution and Rhode Island Historical Society had alone furnished their publications; and, during the year just closed, the Society has received the published Transactions and Collections of the Historical Societies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Ohio, New England Genealogical Society, Essex Institute, American Ethnological So-

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*They have since come to hand—a bound file of the *Detroit Gazette* from 1818 to 1822; the Galena *Miner's Journal*, 1829–'30, and others. Gov. Doty has also forwarded a most interesting series of laws which governed this country under the British *regime*, the North West, Indiana, and Michigan Territories.

ciety, American Institute, and the publications of Harvard College. The American Philosophical Society has liberally voted ten quarto volumes of its Transactions to our association and placed our society upon its list of exchanges, and these valuable works may early be expected. Assurances have also been received from the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Georgia, the American Antiquarian Society, and the American Geographical and Statistical Society, of their friendly co-operation, and of their readiness to enter upon a system of exchanges with us; so that but three efficient Historical Societies of our country, those of *New York*, *Maine* and *Virginia*, remain unrepresented in our library or list of exchanges. The large measure of success attending this department of our collections, is mainly attributable to the liberal policy of our State Legislature in placing at the disposal of the Society a few volumes annually of the State publications to use in effectng exchanges; together with the confidence of the kindred institutions of our country, that this Society will soon enter upon the regular publication and distribution of its manuscript collections. It is extremely desirable, that such publications be commenced without delay, as multiplying and diffusing copies of rare historic documents greatly increase the means of their usefulness, as well as tend to avert their irretrievable loss by accident. The dissemination of such publications would be well calculated to exert a most favorable influence abroad respecting the intelligence, foresight and public spirit of the people of Wisconsin.

Quite a respectable number of the volumes added to the library during the past year, relate to State, County and Town histories of various portions of the Union, family genealogies, historical addresses, eulogies, and funeral discourses; which, with the Transactions of the Historical and Genealogical Societies of the country, will prove invaluable in tracing the ancestry and antecedents of such of the present and future leading and influential men of our State as may deserve to be ranked among our public benefactors. The published collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society

alone extend to thirty-one volumes, covering a period of sixty-two years. Of a character somewhat similar to the publications of such societies, and also valuable for the same general purposes, are the twenty-four volumes of Records and Archives, published by the State of Pennsylvania, extending from its first settlement in 1682 to 1790—a gift from the authorities of that State.

Among the manuscript collections of the year, may be mentioned a copy of the unpublished *Journal of Lieut. James Gorrell*, while British commandant at Green Bay, from 1761 to 1763, from Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, the learned author of the History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac; *Reminiscences of Green Bay*, in 1816–'17, by James W. Biddle, Esq., editor of the Pittsburg American; a paper on the *Indian Nomenclature of Northern Wisconsin*, with some account of the Chippewas, their manners and customs, by Hiram Calkins, Esq., of Wausau; and a paper on *Indian Poetry*, by Caleb Atwater, the well known venerable antiquarian of Ohio, and one of the commissioners at the Indian treaties at Prairie du Chien in 1829. These form but a part of the Society's manuscript collections.

A most valuable and interesting collection of autographs of distinguished personages has been commenced, and already includes among the number those of Patrick Henry, John Adams, Jefferson, Jay, Morris, Madison, Sherman, McKean, Rodney and Trumbull; Generals Wooster, Knox, Wayne, Potter, Wilkinson, Dearborn, and Col. Allen McLane, of the Revolution; Gov. Thomas Penn, son of William Penn, Anthony Benezet the philanthropist, Conrad Wieser, who for forty years, in Colonial times, served in the capacity of Indian agent, messenger, and interpreter among the Indian tribes of New York and Pennsylvania; and of our recent or present statesmen, John Quincy Adams, Woodbury, Forsyth, Poinsett, King, Mahlon Dickerson, Pierce, Buchanan, Louis McLane, John Branch, and others. Autograph letters of most of the distinguished living literary men of our country have been received, including Irving, Prescott, Sparks, Bryant, Everett, School-

craft, Hildreth, Charles Francis Adams, Squier, Parkman, Quincy, Kennedy, Longfellow, Brodhead, Halleck, and others.

A fine miniature likeness of WINNESHEEK, taken in 1829, when he was principal chief of the Winnebago village of La Crosse, and now head chief of the Winnebagoes in Iowa, has been presented to the Society by Caleb Atwater, with three drawings of Wisconsin natural history, made at the same period; also drawings of ancient pottery found in La Crosse county, from J. Quintus, Esq., of Sheboygan; and from Stephen Taylor, Esq., of Philadelphia, his original drawings of a number of the ancient animal mounds so peculiar to Wisconsin, made in 1842. We have also secured several rare early maps of the West.

From Thomas H. Clay, Esq., of Kentucky, have been received four silver medals, struck by order of the first Napoleon, and obtained in Paris and brought to this country by Hon. Henry Clay, and generously presented by his son as personal memorials of his venerable father. They were severally designed to commemorate the following events: i. *The Confederation of the Rhine*, 1806. ii. *Battle of Jena*, 1806. iii. *Battle of Wagram*, 1809. iv. *Marriage of Napoleon and Maria Louisa*, 1810.

Personal memorials of the FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY, from his venerable step son, George W. P. Custis, of Arlington, and of DANIEL WEBSTER, DEWITT CLINTON, and PRESIDENT HARRISON, are also kindly promised for the cabinet of the Society. Some specimens of Continental paper money have been presented by Wm. A. White, Esq.; an autograph letter of Washington may soon be expected to be added to our collections; and a miniature statuette of GEN. JACKSON has been promised by Clark Mills, the distinguished artist. Among the more important works generously tendered the Society by their authors, and which may be expected during the year upon which we are now entering, are those of Wm. H. Prescott, Charles Francis Adams, Wm. C. Bryant, Benson J. Lossing, Wm. W. Campbell, John R. Bartlett, Rev. Dr. Davidson, Alfred B. Street, Edmund Flagg, and S. Augustus Mitchell. Mons.

A. Vattemare, of Paris, has also most kindly promised to include our Society in his noble system of International Literary Exchanges.

A Picture Gallery has been commenced under the most flattering auspices. The veteran artist, Thomas Sully, of Philadelphia, has painted and presented to the Society a copy of Stuart's Washington, pronounced to be a faithful and valuable copy by the venerable President of our Society, who was personally acquainted with Gilbert Stuart, and has often seen the original painting as well as the venerated Washington himself. From Clement R. Edwards, a celebrated artist of Cincinnati, has been received a fine copy of Jarvis' portrait of Gen. George Rogers Clark, the Washington of the West, and a portrait of Dr. Wm. Byrd Powell, of Kentucky. It was by the genius and conquest of General Clark during the Revolutionary War, that the country north-west of the Ohio, including our own Wisconsin, became American territory, and the Legislature of our State has worthily commemorated his worth and services by naming a county after him.

Robert M. Sully, of Richmond, Virginia, who in 1833, painted from life, spirited and truthful portraits of Black Hawk, his Son, and The Prophet, is making copies of them for our Society; and from his skilful pencil our collection is furthermore to be enriched by a beautiful portrait of the renowned Indian Princess, Pocahontas, and a painting of the Ruins of Jamestown, from drawings made by the artist upon that classic ground. Mr. Sully also hopes to be able to make for the Society a copy from his original portrait of Chief Justice Marshall. As Mr. Sully has intentions of soon making our favored State his home, how appropriate that the delineator upon canvass of Black Hawk and two of his noted followers upon the war-paths of our soil, should visit in our midst and paint the battle-fields of the old chieftan, to be sacredly preserved in the Hall of our Society!

John R. Johnston, of Cincinnati, had made for the Society a

copy from his original portrait of Gen. Jackson, but recently both were unfortunately consumed by the burning of the building in which they were; but the persevering and skilful artist writes, that he yet hopes to be able to fulfil his original intention. Those talented brothers, G. N. and John Frankenstein, one of New York and the other of Ohio, have each generously tendered the Society a portrait or historical piece from his pencil. An anxious desire to secure the portraits of those who have presided as governors over Wisconsin, is likely to meet with the most gratifying success. Gen. Cass, who was so long Governor of Michigan Territory when Wisconsin formed a part, Governors Dodge, Tallmadge, Dewey, Farwell and Barstow, have severally signified their intention to comply with the wishes of the Society. When all these promised paintings are received, our Gallery will number eighteen, and will prove not only an interesting collection of works of art, but many of them will serve to illustrate the history and historic men of our State.

During the past year, thirteen hundred circulars, published by the Society, fully setting forth its aims and wants, have been sent to men of learning and genius in our own and other countries, and more especially to those known as lovers and promoters of history, and many of them have kindly responded to the appeal of the Society, contributing rare and noble works to our library and collections, and warmly commending the wisdom and forethought of the Legislature of our State, in having been the first in the Union to lend its aid in founding such an institution as ours, which must soon exert a marked influence in the historical literature of not only our own State, but the whole North West. Beside these circulars, over three hundred official letters have, at the same time, been sent forth in the name of the Society in furtherance of the objects of its formation.

A singular instance of the appreciation of such societies may be found in the fact that Mr. Moses Sheppard, of Baltimore, a venerable member of the Society of Friends, and an active member of the Maryland Historical Society, sent to our Society a donation

of twenty-five dollars. Such an example should serve to quicken the state pride of our own citizens, who may have it in their power to contribute in building up a society in our midst, which, in almost a single year, since its efficient re-organization, has outstripped the most flourishing kindred institution in the West, one which has been nearly a quarter of a century in existence. The most able and enlightened men of our age and country, have warmly commended the labors and objects of Historical Societies. "The transactions of public bodies," says Webster, "local histories, memoirs of all kinds, statistics, laws, ordinances, public debates and discussions, works of periodical literature and the public journals, whether of political events, of commerce, literature, or the arts, all find their places in the collections of Historical Societies. But these collections are not history; they are only elements of history."

At the recent semi-centennial anniversary of the New York Historical Society, the Hon. R. C. Winthrop very justly remarked, that "the Historical Societies of the different States of the Union—and I am glad to remember that there are now so few States without one—are engaged in a common labor of love and loyalty in gathering up materials for the history of our beloved country. But each one of them has a peculiar province of interest and of effort in illustrating the history of its own State. * * *

"None of us," continues Mr. Winthrop, "should be unmindful, that there is another work going on, in this our day and generation, beside that of writing the history of our fathers, and that is, *the acting of our own history.* We cannot live, sir, upon the glories of the past. Historic memories, however precious or however inspiring, will not sustain our institutions or preserve our liberties.

"There is a future history to be composed, to which every State, and every citizen of every State, at this hour, and every hour is contributing materials. And the generous rivalry of our societies, and of their respective States, as to which shall furnish the most brilliant record of the past, must not be permitted to render us

regardless of a yet nobler rivalry, in which it becomes us all even more ardently and more ambitiously to engage. I know not of a grander spectacle which the world could furnish, than that of the multiplied States of this mighty Union contending with each other, in a friendly and fraternal competition, which should add the brightest page to the future history of our common country, which should perform the most signal acts of philanthropy or patriotism, which should exhibit the best examples of free institutions well and wisely administered, which should present to the imitation of mankind the purest and most perfect picture of well-regulated liberty, which should furnish the most complete illustration of the success of that great Republican Experiment, of which our land has been Providentially selected as the stage."

This "*acting our own history*," conveys to us an impressive and suggestive admonition. As we are now gathering up and preserving the acts of those who have gone before us, and aided in laying the primitive foundations of our State, so very soon will others, after us, be similarly engaged with reference to those now prominent on the stage of action. HISTORY is a stern, impartial judge, deducing truth, justice and right from the acts of the conspicuous men of the age; and by these, rather than subserviency to party behests, or playing the part of mere time-serving demogogues, must the character and worth of our public men be ultimately judged and determined.

May our STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, faithful to the purposes of its formation, never falter in its noble mission of gathering from the mouldering records of the past, the scattered fragments that yet remain, and securing complete memorials of the present, to render ample justice to all the worthy sons of Wisconsin, who may be earnestly laboring in any department of science, legislalation, literature, mechanism, philanthropic or industrial effort, to advance the honor and prosperity of our State, or to enlighten, improve, or ameliorate the condition of man!

As an evidence of the worth and interest of the manuscript pa-

pers we have already collected on Wisconsin history, as well as an earnest of what may be more fully expected hereafter, we append a few that are deemed particularly worthy of notice and publicity.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

WM. R. SMITH,
JOHN W. HUNT,
J. P. ATWOOD,
L. J. FARWELL,
SIMEON MILLS,
BERIAH BROWN,
DAVID ATWOOD,
O. M. CONOVER,
S. H. CARPENTER,
H. A. WRIGHT,
LYMAN C. DRAPER,
Executive Committee.

Madison, January 2, 1855.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX NO. 1.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

MADISON, January 2, 1855.

To the Society:

The Treasurer of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, respectfully presents the following statement of the receipts into the Treasury, and disbursements therefrom, during the year ending this day:

Receipts.

Feb. 23, 1854.	From former Treasurer,		9	52
" " "	Recording Secretary,		2	00
" 24, "	" "		2	00
" 28, " "	State Treasurer,		500	00
Mch. 15, " "	Recording Secretary,		3	00
Apr. 18, " "	Moses Sheppard, Balt. Md.,		25	00
June 6, " "	Recording Secretary,		1	00
July 10, " "	" "		2	00
Sept. 12, " "	" "		1	00
Jan'y 2, 1855, "	" "		7	00
Total,			$552	52

Disbursements.

Mch. 15, 1854,	Beriah Brown for printing circulars,	15 00
" " "	Weed & Eberhard, paper for circulars,	10 50
" " "	John N. Jones for postage,	17 58
" " "	Chas. B. Norton, for books,	100 00
Apr. 1, "	J. Holton, express charges,	3 00
" 8, "	J. N. Jones, postage,	16 16

May 4, 1854.	Express charges,		18 82
June 8, "	"		3 00
July 11, "	Sundry bills for books, freight, &c.		253 11
Aug. 1, "	" "		28 10
Sept. 12, "	C. R. Edwards, boxing pictures,		1 00
Oct. 3, "	Postage and freight,		6 53
Dec. 5, "	Express charges,		19 30
Jan. 2, 1855,	Postage, &c.,		4 00
" 2, "	Book,		1 00
	Total disbursements,		$497 10
	Balance on hand,		55 42
		$552 52	$552 52

Vouchers for each of the foregoing disbursements are herewith presented.

Respectfully submitted,
O. M. CONOVER, Treasurer.

Audited and found correct,
LYMAN C. DRAPER,
JOHN W. HUNT.

APPENDIX NO. 2.

GREEN BAY IN 1726.

Charles Whittlesey, Esq., of Eagle River, Lake Superior, an intelligent and accomplished scholar, sent the following translation of a French manuscript, relating to the early history of Green Bay, to Hon. C. D. Robinson, by whom it was kindly communicated to the Society. It was, with many others of a similar nature, brought from France by Gen. Cass, when he returned from his mission, who loaned them to Mr. Whittlesey for perusal and translation. He promises copies of others, which will no doubt prove interesting and valuable.

Mr. Whittlesey thinks it is not easy to determine by whom this memoir was penned, or to whom it was directed. He suggests that a part of it has the air of a circular addressed to the Commandants on Lake Michigan and the Illinois by the head of Indian Affairs; but most of its sentiments and many of the phrases agree with a letter of June 19, 1726, by M. DeLigney, from Green Bay, to M. DeSiette, among the Illinois.

Memoir concerning the peace made by Monsieur DeLigney (or Signey) with the Chiefs of the Foxes (Renards), Sauks (Sakis), and Winnebagos (Puans a la Baie), June 7, 1726.

To make the peace which has been effected by M. De Ligney with the Foxes of the Bay, and the Puants (Winnebagoes), of the 7th of June last, certain and stable, it is thought proper to grant to *Ouchata*, the principal chief of the Foxes, his particular request to have a French officer in the country, which will, he says, aid him in restraining his young men from bad thoughts and actions.

We think, moreover, that it will be necessary that the commandant at La Pointe, *Chegoiwegon* (Lake Superior), should for his part labor to withdraw the Sioux from an alliance with the Foxes, to detach them by presents, and allow them to hope for a missionary and other Frenchmen as they have desired.

The same thing should be written to the officer commanding at the post of Detroit, and at the river St. Josephs, in order that the nations adjacent to those parts, may be detached from the Foxes, and that those officers, in case of war, have a care that the way shall be stopped, and the Foxes prevented from seeking an asylum with the Iroquois, or in any other nations, where they may secrete themselves.

Monsieur De Siette, who now commands in the Illinois country in place of M. De Boisbriante, has written to M. De Ligney, that the Foxes are afraid of treachery, and that the surest mode of securing our object, is to destroy and exterminate them. That he has made the same proposition to the Council General of New Orleans, and has given to the gentlemen, who are Directors of the company of the Indies, the same opinion.

We agree that this would be the best expedient, but must maintain that nothing can be more dangerous or more prejudicial to both colonies than such an enterprise, in case it should fail. It would be necessary to effect a surprise, and to keep them shut up in a fort, as in the last war; for if the Foxes escape to the Sioux, or to the Agouais, (Iroquois?) they would return to destroy us in all the Upper Country, and the French of both colonies would be unable to pass from post to post, except at the risk of robbery and murder. If, however, after our efforts to cause the peace to be durable and real, the Foxes fail again in their promises, and take up the hatchet anew, it will be necessary to reduce them by armed forces of both colonies acting in concert.

In the meantime, it is proper that M. De Siette should cause to be restored to the Foxes by the Illinois, the prisoners that they may have with them, as M. DeLigney has made the Foxes promise to send to the Illinois their prisoners; and that you do not follow

the example of other commandants before you, who have thought to intimidate the Foxes, and cause them to lay down their arms by burning Fox prisoners that fell into their hands, which has only served to irritate that people, and aroused the strongest hatred against us.

If, with these arrangements on the part of the Illinois, the Foxes can be persuaded to remain in peace from this time a year, we shall be able to have an interview with M. De Siette, at "Chicagoux," or at the Rock (on the Illinois), from whence to make an appointment for the Chiefs of the Illinois nation and of the Bay, (Green Bay), where they can agree upon the numbers of French and of Indians, on the part of the Illinois and on the part of Canada, who shall meet at a fort to be built at an agreed place designed for the meeting.

After this, the treaty of peace with the Foxes and their allies, can be renewed, and the following summer we can cause "Ouchata," and the war-chiefs of the Foxes, with a train of their allies; the Puants, Sauks, Kickapoos, Maskoutens and Sioux, to descend the Lake to Montreal, where we can enquire of them their disposition and intentions, and also learn the desires of the King from France.

It would be apropos that Ouchata should publicly demand a chief from the French in presence of his chiefs, and of those of the Sauterns, (Chippeways,) Potowatamies, Outawas, (Ottaways,) and other nations, whom it may also be proper to bring down, and a chief or two on the part of the Illinois, to be witnesses of the matters concluded with the Foxes. There will be no difficulty in granting them a French officer, although it may not coincide with the wishes of the Commandant at the Bay, who will doubtless be opposed to this establishment, only on account of private interests, which ought always to yield to the good of the service of the King and the Colonies.

APPENDIX No. 3.

LIEUT. JAMES GORRELL'S JOURNAL.

[Introductory note by the Corresponding Sec'y of the State Historical Society of Wis.]

The late venerable Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, obtained from Horatio Ridout, Esq., of Whitehall, near Annapolis, Maryland, quite a collection of rare and curious manuscripts relative to the old French and Indian war, and among them this journal of Lieut. Gorrell. Mr. Ridout's father was John Ridout, who was Secretary to Gov. Horatio Sharpe of Maryland during the French and Indian war, and thus became possessed of these valuable papers. Mr. Gilmor presented them to the Maryland Historical Society.

Francis Parkman, Esq., of Boston, when collecting materials for his able work on border history, the CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC, procured a copy of Gorrell's journal, and has kindly communicated a transcript of it for the use of our Society. So interesting a memorial of the early history of Wisconsin, never before published, cannot but be received with favor.

Of Gorrell himself, it is to be regretted that we know so little. In addition to this journal, he left another of Maj. Wilkins' expedition from Niagara to Detroit, in the fall of 1763. This is the last trace we get of him. As his name does not appear in the British Army Register for 1780, of which we have a copy, it would seem that he had died prior to that date.

A few explanatory notes are added by the editor to the journal.

L. C. D.

LIEUT. JAMES GORRELL'S JOURNAL.

Commencing at Detroit, September 8th, 1761, and ending at Montreal, August 13th, 1763, containing an account of several councils held with the Indians;—also, showing the villainy used by the Canadians to corrupt the Indians, and excite them against the English, with a brief account of the number and strength of the Indians, and their commerce in that quarter.

Detroit, Sept. 8, 1761.—Captain Belfour of the 80th Regt., was ordered to march with a detachment of the 60th and 80th Regts., to take possession of, and leave garrisons at the posts on Lakes Huron and Mitchicon, viz., at Mishamakinak, La Bay,* afterwards called Fort Edward Augustus, and St. Josephs.

Sept. 28th.—We arrived at Mishamakinak, when Capt. Belfour called a council of what chiefs of the Indians were then there, and gave them a belt and some strings of wampum. Here we left Lieut. Leslie, of the Royal American or 60th Regt., with one sergt., one corporal, one drummer, and twenty-five privates of the same regiment.

Oct. 1.—The rest of the detachment sailed with a fair wind for La Bay; went that evening sixteen computed leagues, and notwithstanding we were detained by contrary winds, &c., four days at the Grand River, we arrived at La Bay on the 12th, which is computed eighty leagues from Mishamakinak, at a time when there was but one family of Indians in the village—they being gone a hunting, according to their custom, at this time of the year, and return commonly in the months of April, May, and June, according to the distance they go, and the openness of the season. There were several Frenchmen who had gone up the river that forms the

* This taking possession of these western posts previously occupied by the French, was in consequence of the conquest of Canada the previous year by the English and Colonial forces, and the surrender of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor General of Canada; and *La Bay* was our own Green Bay of Wisconsin, or, as the early French writers termed it, *la Baye des Puants*.

Bay which comes from Lake Puan,* about fourteen leagues up. These traders have since gone up as far as the Sous† country, near two hundred leagues from La Bay, and as they went past this post, notwithstanding those very Frenchmen were employed by the English traders from Montreal that came to Mishamakinak by virtue of Gen. Gage's license, did all that laid in their power to persuade the Bay Indians to fall upon the English on their way, as they heard of our coming, and telling the Indians that the English were very weak, and that it could be done very readily. Some of the young warriors were willing, but an old and great man of the Sack Nation whom they call Aking (and whom the French call Dirdo,) told them they were the English dogs or slaves now that they were conquered by the English; that they only wanted his men to fight the English for them, but he said they should not, and called the French old squaws, and obliged the warriors to desist, which they did, and went to their hunting. I was informed by an English lad, and a New England Indian that was with them, of this in the spring following, but when I got an English interpreter, the Indian told me of it, as will appear hereafter.

We arrived at, and took post at La Bay, the 12th October; found the fort quite rotten, the stockade ready to fall, the houses without cover, our fire wood far off, and none to be got when the river closed. The 14th, Capt. Belfour departed, leaving me with one Serg't., and corporal, and fifteen privates at La Bay, a French interpreter, and two English traders—viz: Messrs. McKay from Albany, and Goddard from Montreal.

When I left Detroit for St. Josephs, and had received my orders from Capt. Donald Campbell, of ye 60th or Royal American Regt., I found in his orders very little respecting Indians, for which reason I applied to him to know if he had any other instructions, upon which he referred me to Sir Wm. Johnson‡, who was then there, to whom I applied. He told me verbally that unless I did my best to please the Indians I had better not go there;

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* Winnebago Lake. † Sioux. ‡ Superintendent of the Northern Indian Department.

he told me he would leave belts of wampum with Capt. Campbell as soon as the council was over, to be sent to the different posts, though I never received any, as I imagine the captain never had it in his power to send them. Understanding shortly after my taking command of the post, that there was a vast number of Indians dependant on it, more than was ever thought of, I found that I should have to send to Detroit for belts to give them on their arrival in the spring. For this purpose, I at three different times attempted sending expresses, both by way of St. Josephs and Mishamakinak, but I could never do it.

Therefore, as I could not get any from Detroit, and could not do without it, I was obliged after getting what Mr. Goddard had, to borrow of the Indian squaws, and pay them some twelve hundred for a thousand. I also made use of some I had from Lieut. Brehm, which was for his own use. That borrowed from the Indians, I was obliged to repay on the arrival of the first trader that brought wampum. So that I had six belts made, one for each nation that visited that place, but I found that some nations required two, some three, and some four, as they had towns. The French, in their time, always gave them belts, rum, and money, presents by which they renewed their peace annually.

Nothing material happened from this till the May ensuing.—We mostly busied ourselves during the winter in repairing the fort, houses, etc , as we had by the Canadians many various accounts, differing from one another, of the Indians intending to attack us, which accounts we had all the reason afterwards to believe were propagated to hinder the trader from coming up to that post.

Some few young men of the different tribes or nations of Indians came at different times to know how they would be treated, and were agreeably surprised to find that we were fond of seeing them, and received them civilly, contrary to the account given them by the French. They asked for amunition, which I gave them at different times, as also sent flour to some of their old men, who, they said, were sick in the woods. There being no

chiefs here at our arrival, we had no council with them until the 23d of May, 1762, on which I delivered the following speech, the chiefs of the Folles Avoines,* and of the three Puan chiefs, being present; and agreeably to my orders from Capt. Campbell, I gave them belts of wampum, and strings of the same, for the return of prisoners:

Brothers!—As you may have lost some of y'r brothers in the war in which you imprudently engaged with the French against your brothers, the English, and tho' by it you ought to have brought a just indignation upon you, yet we will condescend so far to forget whatever hath happened, that I am glad to take this opportunity to condole with you on the loss you have met with. At the same time, by these belts, I wipe away all the blood that was spilt, and bury all your brothers' bones that remain unburied on the face of the earth, that they may grieve you no more, as my intention is henceforward, not to grieve but to rejoice among you.

Brothers!—I hope also by these belts to open a passage to your hearts, so that you may always speak honestly and truly, and drive away from your heart all that may be bad, that you may, like your brothers the English, think of good things only. I light also a fire of pure friendship and concord, which affords a heat sweet and and agreeable to those who draw nigh unto it; and I light it for all Indian nations that are willing to draw nigh unto it. I also clear a great road from the rising of the sun to the setting of the same, and clear it from all obstructions, that all nations may travel in it freely and safely.

Brothers!—As you must know the arms of the great King George have entirely subdued all the French dominion in Canada, as you must also know the just causes that obliged him to make those conquests, in consequence of which, and agreeably to terms of capitulation made last year, by which, as before mentioned,

* The French name given to the Menomonees, meaning Wild Oats, alluding to the wild rice, which grew abundantly in the country, and from which they derived their name.

Canada, with all its dependencies, was ceded to the Engignkhils' my master and your father, I am sent here to keep the best order and administer the strictest justice amongst you, as also to protect all the Indians that will by their good behavior deserve his royal bounty. He hath also recommended it to all his subjects who are come amongst you to trade, to bring whatever necessaries you may want, and save you the trouble of going so far yourselves; in consequence of which, I have brought one along with me, who, you'll find, will use your people well and sell everything as cheap as possible to them, which some of them have already experienced. Therefore, I hope you will, on your part, behave well, and give convincing proofs of your good intentions to keep a good understanding with him by paying him always whatever he may credit you, as your brothers the English do. If you have any just complaints against him, or any others of the English or French traders, or people otherwise employed amongst you, let me know, and you may depend upon having justice done you. It is for these purposes that I am sent here, which you may plainly see by my bringing few men with me; and always depend that I shall be glad to serve you in doing justice. In one word, by these belts, I renew and confirm all the treaties and covenants of peace which formerly subsisted between your ancesters and ours, which was lately renewed by your neighboring chiefs at Niagara and Detroit. I expect you'll hold fast and often record it in your minds, as by that means you'll study your interest, and ever give us good proofs of your friendship and good meaning towards us. I also recommend it to you to take care and use well all who have or may come, and look upon them as your friends and brothers, as they are subjects of His Majesty, and we form one body and blood, and since we are joined by friendship, henceforth we shall be one people.

Brothers:—In consequence of this and the several treaties held with you and your neighboring chiefs at Niagara, Detroit and Mishamakinak, these strings are to open your eyes and hearts, to follow their example to bring in all the English prisoners who yet remain with you or your people, that they may be returned to us. You

know they are our own blood, and you are sensible that it would vex you to have your blood with any nation. Your great father, the King, will be very angry if you don't comply, and send as many men as there are trees in the forest to compel you to a compliance.

To this the Folles Avoines, on whose land the fort stands, answered:

That they were thankful for the good speech I had made them, as also for the presents; and said they were very poor, having lost three hundred warriors lately with the small pox, and most of their chiefs by the late war in which they had been engaged by the then French commander here against the English.

That they were very glad to find the English were pleased to pardon them, as they did not expect it, and were conscious that they did not merit it; but that I might depend they would adhere to whatever instructions the commanding English officers might give them, for the future, as they had always done with regard to the French.

They begged I would send for a gun-smith to mend their guns, as they were poor and out of order; the French, they said, had always done this for them, and their neighbors at Mishamakinak had had this favor granted them. They said the French commandant always gave them rum as a true token of friendship. In regard to prisoners, they said they had none amongst them, nor ever had; for what English prisoners they had taken during the war, they had always left at Montreal. They expressed great satisfaction that the English traders were coming among them, and seemed desirous that they should continue to come, as they found by experience that the goods were half cheaper than when the French were amongst them, and said they would use the traders well, oblige their young men to pay their credits, and assured me they would willingly partake the influence of the pure fire of friendship I had lighted for them. They thanked me for my advice in desiring them honestly and sincerely to speak their sentiments, which they always would do, and acquaint me with any

bad talk that might be amongst them, or the neighboring Indian Nations, as there were five more that depended on that post. They returned thanks to the great God for sending them such a day for their council, which they looked upon as an omen of lasting peace with them.

To which I gave the following answer:

That I would write to Capt. Campbell, commanding at the Detroit, for a gun-smith as soon as possible, and made no doubt he would send one. To their request for rum, I told them that their great father, King George, knowing that they were poor, by being so long at war, had ordered no rum to be brought amongst them to sell, lest they should neglect their clothing, their wives and children, until such time as they might be clothed, which I hoped would be in a few years.

The Puan Chief returned the same answer with the rest, with a demand for a gun-smith; and added, that he would send the good road I had given him, meaning the belt, to the two other chiefs of his nation, and he did not doubt they would come down very soon.

No Indians came here till the 29th, when a party of Toways,* who lived at Little Detroit, arrived. I spoke to them as I had done to the rest, and gave them strings of wampum for the return of prisoners, and made them some small presents. As they lay between this and Mishamakinak, they promised they would use the English and French well who would be coming thither. They went a way well pleased.

June 5th, 1762.—Ambassadors from the Sacks and Reynards, with a chief belonging to the second Puan town, arrived here, to whom I made a speech to the same purpose, and also gave them each a belt and strings of wampum. Their answer was nigh to the same purpose as the former, with a demand for the English traders to go to their towns. I told them I would write to my commander at Detroit, and await his answer.

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* Ottawas.

I received a letter from Capt. Campbell, dated at Detroit in September, [1761,] which never had an opportunity of coming before from Mishamakinak, wherein he said that it was against the General's instructions to give the Indians more presents than were absolutely necessary to keep them in temper. These orders made me uneasy, as I was assured I could not keep so large a body of Indians in temper without giving them something, as they had always been used to large presents from the French; and at the same time, if I did not give each nation the same I had given those that had been to see me, all would be lost to me and the service. I, therefore, sent my interpreter, who could acquaint Capt. Campbell best about it, with letters to him, and engaged his cousin at his recommendation, who had just come from the Sous country, as interpreter. He behaved very well for a Canadian for sometime, but I was convinced soon to the contrary, as will appear in the sequel.

There are by both French and Indian accounts, 39,100 Indian warriors, besides women and children, depending on this post for supplies, and they are as follows:

Taways, et.c,	100	Little Detroit and Milwacky.
Folles Avoines,	150 warriors.	They live at La Bay, in two towns.
Puans,	150	At the end of Puans Lake, and over against Louistonstant.
Sacks,	350	Above Louistonstant, in ye. government of Louisiana.
Reynards,	350	On the River Reynard.
Avoys, (Ioways?)	8,000	On each side Mississippi.
Sous,	30,000	On west side Mississippi, near 300 leagues off.
Total,	39,100	

I had an answer from Capt. Campbell as soon as could be expected, in which he was pleased to signify his being satisfied that I had done all in my power for the benefit of his Majesty's service. He said he had written to the General, and had let him know that the number of Indians at my post was great, and hoped to know his Excellency's orders to enable him to supply them with what

would make them easy; at the same time desiring I would continue to keep them in as good humor as possible, consistently with frugality. He also sent 200 lbs of tobacco for them. Lieut. Leslie sent me 100 lbs, which I made the most of by giving it very sparingly, as the traders who come to this place bring very little of that article.

June 24th.—Ambassadors from the Chippewas, a nation dependent on Mishamakinak, came to negotiate the adjustment of a quarrel with the Folles Avoines respecting a man killed at Mishamakinak, belonging to the latter tribe. They brought a letter from Lieut. Leslie, commanding at Mishamakinak, in which he warmly recommended it to me to assist the Chippewas in that negotiation, as it would be very prejudicial to the trade and communication between the posts if any such quarrels should take place; for which purpose, I called the chiefs belonging to the post together, and was under the necessity of giving them a few small presents.

June 25th.—Mr. Thomas Hutchins,* now Ensign, came, with Mr. George Croghan's instructions to enquire after Indian affairs. It being Captain Campbell's orders to me to assist him, I called what Indian chiefs were then there, consisting of the Folles Avoines, Sacks and Reynards. When he had let them know his business, they immediately demanded of him colors and commissions, such as the French superintendents used to give them; to which he replied, that he would report of it to the superintendents who sent him.

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* This early Anglo-American visitor to Wisconsin was a native of New Jersey. In 1763–'64, he served under Col. Bouquet at Fort Pitt, and subsequently in West Florida. He was in England at the commencement of the Revolution, where his zeal for his native land caused him to refuse tempting offers, and finally led to his imprisonment, and the loss of twelve thousand pounds in a single day. When liberated, he went to France, and thence to Charleston, where he joined the army under Gen. Greene. He was soon appointed Geographer General of the United States and died in that service at Pittsburgh, in April, 1789. He was remarkable for his piety, charity and benevolence; and was the author of two descriptive works, one on Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina, and the other on Louisiana and West Florida.

July 12th.—A Reynard came who said he was a chief, and demanded leave to buy seven barrels of powder, presenting me with a large belt of wampum. Having reason to suspect his intentions, I refused to allow him to buy any more than would serve him to hunt, until I should have a council with his chiefs, and I gave him a belt, desiring his king might come to me very soon.

Aug. 6th.—Three Puan chiefs, with four ambassadors from the Avoy nation, came. I made the same speech to them as to the rest. The chief of the third town of the Puans brought me a large belt, confirming what both the others had said before, telling me that he had seen the belts I had sent, and that he had never been at war with the English, nor could the French commander pursuade him to it. He brought the other chiefs to confirm what he said, as he never knew any harm the English had done him. He made the same demand for traders, with the same promises of protection for them, and also asked for a gun-smith, and rum. The Avoys then spoke, and said they had come very far, and brought no belts, as they had come to see if I would shake hands and forgive them, as I had done the rest. I gave them belts and strings of wampum for the return of prisoners. They said their king would come in the spring and see me.

Aug. 13th.—The King of the Sack Nation came, to whom I made a speech of the same purport as to the rest, and his answer was nigh the same; that he had seen the good road I had given his brothers, but as he understood I would not let any English come amongst them till he came to see me, he had left home in company with 250 of his warriors to wait on me and know my commands, and also to get English traders; but as the news came after him that the town was threatened with an invasion by the Isle Anoix* Indians, he had to send his warriors back to guard the

* Probably the *Illinois* Indians. Ilinois, according to Farther Marquette, meant "the *men*," as if other Indians compared with them were mere beasts. It is possible, that the Indians alluded to by Lieut. Gorrell, belonged on some *Isle aux Noix* or Walnut Island.

women and children. As I had now given a good road, he would take care to keep it open and clear, and if any trees should spring up to obstruct the way, he would not only beat them down, but tear them up by the roots. He brought with him a pair of French colors, flying on board his canoe, and excused himself by saying he knew no difference, and hoped I would give him English colors, which I did, and he burnt the French ones. I also gave him a belt of wampum and other presents. He was the only Indian that disapproved of rum being given to the Indians. He had never seen an English officer before. He showed me a commission signed by the French superintendent, giving him command of the whole nation. I sent a copy of it to Capt. Campbell, and promised the Indian, at the same time, that he should have one from the English.

Aug. 21st.—A party of Indians came from Milwacky,* and demanded credit, which was refused, as they properly belonged to Mishamakinak. They also made great complaint of the trader amongst them, but as he came from Mishamakinak, and did not touch at this place, I desired them to go there and make their complaint, and they would be redressed. They promised to come to this place to trade in the spring ; I made them a small

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* This is the earliest notice, it is believed, of *Milwaukee,* and indicates that it was then, 1762, quite an Indian town, with an English trader residing there. Col. Arent Schuyler De Peyster, who commanded the British post of Michillimackinac from 1774 till the autumn of 1779, has left a volume of Miscellanies, in which he has recorded the substance of a speech he delivered to the Indians at the Ottawa town of L'Arbre Croche, on the shores of Lake Michigan, some distance west of the fort at Michillimackinac, on the 4th of July, 1779 ; in which he speaks of "those runegates of Milwakie—a horrid set of refractory Indians." In the same speech, in another connection, he alludes to "*Weeaip-pe-goes,* a sensible old chief at the head of a refractory tribe"—probably the Milwaukee band, who seem not to have been subservient to British rule during the American Revolution. According to a statement dictated by several Sac and Fox chiefs, appended to Dr. Morse's Report of his Indian Tour in 1820, *Mil-wah-kie* was settled by the Sacs and Foxes, and the name is derived from *Man-na-wah-kie—good land.* The table already given by Gorrell of the Indian nations dependent on La Bay, mentions Milwacky as being then inhabited by "Ottawas, etc."

present, and told them if they did, they should be well treated and not imposed on.

Aug. 25th.—The king of the Reynards came, to whom I made the same speech as to the rest. He answered to the same purpose with the king of the Sacks, but he let me know that he had routed those bad men who demanded the seven barrels of powder; and promised protection to all traders that came amongst his people. I made him a present of a stand of colors and other things.

Sept. 1st.—The chiefs of the Folles Avoines came and demanded credit for their young men, which the traders here granted, on the chiefs giving their word for payment in the spring.

From this to March 1st, 1763, nothing remarkable happened, except the arrival of several English and French traders, some of whom went up the country, and most sent up the largest part of their goods. Several Indians of the nation belonging to this place, came in at different times during the winter for necessaries. This day twelve warriors of the Sous came here; this nation's number I have before given. It is certainly the greatest nation of Indians ever yet found. Not above two thousand of them were ever armed with fire-arms, the rest depending entirely on bows and arrows and darts, which they use with more skill than any other Indian nation in North America. They can shoot the wildest and largest beasts in the woods, at seventy or one hundred yards distance. They are remarkable for their dancing; the other nations take the fashion from them. It is said they keep regular guards in their chief town or metropolis, relieving once in twenty-four hours, and are always alert. They proffered me the command of their warriors, being 30,000 in number, to keep clear the road I had opened for them.

This nation is always at war with the Chippewas, those who destroyed Mishamakinak. They told me with warmth, that if ever the Chippewas, or any other Indians, wished to obstruct the passage of the traders coming up, to send them a belt, and they

would come and cut them off from the face of the earth, as all Indians were their slaves or dogs. I told them I was glad to see them, and hoped to have a lasting peace with them, etc., rehearsing the same speech I had made to the other Indians. They then gave me a letter wrote in French, and two belts of wampum, from their king, in which he expressed great joy on hearing of there being English at this post, and great desire of making peace with them, and having English traders. The letter was written by a French trader whom I had allowed to go among them last fall, with a promise of his behaving well, which he did better than any Canadian I ever knew. They said they found the road very bad, and would have turned back but for meeting a chief of the Folles Avoines who prevailed on them to come; but as they had now got a good road, they could travel on it without fear, and hoped to come again in the spring with their king.

With regard to traders, I told them I could not allow any to go amongst them, as I then understood they lay out of the government of Canada, but made no doubt they would have traders from Mississippi in the Spring. They went away on the 3d, extremely well pleased. What was remarkable, when they went to give dances to the people, agreeably to the Indian custom, they began with the soldiers saying, they were the people who should have the most honor paid them, as they fought for it; but being told I was a soldier as well as commander, the chief said he regarded me doubly.

March 25th.—Read letters from Mr. Lottridge, who lived all this winter, in the trading way, up the river with the Indians; that he understood one Goddard, a trader from Montreal, sent orders to his clerk, a Canadian, who lay at the same place with Mr. Lottridge, to send word to the Milwacky Indians, and desire them not to come here, but stay at home, and he would send goods to them in the spring, the contrary to what he told them last fall.

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Several Indians came from this to the 15th May, when almost the whole nation came together from their hunting. On the 18th,

I was informed that some young men had threatened to attack the fort, and as there were some Taways here, I did not doubt but they would help them, upon which I called together the chiefs of both parties, and told them what I had heard of their design. The Taways declared they knew nothing of it, which I believe was true. The Folles Avoines' chiefs said, if anything made their young men uneasy, it was on account of the colors and medals Mr. Hutchins had promised. There were none of the old chiefs here at the time, but a few days later they came in. I held council with them, and in it, by a belt and some strings of wampum, I renewed all former treaties. They all seemed well pleased, only they wanted the promised colors and medals. The chiefs were much displeased at the Carroy's getting a present from Mr. Goddard of a fine suit of embroidered clothes. This Carroy was much thought of by the French. I changed my interpreter the 20th inst., and employed the English lad of Mr. Moran's above mentioned, at which the Indians were generally pleased.

June 14th, 1763.—The traders came down from the Sack country, and confirmed the news of Landsing and his son being killed by the French. There came with the traders some Puans, and four young men with one chief of the Avoy nation, to demand traders to go amongst them. They promised that four hundred and fifty other men would be down in August to trade. I gave them presents.

Agreeably to Capt. Campbell's letter last fall, wherein he told me that he had either lost or mislaid my last year's account, and also from Maj. Gladwin at the same time, I had made up my account both for last year and this separately; one for Capt. C. during his command, the other for the Major's time; and had given them to Mr. Moran, a trader going to Detroit, who was this morning, June 15th, to set out, when about nine o'clock came ten Taways and Frenchmen, and brought the following instructions from Capt. Etherington:

"Mishamakinak, June 11th, 1763.

"DEAR SIR:

"This place was taken by surprise on the fourth instant, by the Chippewas, at which time Lieut. Jamet and twenty more were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieut. Lesley, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You'll therefore, on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawas, set out with all your garrison and what English traders you have with you, and come with the Indian who gives you this, who will conduct you safe to me. You must be sure to follow the instructions you receive from the bearer of this, as you are by no means to come to this post before you see me at the village twenty miles from this. Leave the French clerks with their masters' goods, as the Chippewas have offered no violence to any Frenchman.

"Bring with you what provisions you can. Your batteau will bring you and your garrison, and the merchants can come in a canoe. Tell the savages that you are obliged to come here to open the road which the Chippewas have shut up, that the merchants may have leave to come to them, and the bearer of this will make the same speech to the Indians. If there are any English traders that are not at your post, you must not wait for them, but recommend them to the care of the Indians till you come back, which will be very soon; and if you find it absolutely necessary, you may make them some presents. I must once more beg you'll lose no time in coming to join me; at the same time, be very careful, and always be on your guard. I long much to see you, and am, dear sir,

"Your most humble serv't.,

GEO. ETHERINGTON.

"J. GORRELL,

"Royal Americans."

"Tell the traders to bring what provisions they can with them, and be sure to bring all your amunition; and recommend the care

of the fort to the Indian chief, that it may not be burnt before your return. Let no person know but that you are to come straight to the fort, as the knowledge of our design might be attended with bad consequences.

(Signed,) "G. E."

The same day and date, received the following from the same, by same bearer:

"Michillimackinac, June 11th, 1763.

"Dear Sir:—I forgot to tell you before I sealed the letter I just now wrote you, that if the Indians I send you should want any belts to speak upon, you will give them what they want, and likewise give each of them a shirt to encourage them. In the other letter I wrote you, I said my letter would be given you by an Indian, but as the Frenchman that I sent with him has a little box, I gave the letter to him. Please lose no time in coming to me, and believe me,

"Your most obedient servant,

"GEO. ETHERINGTON."

Agreeably to these orders, I gave the ten young Ottawas clothes, and also five belts of wampum to speak for the English, or rather for themselves.

I called the Folles Avoines chiefs together, and all their young men, and informed them, with a belt, of their brother Capt. Etherington's distress, (giving them large presents,) and asked their counsel and assistance; whereupon they called their whole town together, and all unanimously agreed to come along with me, and sent several of their young men to the lower town to dis[patch] them on their march. The seven young men I also clothed.

June 17th.—I made every thing ready to set off with the garrison and all the English traders, but contrary winds prevailed.

June 18th.—About 1 o'clock in the afternoon arrived ——— chiefs of the Sacks, Reynards, and Puans, who said their young men were coming, and desired me not to trust myself and garrison with the Taways, as they had seen the belts, and they were not

sincere; they desired me to stay for them, which I did till the 19th, when they arrived, and with them came one PENNENSHA.—This PENNENSHA is the same man who wrote the letter the Sous brought with them in March, and at the same time held council with that great nation in favor of the English, by which he much promoted the interest of the latter, as appeared by the behavior of the Sous thereafter. He brought with him a pipe from the Sous, importing that after their ambassadors or chiefs returned, they had called a council of most of the warriors, in which it was agreed to send the following speech to the Indians depending on the Baye,—that I had received a belt from them, with a road plain and easy to be found; they therefore desired, that as the road is now clear, they would by no means allow the Chippewas to obstruct it, or to give the English any disturbance, or prevent the traders from coming up to them. If they did so, they would send all their warriors and cut them off.

This speech had its desired effect, as it changed the minds of the Ottawas very much, and settled those of the rest in favor of the English interest, who came with PENNENSHA, very happily for us. When all the young men of those nations had arrived, they told me all their nation was in tears for the loss of two English traders who were killed by the French in their lands, and begged leave of me to cut them all in pieces. They seemed well pleased that I had got an English interpreter, as they could tell me their mind more plainly than by a Frenchman. I called a council of the Four Nations, to whom I gave large presents; and to the three last nations, each a belt. I also made a speech to them in the best manner I could, informing them of Capt. ETHERINGTON's distress, and that I was going to relieve him if possible, and return to them again after we had cleared the road; and that I hoped, as they had always shown themselves brothers, they would go along with me, and assist in that good work. I was going to try to reinstate their brothers and mine, so that they might be supplied with goods for their wives and children. Upon this, the old Sack chief, who was with me last summer, and brought the French

colors as before mentioned, addressed the rest of the chiefs as follows:

That he was very sorry for the distress of his brother, the English chief at Mishamakinak, and hoped they'd open their eyes and be strong and of good courage to let their new [British] Father know how they had his interest at heart, and not to believe all the bad things the French had told them last winter. He then advised the other Indians to follow his example and show the English how much they had their interest at heart. He could, he said, give no greater proof of this, than by giving himself and taking his young men with him, and he hoped they would do the same. He said he knew that their new Father would have pity on them, and send up traders.

They all agreed with this, and said they were glad they could now show the English how much they loved them, and that I should find they would keep their promise of the year before.

By request of the Four Nations, I sent off the ten Ottawas, to inform Capt. Etherington I was coming. They promised to meet me at the Fishing Place at the Pilote-Traverse.

June 20th.—The Indians busied in gumming their canoes, and getting ready.

June 21st.—I set out, [accompanied by] part of the Four Nations, viz: the Folles Avoines, Sacks, Puans, and Reynards, sailed about fifteen leagues to the Lower Folles Avoines' town—encamped.

June 22d.—Set out, and arrived about ten o'clock at the mouth of the river, on which the village stands. Went on shore; walked up to the town, and was saluted by the firing of guns by about fifty warriors of that town, who discharged their guns three times. Called a council and spoke to them in the same manner as I did to the others, and gave them large presents, They sent two chiefs with twenty warriors with me. Contrary winds obliged us to stay all next day, being the 24th.

June 25th.—Set out escorted by ninety warriors exclusive of

my garrison and the English traders, and crossed the Bay. Came to Little Detroit, where a party of the Ottawas lived, to whom I gave presents, and some strings of wampum, which pleased them. They sent six young men more with me.

June 26th.—Crossed the Bay again, and encamped on a little island.

June 27th.—Went about ten leagues; encamped at the mouth of the river, called the Fishing Place.

June 28th.—Went to the Chippewas' fishing place. Here the Indians who were with us apprehending they might meet with the Chippewas, who might be there to waylay us, sent ashore forty warriors to reconnoitre the woods before we landed, which they mostly did during our journey, and always made us encamp in the center. The King of the Sacks always went in the batteau with me, and would always lay in the tent—so great was their care.—We waited for the return of the Ottawas' canoes, as they had promised to meet as here us was before mentioned, but they did not come.

June 29th.—Set out and came to Isle Castor. Here we were alarmed with great smoke rising in the Isle, in different places, and at different times, while we were crossing the Traverse; and as the Ottawas had not met us according to promise, our Indians mistrusted their sincerity. When we came near to the Island, our Indians halted, and made all preparation imaginable for an action. They obliged the English canoe to go in the center; the Folles Avoines went foremost, stripped ready for action. We went about half a league, when turning a point, we saw three or four Indians on the shore, naked, with lighted pipes, who called in the Ottawa tongue for us to come ashore; which our Indians did, perceiving them to be the Ottawas who were to have met us yesterday. They brought me a letter from Capt. Etherington, which, after passing the pipe, they delivered. It was as follows:

"Ottawa Village, June 28th, 1763.

"Dear Sir:—Your's I received this morning, and am glad to

hear you're coming. Agreeably to your desire, I have sent the canoe of Ottawas to conduct you to this place, and keep all the English you have together. I hope to see you soon, and am, dear Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble servant,
"GEO. ETHERINGTON."

N. B.—On the other side was wrote, viz: "The Soutons* or Chippewas continue their mischief. They have plundered all the canoes they have met with since I wrote you last, and are now encamped on the great island near the fort, to which place they all repaired on the appearance of a canoe.

"Lt. J. Gorrell, Roy. Americans." G. E."

We lodged on this island this evening; during which canoes came from Mishamakinak with Indians. They had been plundering there as our Indians apprehended. Upon their arrival, one of our Indian chiefs, who had a relation killed last summer by the Chippewas, and thinking those Indians or some of them were Chippewas, went with tomahawk and knife to their canoe to kill them; but found no Chippewas nor plunder, as they had hid the latter on an island not far off.

June 30th.—I set out and arrived at the Indian village where Capt. Etherington was, about thirty miles above Mishamakinak. The Ottawas received me with great joy, by the firing of several guns, three times each. They also presented us with nine pipes of peace. It was on our arrival here, that we expected to have our allies' sincerity tried, as we heard it reported last night that, on our arrival, our arms would be taken from us, and we would become prisoners, like Capt. Etherington and his party. I told my Indians of it, at the same time letting them know that none of my party should give up their arms, as this was their fixed resolution. The Indians all said they would stand by us. However, on our arrival, no attempt of the kind was made, nor did they ever look on me or my party as prisoners—but to the contrary.

* Sauteurs, probably.

July 1st.—Nothing of consequence, but feasting, dancing, and smoking.

July 3d.—I gave the Indians that came with me a belt of wampum, and they called a council of the Ottawas, and gave them a large belt of wampum, and returned them thanks for taking care of Capt. Etherington and the rest of the prisoners. The Ottawas gave the Indians that came with me several barrels of powder and many other presents, and returned them thanks for bringing me and the garrison down safe. They sent to the Fort for some Chippewa Chiefs to come to them. The same [day], the Indians that came with me and the Ottawas renewed their old alliance.

July 4th —The Chippewas arrived and held a council. The La Bay Indians took great pains to get the Ottawas to join them, to get Capt. Etherington re-instated, which they refused, but said they would do all in their power to take us to Montreal. The La Bay Indians said that if they did not, they would have no more to do with them, but would break off former friendship. They also spoke to the Chippewas, but could not bring them to consent to their proposals. Nothing but councils till the 7th.

July 7th.—The La Bay Indians came and told me that they were going to the Fort to speak for the last time, and make the Chippewas lay down their arms to let us pass for Montreal. I gave them two large belts. They likewise said, that if the Chippewas would [not?] consent to their proposal, they would take me and my garrison back with them, and take care of us till such time as they would [go with] their warriors and open a road themselves. This day they went to the Fort, and took with them most of the traders that came with them. On their arrival, the Indians belonging to the Isle Castor took one Mr. Lottridge and Mr. Croghan; the former was taken from them by a chief of the Sacs, to whom he gave considerable presents; but the latter was obliged to buy himself clear.

July 8th.—They continued in council till the 11th, in which time

they got all the prisoners clear, except myself, Mr. HENRY*, a trader, and two soldiers; and the same day, being the 11th, we all arrived, the men, the traders, and most of the Indian women, from the Ottawa village.

July 12th.—The La Bay Indians and the friendly Ottawas informed us that the road was clear to Montreal, and that they had appointed several Ottawa chiefs and warriors to convey us there; upon which we and the traders promised they should be well rewarded.

July 13th.—About eight or ten of the principal Indians that did the mischief, came to Capt. ETHERINGTON, and made the following speech, viz: That they would know if he would shake hands with them. Upon being refused, they said it was not on account of the Tawas that they saved Capt. ETHERINGTON and the rest of his garrison, but on account of the Indians from La Bay with me, who came with their pipes full of tobacco for them to smoke; and if they were all under arms and ready to fire upon us, they would be obliged to lay down their arms on account of an old alliance between them. They said that though it was the Chippewas that struck, it was the Ottawas that began the war at Detroit, and instigated them to do the same. They said at the same time, that if the General† would forgive and shake hands with them, they would never do the same again. Upon this, Capt. ETHERINGTON said, that if they expected any mercy, or that he should speak in their fa-

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* This was ALEXANDER HENRY, who was born in New Jersey, in August, 1739. He accompanied Amherst's Expedition in 1760, and was present at the reduction of Fort de Levi, and surrender of Montreal. In descending the river, he lost three boats of merchandize, and only saved his life by clinging to the bottom of one of them. Possessing an enterprising spirit, he soon after visited the Upper Lakes, and engaged in the fur trade. He was captured with Capt. ETHERINGTON's party at Mackinaw, and subsequently resumed the occupation of a fur trader. He was the author of an interesting work of Travels in Canada and the Indian country, between the years 1760 and 1776. He died at Montreal, April 4, 1824, aged eighty-four years. He was a man of warm affections, domestic habits, and a generous mind.

† Sir Jeffrey Amherst was then British Commander-in-chief in North America.

vor, they must give up all the prisoners, which was their only method of getting forgivness.

July 14th.—The La Bay Indians came to me and demanded commissions. I gave them eight certificates, which answer the same end as commissions. The Chippewas then said, that if they had some rum they would go and consult of it. Having no rum to give them, they went away and said no more to us. Afterwards they went to the La Bay Indians, who desired them to deliver up all the prisoners, as the only method to get forgivness.

July 18th.—Capt. ETHERINGTON made them some small presents, and thanked them for their good behavior; and at the request of the chiefs, Messrs. BRUCE, FISHER, and ROSEBOOM, a trader from Albany, returned with them to La Bay. The same day, the wind being fair, we embarked for Montreal, consisting of forty canoes of soldiers, traders and Indians. Nothing of consequence occurred till we came near the French river, where we met a party of Missasaga Indians. The next day, we entered the French river, when the chiefs called a council, in which it was ordered that Capt. ETHERINGTON, Lieut. LESLIE, and all the master traders, should go in the Indian canoes, and make what haste they could to Montreal. I was left with all the soldiers and traders' hands to guard the peltry. Lieut. LESLIE being an elder officer, insisted on staying on that command, but an Ottawa chief who had taken him from the Chippewas, and adopted him as his son, would not let him, as he said he would take him to the General and give him up. And they proceeded. After a tedious passage of thirty-two days, I reached Montreal the 13th Aug. 1763, with all my garrison.

I was so much hurried after receiving Capt. ETHERINGTON's *

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* Capt. ETHERINGTON, it would appear from GRAYDON's Memoirs, was probably a native of Delaware, early entered the army, and served as drummer and sergeant. A wealthy widow of Newcastle county becoming enamored of him, purchased him a commission. After the loss of his post at Michillimackinac, we find him stationed at Philadelphia; and in September 1775, he was promoted from a Major to a Lieutenant Colonel in the Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment, which rank he held in 1780—between which latter date and 1792, he must have died, as his name does not appear in the British army register in the latter year. He was a man of superior height and large frame, which gave him a commanding air. Though extremely deficient in education, he possessed a strong, acute intellect, and had a happy talent at repartee.

letter the 16th June, 1763, that I could not put the particulars in the margin, as in the former, but was obliged to refer the amount of the sundry presents given to the Indians since the above date, to the traders' accounts below mentioned, viz:

Messrs. Moran and Company's accounts,	£935	12	2
" Goddard & Co.,	191	2	6
John Abeall & Co.,	23	8	3
Messrs. Lery & Ezekiel Solomon, 4 bags corn,	10	0	0
Henry Bostwick, for corn,	5	0	0
Total,	£1165	2	11

This exclusive of 21,800 wampum, not charged in trader's accounts, being belts received from different nations, as pledges of their fidelity; the most of which necessity obliged me to have made over again, lest they should be known.

Montreal, Aug. 16, 1763.

APPENDIX NO. 4.

RECOLLECTIONS OF GREEN BAY IN 1816—'17.

BY JAMES W. BIDDLE, OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

My first visit to Green Bay was in the fall of 1816. I was concerned with Col. James Thomas in the supply of the troops at Detroit, Mackinaw, Chicago, Green Bay—provided, said the contract, that a military post should be established at the latter place within the year. The post at Mackinaw was then under command of Brevet Col. Talbot Chambers; but in August, or thereabouts, Col. John Miller, afterwards Governor of Missouri, arrived, and taking command, determined on establishing a post at Green Bay.

Vessels were accordingly chartered, and, I think, three companies of riflemen and infantry were put on board. I furnished the required amount of provisions and they all arrived safe, though this was the first instance of merchant vessels navigating the Bay. The leading or most reliable commodore of the fleet was Capt. Dobbins of the "Washington," belonging to Erie, Pa, of hundred tons, the largest vessel at that time on the Lakes, though they spoke of the "Wellington," of one hundred and thirty tons, belonging somewhere in Canada, which *had been* on the Lakes, but found too large or drawing too much water for lake navigation, and had then disappeared. Dobbins sounded the whole way up the Bay, and on his return gave the worst account of the navigation—all shoals, said he, and rocks, with no harbor, river, or creek

to put into, or island to take shelter under, excepting two at its mouth.

This account was all gammon, as I conjectured at the time, as, though not contradicted by the other masters of vessels, it was not confirmed by them. They were, however, under some kind of *cow* to Dobbins, who besides being in some capacity in the U. S. service, was of a lordly, imperious disposition, and commanded the finest vessel on the Lakes, and was, moreover, acquainted with the fact, that I had further and large supplies to forward. He first asked $10 per barrel freight, then $7—$5—$3 50, and finally closed with my offer of $1 50 per barrel, at which I loaded his own and four other vessels of forty and fifty tons each—schooners and sloops. This gives you an idea of the price of freights at that time, the general rule being $2 per lake for a barrel bulk—that is, from Buffalo or Erie (Cleveland not being much known then) to Detroit or Malden, $2; to Mackinaw $5, St. Clair Lake being called half one. Chicago then had no trading reputation, vessels only visiting it to carry troops or provisions to supply them; and these provisions and supplies up to that time, were principally brought from Pittsburgh, including pork, flour, whiskey, soap, candles, vinegar, conveyed by keel-boats up the Alleghany, and French Creek, to Le Boeuf, or Waterford, and thence wagoned over to Erie.

At this date, Ohio first began to furnish pork and flour for these posts; both, however, were held as inferior, the hogs being light, and the flour dark or yellowish. Michigan farmers then raised little or nothing to sell. They were French, settled on so many arpents* of land, fronting on Detroit river, and limited back, I think, by no defined line; it never entering their grave heads that any man would locate himself without a river front. Here they raised a few vegetables which they preserved through the winter, and some wheat and corn, which they ground by wind mills, still to be seen on the points of land along the Detroit. The town of

* An arpent is about one-seventh less than an English acre.

Detroit was of some business importance, but Mackinaw was the great emporium of trade of the North American Fur Company, at this time embodied in JOHN JACOB ASTOR. Here his agents resided, and from hence were fitting out his trading boats for the various Indian regions, north, east and west. I think in 1816, he fitted out two hundred and forty boats, each one containing two traders and from four to six hands. The *two* traders were only for this year, Congress having by law forbidden *foreigners* being licensed to trade with Indians—all his traders had hitherto been Canadians. ASTOR was compelled that year to send United States' citizens, and sent out two hundred young clerks from city counting-houses of whom to make Indian traders. As they knew nothing of the *traps* connected with the business, ASTOR had to send his old traders with them as *hands.* But a single year sufficed to make them all first-rate men—the Yankees being always at home at a trade, and they easily took up with the traps, leaving the Frenchmen to seek other pursuits.

I did not visit Green Bay until October or November, 1816. I found the troops in quarters prepared for them by Col. GRATIOT, the engineer, who accompanied Col. MILLER* to the post, which the latter left in command of Col. CHAMBERS, and returned to Mackinaw, and afterwards to Detroit, that year, leaving the post at Mackinaw in command of Brevet Col. JOHN MCNEIL, brother-in-law of the present President PIERCE; at which post were also stationed at the same time, Capt. BENJ'N. K. PIERCE, and Lieut. JOHN PIERCE, of the Artillery, both brothers of President PIERCE. The former, now Gen. B. K. PIERCE, I believe is still living, and still in service—at least he was in 1848, when I had the pleasure to see him in this place by receiving a call from him when passing through.

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* Col. JOHN MILLER, the first American officer in command at Green Bay, was a native of Virginia. He had served with great reputation during the war of 1812-15. After his command at Green Bay, he was appointed register of the public lands in the Howard district, Missouri, and was subsequently elected governor of that State, and for several years a member of congress. He died near Florisant, Mo., March 18th, 1846. L. C. D.

The fort at Green Bay, I think called Fort Howard, was built lower down Fox river, and nearer the lake than any of the settlements, and on the right as you ascended the river. The settlement was a promising and a pleasant one, having comfortable houses, framed buildings of two stories, with numerous small farms under good cultivation, and the land very productive in corn, wheat, grass, &c. So rapid was the vegetation, that it was gravely asserted that they could hear and see the corn growing.

Col. Miller experienced no difficulty from the Indians in establishing his post, though something of this had been anticipated from the Winnebagoes, a bold and warlike tribe who lived at Lake au Puant, or Stinking Lake—now Lake Winnebago—some sixty miles up Fox river. None was apprehended from the Menomonees or Wild Rice Indians, who resided at the mouth of the river. A deputation of the Winnebagoes came down and remonstrated with Col. Miller against what they termed an intrusion; and inquired why, and for what purpose, he was about to establish a fort there? Miller gave them what he had in explanation, and that his purpose, though armed for war, was peace. The Winnebago Chief then made to him the celebrated remark of the Armenian Prince, I think it was, to Lucullus, "that if his object was peace, he had brought more with him than was necessary to treat; but if his object was war, he had brought too few to fight." Miller told him that he had not seen all the force he had with him, and invited him down to the river bank, among the grass of which he showed him some ten or twelve large cannon lying, which the Indian had not before seen; but upon viewing them, he said that Col. Miller probably had enough to make good his right—broke up the conference, and gave no farther trouble. The Winnebagoes seemed to be a different race of people, and were so regarded, from the Chippeway, or rather Ojibway, of which great family, nearly, if not all, the other tribes in that region were branches—their language being totally different, having a guttural sound like the German.

The Menomonees at Green Bay were a small and generally

peaceable tribe, but had, at this time, a very remarkable man as their chief—one held in much awe by the surrounding Indian nations, and in high respect by the whites. His name was Tomah, whom I personally knew, and I may say, venerated. I learned from those who were acquainted with his history, many marked occurrences of his previous life. He had no hereditary claim to the chieftainship. This was held, at the time, by a man nearly as old as himself, who was an idiot, but who they always took with them in their excursions. Tomah merely ruled as the acknowledged strongest man of the nation, and this he had continued to do for a great many years. The Indian tribes around were represented to me as all afraid of him, though they mentioned it as a singular fact, that he had never engaged in war with any of them while in control of the nation.

An interesting illustration of this I received from several persons, as occurring upon an interview he had with Tecumseh in 1810 or 1811, when that remarkable man was forming his great combination for driving the Americans back, who like the waves of the sea, were encroaching upon their hunting grounds. With this view he visited Green Bay, obtained a council and hearing from Tomah and his people, whom he addressed in a manner he best knew how to do; and in the course of which, in true Indian spirit, he pictured the glory, as well as certainty of success, and as omens of this, recapitulated to them his own hitherto prosperous career—the number of battles he had fought, the victories he had won, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken from the heads of warrior-foes. Tomah appeared sensible of the influence of such an address upon his people, and feared its consequence, for he was opposed to leading them into war. His reply was in a tone to allay this feeling, and he closed with the remark to them, that they had heard the words of Tecumseh—heard of the battles he had fought, the enemies he had slain, and the scalps he had taken. He then paused; and while the deepest silence reigned throughout the audience, he slowly raised his hands, with his eyes fixed on them, and in a lower, but not less prouder tone, continued

"*but it is my boast that these hands are unstained with human blood!*" The effect is described as tremendous—nature obeyed her own impulse, and admiration was forced even from those who could not, or did not, approve of the moral to be implied, and the gravity of the council was disturbed, for an instant, by a murmur of approbation—a tribute to genius, overpowering, at the moment, the force of education and of habit. He concluded with remarking, that he had ever supported the policy of peace, as his nation was small and consequently weak; that he was fully aware of the injustice of the Americans in their encroachments upon the lands of the Indians, and for them feared its consequences, but that he saw no relief for it in going to war, and therefore, as a national thing, he would not do so, but that if any of his young men were desirous of leaving their hunting grounds, and following TECUMSEH, they had his permission to do so. His prudent counsels prevailed.

I always thought this an odd speech—a very remarkable one to come from a savage, for such TOMAH was by birth and education, but by nature I always thought him one of the grandest specimens of humanity I had ever seen. I had not met with him at Green Bay; I was only a few days there in 1816, and hurried with business, nor did I hear much, if anything, of him, until after meeting with him the next year at Mackinaw. The first I heard of him, was a prescription of his to Col. JOHN BOWYER, the Indian agent at Green Bay, for the gout, of which my brother, EDWARD BIDDLE, told me, and a very rational one I thought it—"to drink no whiskey, live on lean meat and wild rice, and *scarify his feet.*" This lead me to make inquiries about him, when I found, that my brother had become a warm friend of his—an admirer of him.

When at Mackinaw, early one morning in the latter part of May or early in June, 1817, I had come out of my lodgings, and observed approaching me, one of the many Indians then on the Island, and taking a look at him as he emerged from the fog, then very heavy, I was struck, as he passed, in a most unusual manner by his singularly imposing presence. I had never seen, I thought, so magnificent a man. He was of

the larger size, perhaps full six feet, with fine proportions, a little stoop-shouldered, and dressed in a somewhat dirty Indian blanket, and had scarcely noticed me as he passed. I remember it as distinctly as if it was yesterday. I watched him until he disappeared again in the fog, and remember almost giving expression to a feeling which seemed irresistably to creep over me, *that the earth was too mean for such a man to walk on!* The idea, to be sure, was discarded the moment it came up, but existence it had at this my first view of Tomah. I had no knowledge at the time who he was, or that Tomah was on the Island, but while standing there before my door, and under the influence of the feeling I have described, Henry Graverat, the Indian interpreter, came up, and I enquired of him whether he knew of an Indian who had just passed up? He replied yes, that it was Tomah, chief of the Menomonee Indians, who with his people had arrived late the evening before, and were encamped at the "Point;" that Tomah had just been with him to ask a council with the Indian agent, Maj. Wm. H. Puthuff. The council was held at 10 o'clock, and I made it my business to attend.

To understand what follows, I must make a short digression.—The British for many years had paid annual contributions, termed by them Indian annuities, giving each member of the tribe a suit of clothes, consisting of a shirt, leggins, breech-clout, and blanket—and each family, a copper kettle, knives, axes, guns, amunition, &c. For these, each tribe came regularly in the spring or fall, either to Mackinaw or Drummond's Island, or the Sault Ste. Marie. Tomah was a British Indian. He had not himself engaged in the war, but his feelings were with the British, as were personally some of his young men. He had arrived on Mackinaw Island with his whole people on their way to Drummond's Island to receive their usual annuity, and had stopped at Mackinaw to rest over night. There was nothing novel to us in this, as a number of tribes had previously arrived, stopped and had a council, at which they told their story, always winding up with professions of love for their "*Chemuckiman Nosah*," or *American Father*, who, they hoped,

would open his heart, and give their people some meat to stay them on their journey, and his breasts to give them some milk—i. e. whiskey—to make them joyful. This was the usual winding up of all such councils. When the council in this instance had met, and the proper time offered, Tomah arose and stated to Maj. Puthuff, that he had arrived with the Menomonee Nation, the night before, on their way to visit their British father, and that having stopped on the Island to rest over the night, he had thought it his duty to report the fact to his American father. With this simple announcement, he sat down. Puthuff, a little nettled, made a short reply, and the council broke up.

Coming out of the council house, I waited for Maj. Puthuff, and remaked to him that Tomah would want some provisions for his people, and that I wished he would give me an order for that purpose. "D—n the rascal, why did 'nt he ask for it, then?" "I suppose," said I, "being a British Indian, he is too proud." "Well, let him starve, then." "If all are to starve who are proud, God help many that I know of, Major." I had no difficulty in prevailing in the matter, as government had made provision for such issues to Indians, and Graverat and I made out an estimate proper under the circumstances to give, and Tomah and his people continued their voyage.

In a few days he and they returned, dejected and disconsolate. A change had come over the spirit of British policy. They had just come out of a long and exhausting dance led them by Napoleon, and were counting the cost. They had been casting around to find where surest and readiest to cut off drains upon their treasury, and judging that they had no further need of Indian services, lopped off the whole list of Indian annuities. This was already known at Mackinaw, and had been told to Tomah upon his first arrival, but he would not, or did not, believe it. He found it, however, too true. There were no annuities there for him, or for any other tribes, many of whom were there; and it was anticipated at one time, that they would rise upon the British force there, and take what they could get. But this was not attempted.

My brother Edward, then and now at Mackinaw, had been well acquainted with TOMAH at Green Bay, and immediately after his return to the Island, he came into the store, spoke a few words to my brother, and left. I had seen the interview, and watched the result, without making any enquiry, for I saw that my brother, who greatly loved TOMAH, was imbued with all his melancholy. In a few moments a young Indian came in with a three gallon keg, which my brother bade the young man in the store to fill with whiskey, which was charged on the books to TOMAH. I was looking over the books but a few years ago, and saw the entry on the ledger, which brought with it a train of wild and melancholy thoughts. This insult from the British authorities, as he took it, was more than his proud heart could bear. For himself he might have borne up against it, but for his people, and in the sight of those whose good offices he had refused to ask, he could or would not. The keg was brought to him in his tent, from which he drank alone, and to an excess, that relieved him the third day of pride, grief, joy and care. He was buried on the Island. I was present at his funeral, and witnessed his daughter, a young girl of nineteen or twenty, as she mournfully sang his death song at the head of the coffin, just before lowering into the grave all that was mortal of TOMAH. I never saw so distressed and broken-hearted a people. They said they were no longer a nation—no longer any thing. TOMAH could alone command and keep them together, but now they would be scattered and lost. We made a collection, and bought them provisions which carried them home, where they organized under some other chief, until driven from their old hunting-grounds by you land-grasping Wisconsiners!*

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* Of TOMAH, or THOMAW, or THOMAS CARRON, we have found but little in print. He seems to have been the great Indian cheiftain of the Wisconsin tribes; our PHILIP of POKANOKET--our PONTIAC--our TECUMSEH; not so well known, to be sure, and figuring on a smaller theatre, but exhibiting traits of character none the less noble—none the less extorting our admiration. Col. DE PEYSTER, in his rare work previously alluded to, thus spoke of him in 1779:

"While none on earth live more at ease,
Than *Carong's* brave Menominees;"

The settlement at Green Bay in 1816, as I have remarked, was a very clever one. They had comfortable houses and good farms. It was composed mainly of old *engagers*—Canadian boatmen, who had withdrawn from the employment of the fur companies, and fixed themselves down on a piece of land *fronting on the river*, and married to whole or half-breed Indian women. The custom I found prevailing here was somewhat unique of its kind, as a leading feature of the community, though something of the kind still exists at New Orleans among a distinct class. You Wisconsiners may smile, or grin, or scowl at it, but you cannot alter the facts as I found them at that time. The young people there were generally a cross between the French Canadian and Indian, and marriage between girls of this class and the white men arriving, was of a conventional or business kind,to suit the convenience of the case, the residence of the men not being prmanent, or intending to be so. Marriage, therefore, was limited as to time, and was contracted either for life, or for six, or twelve months, as the case might be—with the white men arriving, it as generally of the latter kind. The lover having made choice of a girl, applied to her parents, with whom he entered into a limited marriage contract—specifying the amount to be paid them for deprivation of her services—the amount to be paid her in hand for her own benefit, and the amount per week for her boarding and rent

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and added, that he was "a very clever fellow, chief of the nation of Menominees—the handsomest man among the Indians."

Dr. Morse, in his Tour among the Indians, in 1820, speaks of him as "the celebrated Thomaw, who died, and was buried, at Mackinaw, and over his grave Mr. John Law of Green Bay, erected a monument with the following inscription :

"Here rests the body of Thomas Carron, Grand Chief of the Folle Avoine (Menominee) nation, who departed this life July 8th, 1818, aged 56 years, regretted by all who knew him." This date makes his death occur a year later than Mr. Biddle, who thinks he cannot be mistaken ; and Tomah mast have been fully ten years older than the age upon this monument represents, judging from the fact of his being a prominent chief as early as 1779. His son Mau-cau-tau-bee, or Carron, of whom Dr. Morse spoke as a modest, sensible man, is one of the present chiefs of the Menomonees, and has so been ever since his father's death, and has attained the age of fifty-five years."

L. C. D.

of a room in the house, if to remain in the dwelling of her parents. These payments were generally made in provisions, clothing, &c.

In case the lover or husband removed from the place before the expiration of the time agreed on, he had the right—as in the case of the *engager*—to transfer his marital claim thus acquired, to another; so that during the term of the stipulated coverture, the girl might find herself the wife of two or more husbands. I knew of several marriages of this kind during the few weeks I was at the Bay in 1816 and '17. I could state that of Capt. ————, of the U. S. Army, but I decline any reminiscence of names. I was so far intelligent of this, as to be called upon by the Captain, an old acquaintance, to heal some breach between him and his thus acquired wife—for the reason that I could speak some French, which he could not. She was in high *tantrems*, he said, about something which he could not understand. He wanted that I should go with him to ascertain what *could* be the matter. Of course I went, and found the fair dame sulky and sullen, but with an eye flashing high anger. I easily got the truth from her. Her jealousy had been excited or roused by some tale-bearer. I gave her the explanations and details he tendered, with promises of caution and good conduct for the future; and having restored peace between man and wife, I went merrily home. The contracts entered into in this manner were regarded by them as sacred, and no evidences were adduced or known of infidelity on the part of the women, and were consequently highly resented if occurring on the part of the spouse.

The Bay was unblessed at this time with any thing in the nature or calling of a priest, but it did rejoice in the possession of a magistrate, who had enjoyed the office of judge time without memory of when it began; and long had all the business of the colony been regulated and kept in order by the awe-inspiring authority and portly person of Judge Reaume. No person there could tell when his official duties first devolved upon him, nor from whence his authority was derived. It was sufficient to ob-

tain obedience, that it existed, and no one disputed his authority or appealed from his decision, for, in truth, there was no power above him. Before him all complaints were brought, and all wrongs redressed, and marriages celebrated—for doing which he had fixed fees. In the case of marriage, of which it was discovered he kept some kind of record, if you remained in cohabitation beyond the stipulated time, he would send for you; have you to renew the engagement, or punish you by fine for contumacy or neglect—thus securing a new fee for his own pocket, and enforcing a proper respect for the laws and customs of the country. While I was there, a vagabond French desperado was arrested for an act of violence to a half Indian girl. The case was rather broadly made out against him, which excited the ire of the good Judge to such a degree, that he sentenced the fellow to buy the girl a new frock—it having been proven that her own had been torn in the scuffle, and to work one week in his, the Judge's, garden!

It was reported, but I know not with what truth, that his library was enriched with two odd volumes of Blackstone, but whether in French or English I did not learn. A gentleman, a friend of mine, had a dispute with a troublesome fellow about some trifle, and upon whose application, Reaume sent my friend a summons—instead of paper with name and seal, the constable exhibited the well-known large *jack-knife* of the Judge, which had long been made to serve that purpose. On the day of appearance, defendant broke ground for the Judge's, and stopping at a store on the way, bought some cheap article. On approaching the office, he found the Judge at the door, who exclaimed to him in broken English, "You may go away—go away; I has given judgment against ye." "Good morning, Judge." "Good morning; I has given judgment against ye." "Coming along by Burgan's store, I saw this small coffee-pot hanging out, and I bought it to present to you, Judge; will you do me the pleasure to accept it?" "O—yes, tank ye—tank ye kindly—very much 'bliged to ye." "Judge, I don't owe that fellow any thing." "You don't?" "No, I have really overpaid him." "The rascal; I reverses my judgment, and he shall pay de costs."

Now it must not be imagined from this, that Judge Reaume was a bad man. He was the reverse of this, but followed the temper of the times, and bowed to the current of the country's customs, rather than undertake the labor of changiug or rising above them. The quiet acquiescence of the people to his authority for so long a time, and the sufferance of his rule and sway under British and American supremacy—and possibly under French, too—for he may not have surrendered until long after Montcalm and Cornwallis did, is an argument at least in favor of the mildness of his administration. Nor was he deficient in intelligence, and possessed much of the natural politeness of the better class of rural French.* The most considerable man however, in the settlement, the one of most intelligence and enterprise—the *substantial* one of the colony, was John Law, who occupied a fine farm on the left bank of Fox river as you ascend, which he afterwards sold to John Jacob Astor, and which now, I think, forms a part of the town of Green Bay.

There is, or was, a natural phenomenon at Green Bay, which I have before made public notice of, and repeat here; I mean a re-

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* Judge Charles Reaume was probably a native of Detroit—at least, in 1777, there was a prominent resident of Detroit, named Pierre Reaume; and in 1778, Charles Reaume, was a captain in the British Indian Department, at Detroit, and accompanied Gov. Hamilton in his expedition against Vincennes in December of that year, and when the American Col. George Rogers Clark recaptured that place in February, 1779, Capt. Reaume was among the prisoners, who taking the oath of neutrality, was permitted to return to Detroit. Gen. Clark's *MS. Papers*, in the writer's possession, prove this fact. From Morse's Indian Report, it appears that Capt. Reaume settled at Green Bay in 1790, and probably derived his early commission of Judge from the British authorities at Detroit; and anticipating perhaps, the early transfer of Detroit to the American government, may have had something to do in hastening his departure. When Brown county, in which the Green Bay settlement was and is still situated, was organized under the authority of Michigan Territory, in 1818, Judge Reaume was appointed by Gov. Cass an Associate Justice, and Justice of the Peace; in July, 1824, another filled his place on the bench—hence it would appear, that he died sometime between 1818 and 1824.

L. C. D.

gular ebb and flow as of a tide, in the waters of Fox river.* I noticed it every day for about ten days that I staid there in 1817. The rise and fall was, I think, twelve to eighteen inches, and occurred regularly at the same hours every day—being greater or less in its rise and fall as the wind was up or down the Bay. I published a notice of this in the Pittsburgh Gazette in 1818–'19, which was copied into various papers, and came under the notice of Judge WOODWARD, of Detroit, a gentleman of much learning and science, who visited Green Bay and examined into it, and, in a published report, confirmed the existence of the ebb and flow as I had found and described it.

Now, don't set me down as delving behind CHATEAUBRIAND.—Poor CHATEAUBRIAND had been landed on the wild shore in Canada from a boat on Lake Ontario, and ran into the woods to enjoy the luxury of the wild, unstinted freedom of Nature in all her glory of forest and flowers; and in the ecstacy of excitement, he was hugging the trees, he tells us, when he heard a loud and rumbling roar, which alarmed and brought his mind back to earth from elysium, and caused him to run to his comrades in the boat to see what was the matter. The alarm, he said, had been causeless: *It was only the tide coming in!* This is not worse than Oliver Goldsmith, good honest fellow as he was, who, in an old and honored school book, gave a very fair, true and faithful description of Niagara Falls—the perpendicular height and vastness of the column precipitated; and then, after writing all this, and seeing what he had written, quietly and calmly remarked, that notwithstanding the height of the fall, and the power of the current, Indians had been known to pass down it in their canoes in safety! I well re-

* An able article upon the tides of the North American Lakes, written by the late Col. HENRY WHITING, of the U. S. Army, may be found in *Silliman's Journal*, and also in *Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan*. Col. WHITING argues that there is no sensible lunar tides on the Lakes, and is sustained in this opinion by Gen. CASS and HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT, Esq.; that there are probably planetary influences operating on the lake waters, but that the changes in the level of the waters are mainly produced by atmospheric phenomena.

L. C. D.

member reading it in my own old school book, fifty years ago, and of being bothered about it; but that passage about the canoes has been dropped in all the later editions.

The fowl-game at Green Bay were the duck and prairie hen—both abundant. The ducks used to rise like large dark clouds, subsisting probably on the wild rice growing near the head of the Bay. I wonder, by-the-by, if it grows there still! The Indian women used to make a favorite dish of wild rice, corn and fish, boiled together, and called *Tassimanonny*. I remember it to this day as an object of early love.

Pittsburgh, Pa., Jan., 1854.

To Lyman C. Draper, Esq.

APPENDIX NO. 5.

RECOLLECTIONS OF A TOUR THROUGH WISCONSIN IN 1832.

BY COL. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, OF EAGLE HARBOR, LAKE SUPERIOR.

In the Spring of 1832, vessels were unable to reach the Upper Lakes until the first week in May. We were detained at Mackinaw a few hours, and were landed at Green Bay about the 15th of that month. The weather was cold and boisterous, which rendered the delay at Mackinaw agreeable, enabling the captain to lay in a supply of trout, and those who by reason of sea sickness had found the stomach a very uncomfortable place, to settle that organ, and treat it to a little food. Here we found the garrison and the inhabitants in a state of the most pleasurable excitement. Our vessel and another in company were the first of the season. The ice had left that part of the Lake long since, yet no sail had made its appearance in these waters till to-day. During the winter, residents upon the Island are in a state of complete separation from the rest of the world. The postmaster at Detroit was authorized to procure a foot-mail once a month, after the swamps and rivers were sufficiently frozen, and a Frenchman sometimes succeeded in taking a letter-bag through the wilderness, but papers and pamphlets directed to this quarter spent the winter in Detroit.

The first vessel therefore brought up the arrears of news, and produced those who had escaped in the fall to enjoy life and civilization in the cities. It opened a passage for the trader who for half a year had looked out upon snow and ice, to flee to the genial south, promised a renewed communication with friends and kindred, when he who had enjoyed only the range of a barren Island, could strike across the Lakes and the States to the Sea, mingling with old comrades and new friends. When transplanted from the contact of the gleeful Canadian and the boisterous Indian, he could taste the sweets of refinement, and partake of the delicious and chastening society of accomplished women.

Such had been the delay of our arrival that the anxiety of these exiles had become intense. All had partaken of the expectation, from the officer to the voyageur, and from morning till night they lingered in little knots upon the heights about old Fort Holmes, straining their eyes to catch the first glimpse of the first topsail on the clear line of the horizon. A dim speck, the canoe of the Indian, a floating log, a fragment of ice, or even a fleeting wave, by force of imagination and hope, righted up into a mast-head and colors peeping across the convexity of the watery surface.

At length a ship makes its appearance, and under full press of sail rounds the Island of Bois Blanc, and stands in for the anchorage. The passengers from its deck may see a commotion among the people on the brow of the hill, the swinging of hats, and the waving of handkerchiefs. But he cannot hear the acclamations, the almost frantic shouts of the Islanders.

The striped banner ascends the flag-staff of the fortress, while the American flag greets its fellow in the wavings of the breeze at the main peak, and the heaviest gun upon the works awaking from a winter's slumber, sends its heavy tones along the shore.—As the first boat grazes the pebbled beach, a congregation has clustered around the spot. Then follows the hearty gripe, the soul-felt recognition, and the silent, yet deep congratulations to which every organ except the eye refuses utterance.

The individual who had seen Mackinaw (or according to Noah Webster, Michillimackinack) as early as 1832, had been to the verge of civilization, and was expected to produce a description in detail. By the rapid enlargement of American occupation, it has now ceased to be a point of great interest, and will soon attract attention only for the historical reminiscences that attach to the name. Always the resting place of the Indian wandering from one Northern Sea to another, his camp-fire was seldom extinguished upon its shore.

About 1650, the countrymen of Father Hennepin and La Salle came along to dicker for furs, mingling the gibberish of the Frenchman with the gutterals of the native. Then the Englishman located himself there, with a half civil, and half military possession under the treaty of 1763. By the Revolution, the Americans acquired title, and in 1794 obtained possession of the Island.* The military occupied the old British fort, named Holmes by the Americans, in the rear of the present stockade, until 1812, when it fell by surprise into the hands of the English. The issue of the war made it again American ground, and since 1819 a small garrison has been in occupation, being the center of fur trading operations in the North-West till within two years.† It was the neutral ground of the Indian who came from beyond the Mississippi to get goods, presents and whiskey, and the harvest ground of the white man who took his furs, for a penny, and sold them to his brother or sister for a pound.

But the red man is no longer congregated here, and the white man has gone after him to "Fond du Lac," at the extreme of Lake Superior. The garrison is therefore unnecessary, the missionary deserted by his flock removed to "Ile Point," everything points to the speedy decline, if not the abandonment of this wild spot. The

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* The British acquired possession of Mackinaw in 1761, by the surrender of Canada and its dependencies; and Detroit and Mackinaw were detained as British posts until 1796, when they were delivered to the American government under the provisions of Jay's Treaty.—L. C. D.

† That is to say, till 1836, for this paper was written by Col. Whittlesey, in 1838.

Island is limited in extent, rocky and steep, the main land adjacent rough and mountainous, but in summer a most delightful residence.

My passage through Wisconsin resulted from employment which detained me at Green Bay till September. Not having contemplated a description of any thing which transpired, or which I saw in that region, the present observations are mere gleanings of memory, unassisted by a single note, date or memorandum. They will be impressions rather than facts, the remains of marked incidents and events not yet obliterated by subsequent affairs.

Our schooner entered the Bay during the night, nearing the mouth of Fox river, where the settlement is, before morning. Emerging from the companion-way about sun-rise, we found ourselves midway from each shore, distant five or six miles, the land sloping on either hand towards the water. During the progress of the voyage no signs of vegetation were apparent, and the unbudded trees along Lakes Huron and Michigan still retained the bleakness of winter. The direct rays of the sun illuminated the western shore, leaving the dark shadows of morning still resting upon the east. Judge of our surprise and pleasure, when at the first glance, we saw the forests of both shores clothed with young leaves, rich in the velvet green of spring. We had left the realms of rough winds and floating ice, and were transferred in one night to calm and clear waters, and the gentle fannings of a southern breeze. Our latitude was higher than the lowest part of Lake Huron, yet the season was more than two weeks in advance of that spot. Whether the original discoverers came into this place under like circumstances and gave it a name accordingly, I am not informed, but the propriety of its title will strike every one who does.

The garrison is situated on the west side of Fox river, about one mile from its mouth. The old settlement occupies both sides of the river for about eight miles. Opposite to Fort Howard the town of Navarino had been built on paper, and some good houses were actually completed. The old village of "Shanty Town," otherwise "Menominee," already showed symptoms of a decline, being two miles further up the river. Around the head of the

Bay, the land is a wet prairie and marsh, with long grass, furnishing musketoes in inexpressible numbers. But the land on the east of the Bay rises gradually from the water's level, covered with scattering oaks and occasional thickets of low timber. It is a limestone region, supporting a good soil, which bears in many places the marks of ancient cultivation. In the direction of Duck Creek there is some poor land. But receding from the river and the Bay on all sides, there will be found a fine agricultural country. The bottom lands are occupied by descendants of the French, who were here about a century and a half ago. Their locations are in the French style, narrow upon the river, and running back great distances. Beyond these claims, most of the country lies in a state of nature.

The Menominee Indians had but lately held the title to most of it, for a circuit of sixty miles, raising a few patches of miserable corn, on the low grounds. About eight miles south-west, a party of Stockbridge * Indians had been located by government, and were in the cultivation of lands as a civilized community. At the Great Kakalin, about twenty miles up the Fox river, a missionary establishment succeeded in bringing many of the Menominees to clear land, build comfortable cabins, and practice the art of husbandry. Some half-breeds occasionally preferred a hut to a wigwam, and raised a little corn, and a few potatoes. With these exceptions, this interesting tribe existed in a state of worse

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* Or rather chiefly Oneidas. Rev. Eleazer Williams, with a deputation of the Oneidas, first visited the Green Bay region with a view to finding a new home, in the summer of 1820. Reporting favorably, in August 1821, Williams again repaired to Green Bay, himself as the deputy of the St. Regis Indians, accompanied by a delegation of Oneidas, Stockbridges, Onondagoes, Senecas, and Munsees, who made a treaty with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and purchased a considerable territory from them.—In September, 1822, this territory was largely increased by an additional purchase. The New York Indians emigrated from time to time in bands, and settled on their purchase. The writer of this note, well remembers seeing a party of Oneidas passing through Lockport, N. Y., on canal boats, on their way to Green Bay in 1826 or 1827, and among them were some very pretty, well behaved females, dressed in the costume of the whites. L. C. D.

than savage wretchedness. They are naturally a good natured people, and less ferocious than their Northern brethren. The Indian thirst for fire-water, however, reigned with them, even beyond the usual limit of aboriginal desire. As a consequence, murders were of common occurrence, and when committed beyond the reach or knowledge of American authorities, were not scrupulously noticed.

In person, they are of a thick-set frame, less tall, and in better condition than most Indians, and at least equally indolent. The thief is not so common a character with them, as with many other tribes. Their attachment to the United States, has not been exceeded by any Indian people. But the gratification of a never satisfied craving for whiskey, has debased them to the lowest point of human degradation. Oshkosh was at this time hereditary chief, and about twenty-one years of age.* He was a young chief, of strong sense, a murderer of one of his tribe, and a lover of strong drink. In council, he withheld his speech till late in the debate, but spoke with firmness and effect. The Grizzly Bear† is well known as the orator of the the nation. He had a commanding manner in speech, but his talk exhibited more of the energetic declaimer than the speaker. There was in his character little to admire, being a great drunkard. His wife lay at night in the wigwam asleep, when he came in, ferocious, and overcome by liquor, and made a pass at her head with his tomahawk. The hatchet grazed the side of her head, through the unsteadiness of his aim, and sank into the earth. This was not occasioned by any quarrel

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* Oshkosh was much older. In March 1855, he represented himself to be sixty years of age, and those who know him say, that he appears to be about that age. His name and that of Josette Carron are attached to the treaty of Butte des Morts, in August, 1827. Oshkosh signifies brave. The ages of other Menomonee chiefs at this time, March, 1855, are—Souligny, *Head War Chief*, 70; Carron, 55; Na-Molte, 42; Oshkee-he-naw-niew, or the *Young Man*, 49; Ah-ke-no-to-way, 37; Show-ne-on, or *Silver*, 28; Cas-a-gas-o-e-gay, 45. See *Milwaukee Sentinel*, March 8, 1855. L. C. D.

† Kausk-kau-no-naive, or *Grizzly Bear*, signed the treaties of 1831 and 1832, but not that at Cedar Point in 1836—and hence was not probably then living. L. C. D.

or malice against her, and the blow was not repeated. The taking of life in that way, is a common occurrence, resulting from an inherent blood-thirstiness, roused into action by excessive drink.

At "Shanty Town" there was an Episcopal Mission, very ably conducted by Rev. Mr. C———. The prospect of enforcing civilization was certainly discouraging, and in examination of the school, though it exhibited the highest proofs of the perseverance, and benevolence, of its conductors, left no room to doubt the entire failure of a scheme so dear to American philanthropists. It is not necessary to determine, whether the Indian is, by a rule of heaven, destined to reject forever the blessings of education and agriculture, but it seems plain that before he will secure them, his present feeling must undergo a radical change. If it arose from a mere want of ability, or simple indifference, a hope of ultimate success might be indulged. The condition of his intellect is sound, but the inclination of his mind is adverse. There is an affected stupidity, an obstinate resistance, in relation to the reception of all learning; an innate distaste to all mental application, which hermetically seals up the talent of the race. If by any fortune, they had fallen prisoners into the hands of the ancient nations, as the spoils of conquest, and their native indolence had been overcome by servitude and the lash, as with the Helots of Greece, a few generations would have resulted in an amalgamation of blood, an exaltation of character, and the heroes, the orators, and the admirals, of the subduing nation, would have borne the mixture in their veins. Perhaps the same result would not follow a course equally rigorous and unjust, if adopted between the American and the Indian. But an entire revolution is to take place in the tendency of their present career, if, a century hence, the only living monuments of the red race, east of the Rocky Mountains, shall not be the half-breed and his descendants.

As has been observed, the original white settlers of the valley of the Fox river were French. In point of refinement and enterprise, they were advanced a degree above the aborigines with

whom they intermarried. They are a very brisk, lively people, who dance, sing, drink, and run horses, in winter drawing a meagre sustenance from the soil and the fur trade. There are now, however, some very respectable and educated persons in that vicinity, of Indian and French parentage.

During this spring, the "British Band" of the Sacs and Foxes returned to their grounds on Rock River, in Illinois, which gave rise to a border war. The circumstances of this affair have been so variously stated, that it is difficult to come at the truth. An important matter, to be settled on the part of the United States, by the expedition, was at that time considered to be, the punishment for murders committed at Fort Snelling the fall previous, by a party of Sauks and Foxes upon a body of Menominees. The assailants, ancient enemies of the Menominees, came up the river silently during the night, and sprang upon the lodges so secretly that the sentinels of the fort, though within cannon range, had no notice of their approach till the butchery began. It was near day light in the morning, and the offending party escaped before a force could reach the spot. The Menominees were faithful friends of the United States, and considered themselves under their protection. Justice required the interposition of our government to punish the murderers, and good policy demanded that these two Indian tribes, full of the bitterest enmity, should not be suffered to wage war among our frontier settlements. The Menominees were restrained in executing their vengeance, and promised that the murderers should be obtained, and tried. The Sauks refused to deliver them up, a measure which of itself would probably have led to a conflict if persisted in.

In the meantime, the return of Black Hawk took place, and the Illinois militia made an attack upon him at the Sycamore Creek. The defeat of the whites at this place encouraged the Indians and exasparated the frontier-men, putting an end to all hopes of an amicable arrangment. If this rash affair had not happened, there is very little doubt but a reconciliation might have been effected. Black Hawk was opposed to war. He had seen the pow-

er of the whites, but his young men had not. He was over-ruled by them, sustained as they were by NAHPOPE the Head Chief, and the PROPHET,* who was a half-breed Pottawatamie priest of great influence. But when put at the head of their forces as the first War Chief of the nation, he determined to make the most of circumstances, and when General ATKINSON sent him a talk, urging him to yield without bloodshed, and stating "that his troops would sweep over them like the fire over the prairies," the old chief replied "that he would find the grass green, and not easily burned."

When the Sauks and Foxes had retreated as far up Rock river as Lake Koshkonong, the settlement at Green Bay began to feel apprehensions. The picketing of Fort Howard had become rotten, and much of it was removed. There were but two companies in the garrison, one of which left for Fort Winnebago about mid-summer.

Preparations were made for receiving the citizens and their property within the stockade, having been patched out, by horizontal timbers, across the curtains. There was very little cause, however, for alarm, surrounded as we were by Menominees, who could muster a respectable band of warriors, and only waited for permission to do so. But the settlement was kept in a state of anxiety, during most of the summer, by false news, business and travel being in a measure suspended.

During this year, no steamboat came to the Bay, and vessels

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*As this page is going through the press, the noble portraits of BLACK HAWK, his SON, and the PROPHET, painted by ROBERT M. SULLY, have safely arrived, and been placed in the rooms of the STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Those of NA-SHE-A-KUSK, or LOUD THUNDER, son of BLACK HAWK, and WA-PE-SHE-KA, or THE LIGHT CLOUD, better known as the PROPHET, are originals, taken from life, in May 1833, at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Va.; and that of MAK-KA-TAI-MEH-SHI-KA-KA, or BLACK HAWK, is a copy from the original taken at the same time—the copy being deemed, in tone and execution, superior to the original. The countenance of the PROPHET indicates a malignant leer, which, with his dark massive locks, is in perfect keeping with his character; while old BLACK HAWK exhibits a noble, benevolent, intellectual physiognomy, so well befitting one of NATURES NOBLEMEN. There is nothing particularly remarkable in the appearance of BLACK HAWK HIS SON.

reached there but seldom. The troops under General Scott, who were expected to enter the country through this point, engaged most of the Upper Lake craft, and instead of proceeding by way of the Fox river, landed at Chicago. Under these circumstances time passed slowly.

About the first of September, after procuring horses and equipments, a stock of provisions, blankets, coffee, and liquor, a company of four took their departure for the Portage. The road since constructed between Forts Howard and Winnebago, not being then laid out, our route lay along the Fox river. The station we had just left, though sufficiently endowed by nature, had nothing in its then condition to cause regret on leaving it. Had the contrary been the case, the pleasant scenery of the river and the singular mixture of civilization and barbarism exhibited by the few people we saw; the unusual combination of valley and hill, of prairie and woodland, that distinguished the country, would have banished all regret. During the second day, we passed some most lovely situations on the banks of the river. The most romantic boarding-school miss never imagined a more enchanting display of nature. The country was elevated into rolling meadows fifty or sixty feet from the bed of the stream, and covered with scattered oaks, beneath which the coarse grass flourished in high luxuriance.

This river is obstructed by four considerable falls, beside rapids, but the only communication for goods, provisions, &c., to the military and trading posts in that quarter, is by navigation on this stream. At high water, a small river boat, of fifteen to twenty tons, is pushed against the current, till it comes to a fall, or "chute;" the cargo is here taken out until the "voyageurs" can force the craft up the rapid by main strength. In low water, it is with difficulty a bark canoe will swim. An Indian farm showed itself occasionally on its banks, but our path generally lay through a wild pasture, well stocked with the prairie hen. Near night we passed the "Little Butte des Morts," or *Hill of the Dead*, where the treaty of 1827

was held. It is a large mound apparently artificial, on the summit of which still stood the flag-staff of the American commissioners. The mound is reputed to contain the relics of departed warriors. Early in the day, we had crossed an open space of a few acres, where the Sauks once met the French in battle ; which contained several small mounds, but apparently the result of winds acting upon a light soil. We slept at a hut on the southern shore of Lake Winnebago, near where the Fox river empties into it. From the rapids below the Lake to the Portage, this stream is sluggish, and though crooked, is of sufficient depth for transportation of boats. It is rather a succession of shallow lakes than a continuous river, bearing the wild rice in endless profusion. This plant strongly resembles the southern rice in the kernel, and somewhat in taste, furnishing excellent food for ducks and Indians. Where the water is still, it comes up from a depth of ten to fifteen feet, extending above the surface, in a dense green mass, about as high as grown flax. In the fall and winter, the Indian pushes his canoe through it, and shakes out the seed over the gunwale into his boat. It also serves to shelter him in his insidious designs against the wild ducks, who congregate among it, and lay claim to what they wish to eat. After pushing our way in a flat through a thick growth of this vegetable, about two miles, we were on the opposite shore of the river, near the spot where the father of "Grizzly Bear" is said to have lived, raised pumpkins and entertained the whites.

Here commences a low, rolling prairie that continued about fifty miles. The trail passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was called Yellow Thunder, from its chief. The Winnebago is the reverse of a Menominee. Tall in figure, haughty in his mein, proud of his nationality, and ever ready for war, he indulges in less drink and idleness than his neighbor, practices theft and murder, and repulses the advance of the white man. We had too often seen their treachery and duplicity, to be anxious to spend much time with them, and would have been quite willing that they had dispensed with following us out of the village on horseback.—

Though professedly friendly, they had acted as purveyors and spies to the Sauks and Foxes during the entire campaign. For this reason, they had been refused admittance into the forts at Green Bay and Winnebago, which apparently grieved them very much. But they only waited for a safe opportunity to appear as belligerents among Black Hawk's band, and if they had scceeded in entering Fort Winnebago, were to remain till an assault could be made from without, and join in the fight. The rations dealt out occasionally to friendly Indians, at the frontier posts by order of the government, were by them carried into the Sauk camp. Many of the murders charged to the latter, were actually committed by them, and particularly the cattle and goods so frequently stolen from the settlers by supposed enemies, were in truth appropriated by these professed friends.

We arrived at Fort Winnebago late at night, having made one hundred and forty miles in two and a half days. Fifty miles of this day's travel lay in a rolling prairie, over which a two-horse carriage travelled in company, although no road had been constructed. Nothing occurred to hinder the progress of a vehicle except an occasional marsh. On the right of our track lay at irregular distances the Fox river, and "Opukwa" or *Rice Lakes*, which were distantly seen as we rose the swells of the country. The garrison is at the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, on a handsome rise, overlooking the immediate valley of both streams. This valley is a meadow or swamp about half a mile across, over which the waters of both channels mingle in time of flood, floating boats from the valley of the Mississippi to the valley of the Lakes. Goods destined for posts on the Upper Mississippi from the east, are here carted across and committed to the current of the Wisconsin. This river has capacity for steamboat navigation, but is filled with moveable sand bars from the portage to its mouth.

From the fort there were travelled roads leading to the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, at the mouth of Fever River near Galena, and at other points. After two days rest, we

took the route for Galena by way of the "Blue Mounds." At the distance of about fifteen miles in a south-westerly direction, the traveller discovers that he has impercetibly attained an elevation commanding the timbered valley of the Wisconsin, and from which the stockade and white houses of the garrison are distinctly visible. On the east and north-east the Baribou hills rise out of the flat woodland and stretch away northwardly towards Lake Superior. He stands upon an eminence of five hundred feet, sloping gently down on all sides, covered with waving grass. On the east and south as far as the eye can distinguish, he perceives a succession of similar hills, their rounded summits ranging irregularly around, not a tree, nor a stone, nor any fixed object, to be seen in the whole prospect. In the spacious valleys that intervene, millions of small flowers mingle their bright colors with the green of the meadows, chastening and ruralizing the scene. An excitable person would exclaim at the sublimity of such a prospect, having the grandeur of a mountain without its loftiness, and the command of the sea without its monotony. A painter would pass from the grand outlines and dwell with delight upon the beauty of its details.

It was through such a country, varied by a few small lakes, that we spent this day. We started a plenty of grouse, and frequently saw the deer quietly feeding on the hill sides, secure from our rifles in the distance. The sight of a prairie wolf was not an uncommon thing. This animal differs materially from the common wolf, being less in size, of a gray color, and wanting in speed. It feeds upon the mice and small animals of the low prairie, seldom assaulting the farm yard. He is less ferocious than the fox-tailed wolf, and may be soon overtaken with a fleet horse. Their uniform practice in regard to us, after running away at a moderate step a couple of hundred yards, was, to face about and examine the company. There were no Indians along the route. The Winnebagoes, following their established customs, had abandoned their allies after their defeat at the "Bad Axe" about four weeks previous, and were in pursuit of the fugitives who had made off northwardly during the engagement, towards the Sioux country.

At night we slept upon the ground occupied by a war-party of the Menominees a fortnight previous, on the banks of a clear little brook. The transparency of running water in the prairie districts, is a matter of general surprise. A glass of this liquid taken from Apple Creek, a stream about sixty links wide, which puts into the Mississippi from the east, twelve or fifteen miles below Galena, would not suffer by a comparison of its purity and clearness, with the water of Lake Huron. The war party had left a good supply of odd fire-brands and chunks, for the purposes of our cookery and evening comfort. They had beaten down the grass, making a smooth place for our blankets, upon which were deposited our bodies, after the Indian fashion.

This tribe, though not in a war-like mood, had become impatient of the delay attending the subjugation and punishment of their late murderous and ancient foes, the Sauks. They had collected their warriors at the Agency, three miles up the Fox river from Fort Howard, anxious to avenge themselves. Col. Stambaugh, the agent, had at length promised them, if the war was not ended by a certain date, that they might march under his direction to the Wisconsin and take part in the work of our troops. Their progress *en route* was about twenty miles a day, marching in a single file, which of course left a distinct trail upon the ground. Our own men made twenty-seven miles a day on foot over the same country. About sun-down the Indian soldiers would collect themselves at a convenient spot, generally near a thicket, and always near water. They build fires, and set up a row of posts or crotches in front, and lay poles from one to the other, as a protection against the enemy. After the evening meal, they frequently hold a dance about the leading chief, accompanied by a due proportion of songs, and threats against the foe. Then all compose themselves in perfect security about the fires, entrusting the guardianship of the camp to the watchfulness of their little dogs. Sentinels were sometimes persuaded to take post a few yards in advance; but they also betook themselves to their blankets, and slept till day-light.

It was now early in September, and everything conspired to nerve the system and animate the senses. The sky had not shown a cloud for many days; the air was cooled by an ever moving breeze; countless flowers shone in purple and gold about us, and wherever we chose to move, the ground was firm and smooth as a turnpike. A new and unmingled pleasure diffused itself through the company, of which even the animals seemed to partake.

The path wound around the northern shores of the Four Lakes, from which Gen. Dodge, with a band of mounted militia of the mining district, had lately driven the remnant of Black Hawk's force. The scattering trails of the retreating Indians were still distinct. Sometimes they would all converge into one broad and plain track, then again radiate in different directions, continually branching and spreading over the country, dwindling to a mere trace. This resulted from their method of travel, sometimes in a body, then in classes, these again subdivided, and so on, for the double purpose of deceiving their pursuers in regard to their true route, and also of dispersion and escape in case of attack. It proved one of the greatest annoyances and hindrances of the expedition. In the present instance, delay on the part of General Dodge became a matter of life and death. From April till the latter part of July, they had evaded the white forces. During this period, they had been driven but little over an hundred miles, that is, from the Sycamore Creek to the Four Lakes. Much of the time their exact position could not be known. They were now suffering by famine, and found it necessary to cross the Wisconsin into the timber country north of that stream, for subsistence. Probably there is not a known instance where attachment to a cause and to a leader has continued under circumstances of such discouragement. They were encumbered with women and children, and had been so closely watched for two months, that little opportunity occurred to fish or to hunt. They had lived upon roots, boiled grass, bark of trees, anything capable of sustaining life, before they would kill the horses upon which the squaws and pappooses rode. They were now reduced to a state of utter starva-

tion, with thirty miles of country to be traversed, and the whites had discovered their camp-fires the night previous across a small lake. If they could cross the Wisconsin before an attack was made, the fish of the stream would furnish them a meal, and the river itself a protection. The militia were in motion at day-light, and within a few miles of the forlorn band. Along the trail lay the bodies of famished men, women and children; some dead, others helpless and exhausted to the last degree by fatigue and hunger. These wretched and worn-out creatures, if still living, were bayonetted upon the spot. The exasperated frontierman now finding his victim within reach, imbibed the ferocity of his enemy, dealing instant death to every one that fell in his power. In fact, early in the season, Gen. ATKINSON had found it necessary to place a guard over his Indian prisoners, in order to save their lives.

An instance is known of a decrepid old man, to whom a loaf of bread had been given, and he suffered to depart. He had not passed out of hearing, when he was dispatched by the bayonet, and his food distributed among the murderers. At a fight near the Mississippi, just previous to the final action at the Bad Axe, a fine young chief about fourteen years of age, was taken, with silver bracelets on his arm. The militia-man who captured him was only prevented from butchering him on the spot, by a threat from a lieutenant of the regular service, that his own life should instantly answer for that of the prisoner.

In such plight were the fugitives, and with such a spirit their pursuers were rapidly approaching. The foremost of the mounted men fell in with the scattered divisions of the enemy about two miles from the river. The party attacked fought desperately. The mounted squaws, provided with rifles, joined in the engagement, and the main body succeeded in crossing, with the loss of about thirty. Their fate is well known.

On the second day we passed the foot of the Blue Mound. It is a high hill of regular ascent, overlooking the country, and serves as a beacon to the traveller thirty miles distant. At night we slept in a Block-House in the mining district. Within sight of the sta-

tion, a newly made grave lay at the road-side in the midst of a solitary prairie. The person over whom it was raised had ventured too far from the house, and approached a thicket of bushes. Suddenly a band of concealed Indians sprang upon him, with the fatal whoop on their tongues; his scalp, heart, and most of his flesh, were soon stripped from the body, and a savage dance performed about the remains.

The country is still prairie, with scattering tufts of inferior timber. The huts of the miners had been deserted on account of the difficulties now terminated, and the business of making lead was about to re-commence. Occasionally a farm might be seen running out from an island of timber, and supplied with comfortable buildings. But most of the improvements were of a temporary nature, consisting of a lead furnace and the cabins adjacent. The process of reducing lead ore is very simple and rapid. The furnace is a face wall, about two feet thick, located upon a gentle slope of the ground, with an arch or passage through the center; on each side of the arched opening, and in the rear or up-hill side, two wing walls run out transversely to the face wall, between which the wood is laid. The ore is placed upon it, and a continual fire kept up. The lead gradually separates from the dross, and runs into a cavity in front of the arch.

The "Mining District" east of the Mississippi, must include ten thousand square miles. Galena or lead ore is found in veins or threads, more often in a square form, of various sizes, and running in all directions with the horizon. They are liable to disappear suddenly, to enlarge and diminish in size, to combine with other materials, rendering the operations of mining very uncertain. Their course is generally straight and not curved, seldom exceeding a foot in breadth. The analysis yields 85 to 90 per cent. of lead, of which the first smelting of the furnace extracts about 75 per cent. It requires skill and experience to discover the vein, but very little of either to work it when discovered. The limestone formation of Green Bay and Lake Michigan extends to this region, embracing copper ore at "Mineral Point," and at other

places. At this time the government leased the ground to practical miners, who rendered a proportion of the product in kind. In consequence of the derangements of the times, although the supply was small, lead was then dull at three cents per pound. The supply appears to be inexhaustible. In one respect, this region differs from the mineral regions of other countries. There are but few veins that justify a pursuit to great depths, and although they are very numerous, the pits and trenches are easily filled up, and the rich soil left capable of cultivation. The great drawback upon the agricultural prospects of the Mining District, arises from the consumption of the little timber that grows there, in melting the lead. How long the presence of this mineral has been known, and its value understood, is not exactly known; but there are mines which were worked by the French, soon after they ascended the Mississippi. The Indians could scarcely have found use for it before the introduction of fire-arms among them.

Arriving at Galena, we found the place crowded with people. The mineral riches of the Dubuque country were well known, and it was expected that General Scott would secure the title to a considerable tract west of the river, including the richest mines.—The negotiation was still pending at Rock Island relative to the purchase. Thousands of adventurers lined the eastern shore of the Mississippi, ready to seize upon the possession and pre-emption rights in the new territory the moment they became perfect. In this case as in many others, guards of soldiers were necessary to keep the whites from taking unlawful occupancy of Indian lands. It has become fashionable to abuse the government for its conduct towards the red man. My observation has, on the contrary led me to admire rather than to condemn the folly and practice of the Federal authority in this respect, believing, that in general, its magnanimity, kindness, and protection, demand the lasting gratitude of the Indian race. But with the frontier settler it is otherwise. The wrongs of the Indian are individual, not national offences.—When the pioneer crosses the boundary line agreed upon by the two people, through their proper agents, he is a trespasser, and his

life taken within their jurisdiction is not cause of quarrel, if he persist in usurping occupation. We may admire his enterprise in pushing forward beyond the range of his fellow-men, but must condemn that morality which allows a forcible seizure and detainer of property to be right. Parties of men, such as locators and surveyors on Indian ground, may be considered beyond the protection of the government, and if killed while persisting in maintaining possession, contrary to the will of the owners, their loss is not the subject of retaliation. But beyond the lines mutually established, the red man ought not to push his revenge, and the early massacres within the acknowledged limits of our jurisdiction, made it a duty in the government to preserve the integrity of its territory. Murders committed by whites upon Indians, either in their own country or otherwise, have been the crying enormities resultgin from the contact of civilization with barbarism. If it can be shown that our authorities could have prevented these individual outrages of its citizens, it will then be connected with the primitive encroachments of one race upon the other. That it should enforce agreements and cessions, entered into in good faith, and retain territory acquired by just war, can scarcely be considered a national sin. Is the government of the United States in fault because the Aborigine is unable to secure his own territory against individual intrusion?—or because, in his thirst for whiskey and baubles, he chooses to barter his patrimony for a drink or a bead? The intelligent Indian himself draws a distinction between the official acts of the nation, and the unauthorized proceedings of traders and speculators. On the part of the former, they have to acknowledge that they have been permitted to occupy grounds long after they had agreed to depart; that their dissatisfaction with compacts was not shown till after the presents were received, and sometimes not until after payment had been made; that the compensation has been faithfully tendered, and implements, schools, and artisans provided free of expense. They would be forced to admit, that gratuities and presents, above the stipulated price, have been bestowed to purchase peace, and to obtain the fulfill-

ment of their previous engagements; and to acknowledge, that after the receipt of the increase, they still forced the United States to war to obtain what they had bargained and paid for.

The fate of the Indian cannot fail to raise a deep sympathy in the mind. But to maintain that it is not the duty of the government to secure, by all upright means, the title to those lands, is equivalent to the proposition that the earth was designed to produce game, and not the bread of life, to sustain but one human being upon a square mile capable of maintaining one hundred.

The case of the Sauks and Foxes has been recently quoted, as a strong instance of the injustice practised by the American nation, upon Indian tribes. The assault upon Black Hawk at the Sycamore Creek, was the act of frontier men under arms; and if acting under any authority, derived the same from the Executive of Illinois. It was the result of a border feeling, which permits the destruction of an Indian upon the same principle that it does the wolf. No murders had been perpetrated upon the whites, or other acts committed that called for summary punishment. The attack was a rash and unprovoked affair. But it is equally true, that the party assailed were in force in a country they had ceded to the United States, and had agreed to abandon. After this transaction, General Atkinson, who commanded the regular troops assembled upon the Mississippi, made every effort to induce them to return peaceably, and confine themselves to the territory allotted them, and accepted as their home. Their prompt refusal left no alternative. The generalship of their chief prolonged the contest five months, without any offers of surrender on the part of Black Hawk and his brave band. They resisted until starvation and force compelled them to do that which had been urged upon them from the outset, to retreat towards the Mississippi. When at last overtaken upon its banks, reduced in numbers, emaciated by hunger, worn down by incessant toil, they still fought with their little remaining strength, till their force was either killed or captured. It is also to be recollected, that this band had always been among our opponents in war, when an opportunity

occurred; always attached to the British interests, and received British presents. They were taken as prisoners by military force, arms in hand, fighting to the last, and breathing vengeance in the prison after their capture. Under such circumstances, what rights were left this people, as a tribe or nation. Their miraculous attachment to their chief, and to each other; their wonderful endurance under hardships and privation; boldness, skill and bravery in fight, must command our admiration. But their political rights, which might have been retained by complying with the offered terms, were lost by resistance and conquest.

The treatment of Black Hawk and other prisoners, has often been matter of animadversion. Of all the men, women and children captured by our regular troops, only eighteen were put in confinement. These constituted the influential men of the tribe, who never flagged in their efforts against the government. Black Hawk, it is true, from motives of prudence, being well cognizant of our power, was in favor of peace. He was also an Indian who had a sense of honor, as well as policy; a man in whom those who knew him confided. But he had exerted all his influence and skill against us in the campaign just closed; and however patriotic towards his own people, he was decidedly a dangerous enemy of ours. Wisheet, one of the chiefs in confinement, continued to fire his rifle from behind a few logs, till he was secured and sent to the rear; and his only regret, during confinement, seemed to be that he had not been able to kill more whites. The enmity of the Prophet is well known. Nahpope, the ruling chief, was only second to Wisheet in his fury against the white man, and always counseled for resistance. The two sons of Black Hawk were perhaps less harmless in the forests than in the cities, but their detention ensured the good conduct of the father and tribe. With the exception of Black Hawk, they spent their time at Jefferson Barracks, with a ball and chain on one leg—a precaution, the necessity of which was never doubted by those acquainted with the circumstances. That personage, fond of multiplying his wrongs, has charged us with loading chains upon him during his detention

upon the Mississippi. I am unable to say in what condition he was brought from the Sioux country, when he was taken to Jefferson Barracks, where he was lodged in the guard-house with his confederates. But late in the period of his confinement at that post, he had not been shackled, as I was informed by those on duty at the time, having faith in his pledged word not to escape. Four of the eighteen were transported to Fortress Monroe, from which they were soon liberated, and escorted to their homes, where they met their fellow prisoners, and such of their brethren and sisters, as had survived the war. Their band was merged in that of KEOKUCK, and their nationality forever gone. There remained, however, life, hunting-grounds, and annuities, as before.

Galena lies about seven miles east of the Mississippi, on the north side of Fever river, up which stream boats come to town in high water. Block houses against Indians were standing on the heights overlooking the place, which may have contained 2000 inhabitants. It had all the business air of an old place, though sadly deficient in cleanliness and comfort. The quiet of its people was again most completely destroyed by the appearance of the Asiatic cholera, the night previous to our arrival; and the first victim, a young lady, was borne along the street on a bier, as we entered.

APPENDIX No. 6.

LEGEND OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

COMMUNICATED BY R. W. HASKINS ESQ. OF BUFFALO N. Y.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.—The history of the Legend, so far as I am connected with it, is as follows: In September, 1829, I was one of the proprietors and editors of the *Buffalo Journal*. At that time, Mr. PLINEY WARRINER, who was just from the country of the Winnebagoes, was spending some time in our then village. He made my acquaintance, and related to me many of his western adventures, and among others this one, which interested me so much that I wrote it out from his oral narration, aided by his imperfect notes. He assured me that he had added absolutely nothing to the literal facts as they actually occurred, and in reducing his statement to print, I adhered strictly to his narrative, without embellishment, which, as here communicated, appeared in the Buffalo Journal of Sept. 15th, 1829.

R. W. H.

The following communication of "PLINY" will be read with interest. The singularity of the narrative itself, and the still more singular circumstances of its relation—detailed, as it was, to our author, while seated upon the top of a monumental pile, in the midst of a trackless forest, by one whose aged heart still clung to the past and bled at its recollections of fallen greatness—conspire to clothe the whole with more than ordinary novelty.

LEGEND OF THE WINNEBAGOES.

Early in the spring of 1828, it will be recollected that one of those border wars which so often rage along our western frontiers,

broke out between the Winnebago Indians and the adjoining settlements. At that period it was my fortune to be within the Indian territory, seeking my way through the pathless forests that divide the Portage of the Ouisconsin from the settlement of whites at Green Bay. The cause of the rupture alluded to was the murder of a man by the name of *Bomer*,* who was found dead in his own house, the body bearing evident marks of violence. The murders perpetrated the preceding summer, by the Winnebagoes, on the Mississippi, immediately fixed suspicions upon their tribe, in this instance; and although the deed was subsequently traced to the partner of Bomer, a white man, yet the resentment of the miners for a considerable time carried on a most desolating crusade against these sons of the forest. Those not prepared to repel the invasion, which was wholly unprovoked, and equally unexpected, were driven to seek safety in flight. A company thus fleeing to the deeper recesses of their native forests, I fell in with, upon the journey I have mentioned. The party consisted of about forty persons, principally women and chlidren, led by an old man whose locks were bleached by the frosts of some eighty winters. He was a chief, and he designated his little band by the collective and endearing appellation of "*my family.*" After the suspicions which the colour of my skin had roused were allayed, the old man approached me, and his cordial shake of the hand, his proffer of the lighted pipe, and a portion of his jerked venison, gave me every assurance that I had met a friend. Our courses lay in the same direction, and we proceeded together. On resuming our march, the countenance of the old chief, which had been animated, sunk and became dejected. At times a tear stole silently down his furrowed cheek; but when a murmur escaped the lips of any of his band, it was checked as soon as articulated, by a glance that could not be mistaken. As these were all uttered in the Winnebago language, which no white man ever understood, I knew them only to be words of grief.

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* John Bonner.—See Niles Register, Vol. XXXV, p. 151.

After travelling several hours across a beautiful prairie, we approached a lake, the bank of which was adorned with a few large trees, and its shore presented a series of regularly ranged mounds, conveying to a distant eye the appearance of a formal town. On entering the cluster of these, each individual, in turn, ascended quite to the top of the highest, preceded by the aged veteran, where he first turned his face to the sun, (which was low in the west,) then towards the Mississippi, and making a violent motion with the right hand, as if wielding the tomahawk, he ejaculated a few words in his native tongue, and immediately rejoined us by the path he had ascended. The nature of this mysterious rite I was anxious to understand. My questions to this point, however, were carefully avoided for some time, until a small present overcame the scruples of the chief, when he accosted me in the Chippewa language thus: "My friend, no white man ever saw the Winnebago ascend that mound before, nor has one of our tribe ever disclosed to the whites the origin of the mounds you see around us. You are the Indians' friend—if you were not, you would not trust yourself with me when your brothers are hunting my children like the wild deer of the prairie. You have smoked with me the pipe of friendship, and I will tell you all." He then took me by the hand, led me to the summit of the principal mound, and bade me sit down. I drew forth my writing materials to assist my memory, but my guide exclaimed, "no, no, you must not —paper tell every body: paper lie too: you remember enough." I should here observe that the Chippewa language is the classical tongue of all the North Western Indians and traders, and the one through which all their intercourse is carried on. In this tongue, with which I was acquainted, after we had each taken a whiff from his long pipe, he thus began:

"My friend—the Winnebagoes are not like other men. They came not from the east; they are the only children of the Great Spirit. He put them on one side of the great waters (Lakes), and his two great lights on the other. He gave us the buffalo, the moose, the elk, and the deer, for food, and their skins he taught us

to use for clothing. He filled the waters with fish, and covered the land with choice fruits. All these he gave to us; and he marked with his finger between us and the great lights, that we might not approach them. Upon the other side of us he placed a land of winters, where no Indian could live. After this the Long Knives (English) came, not as enemies, but as friends.—They took our bows and gave us guns, for our skins they gave blankets and calicoes, and they gave strong drink to our hunters. They enticed away the young squaws, and when the Winnebago went after them they would not come back. Soon the hunter get lazy, love strong drink, and die. Many, very many die so. Then it was that the Great Spirit told his oldest child, the great chief of the Winnebagoes, in his sleep, to leave the country to the Long Knives, and cross the great water to a land nearer the great lights, where no white man had gone. We went forward, found a good land where this river (Fox, which enters into Green Bay) goes into the great water. For two moons we found plenty of game, and saw no Indians. We thought the Great Spirit had taken them all away to make room for his children; when one morning we found the river full of canoes and Indians for one day's ride in length. Our chiefs and old men held a talk, and a canoe was sent to the strangers with as many men as there are moons in a year. They carried presents of wampum, fruits, sugar and meat. These never returned. Their pipes of peace were thrown into the river, and their mangled bodies were hung upon the trees. Dogs were fastened in the canoe dressed like the Winnebagoes, and the bark, with these, came down the river to our villages. Our good chief seeing the tears of his warriors for their friends who were slain, struck his foot in wrath upon a solid rock, which sunk it to his ankle, and called his father, the Great Spirit, to witness that the tomahawk be unburied with the Foxes, Sacs, and Chippewas, until a tree should grow from the place where his foot then stood. He then burnt a council fire in sight of his enemies, and put blood upon the trees that they might see more was soon to be wasted. When they saw this, they fled up

the river to Winnebago Lake. Our warriors followed—a battle was fought on its banks, which we lost, as part of our fighting men were deceived in the long grass by their guide. The Winnebagoes being swiftest on foot, gained this spot before the evening. It was then the enemy's town, and they soon came, with their prisoners, little thinking we were here. Finding us in their town they kindled their fires upon all sides, and sent in word that the next day they would eat the Winnebago chief. With the dawn the fight began. We soon drove the Foxes down the river, but they went round and joined the Sacs, who were above us. The rest of that day all was quiet, but the next night, at the rising of the moon, they again came out from their hiding places. This fight did not stop for three days; and we lost ten men for each day and night of the year, before it was ended. On the third day our chief fell, covered with wounds. While he still lived, he called to his warriors to remember his wrongs; and with his own hands he pressed the blood from his wounds, which he gave them to strengthen their hearts. He lived to hear the cries of his enemies as they fled, and then, under this mound, where he lay, he opened his mouth, and his spirit departed. In that battle the Winnebagoes kept the town, took many hundreds of canoes and many prisoners. These, except the young squaws, we killed. Those that escaped fled up the river, and the next day we pursued them. We came to the lake which makes the Fox river, and hunted for our enemy three days. Thinking the Great Spirit had taken them all from the country, to stop our pursuit, we were about to obey his wishes and return, when we discovered a trail in the high grass. This we followed a little, when we came to a strange river (the Ouisconsin,) running towards the Father of Rivers, (the Mississippi,) into which they had put their canoes. We now agreed to follow and fight our enemy, until he should leave this stream, and cross the Father of Rivers. At the Blue Mounds we fought them; and there we were joined by the Pottawatomies, and they by the Menominies. At the mouth of the Ouisconsin they made mounds, and put their women and children behind them, for they expected a

great battle. The Winnebagoes had more fighting men than their enemies, but they fought for the last of their country, and the Winnebagoes for revenge. For thirteen days the bloody strife did not cease, and hundreds of brave men fell on each day. At length the Great Spirit raised a loud storm of thunder, lightning, hail and wind, which caused both parties to stop, for they thought the Great Father of all was angry with his children. The Winnebagoes stood still, and their enemies all crossed the Father of Rivers, where they now live, at eternal war with our nation. No Fox or Sac meets a Winnebago, (except in council,) but one must die. All that great land between the Ouisconsin and the Mississippi is to this day disputed ground, and neither can safely occupy it. Chippewa or Winnebago go there, he die—but no matter, Winnebago, Chippewa, Fox and Sac, all have country enough now. Sixty winters have passed over us since my father, who was then strong, told me of these deeds of our nation. But, my friend, the Winnebagoes are not now wise. Once they had many thousand fine warriors. But every year we grow smaller. Too much our young men go into the white man's house, and strive to live like him. They drink strong drink, and soon die. Traders buy our skins, and give us strong drink, calico and beads, which are not good for Indians. The skins of our game we want for clothes, and we could raise corn for ourselves were we left alone; but soon, my friend, we shall be no more. A few short years and our nation will be unknown. Then, when the stranger shall pass along here, and look upon the scenes of so many battles that have been won by the only children of the Great Spirit, and shall call out, upon every hill, *where is the Winnebago?* echo alone shall answer from the west—"*where is the Winnebago!*"

"Our enemies, the Sacs and Foxes, have grown strong, and could now destroy us. They have shunned the ways and the haunts of the white men, and their people have multiplied. Their nations are large, and their warriors healthy and brave; while the forms of our old men are wasted with age, and our young men are drunkards, like the whites. Our young squaws have be-

come the companions of traders and boatmen, and our families are broken up. We are surrounded upon all sides by white men, save one, and on that, live our sworn and eternal enemies. We have but one recourse left. We own the land where the two rivers run different ways, (the Portage of the Fox and Ouisconsin rivers,) and to that we must now fly. When that is gone, the Winnebago will have no hope—and he will no longer ask to live."

Here the veteran chief ended his harangue, and seemed much affected at the deplorable, though just picture, which he had drawn of his nation. My sympathies were roused, and I felt, for once at least, as became a philanthropist—compassion for the stoic of the forest, and shame for the treatment he had suffered at the hands of my nation. But the object of these mounds, and of the rites observed upon their tops, I had not yet learned, and when my aged chronicler had roused himself from his melancholy musings, I repeated my inquiries upon these points. He paused for a moment, and answered thus: "My friend, this place was long since called, by white men, '*Bout de Morte.*' * The mounds you see were raised, each over the grave of some renowned chief, who fell in the great battle here. By a custom of our nation, every Winnebago who comes in sight of this mound upon which we are now seated, must ascend to the top, and observe the rites you witnessed. When turning to the sun, we swear that our arm, while it has power, shall be exerted in defence of this land, in remembrance

* Literally, *Heel-piece of death.* The French phrase used by the chief must have been introduced, probably, by the French Jesuits, to translate the Winnebago name—a name that seems to have been given to the spot from the shape of the shore, resembling a human foot, at the *heel* of which the mounds are situated. Hence it was the heel, or heel-piece—and the consequences of the battle fought there would readily suggest the remainder.

[This definition is probably erroneous, owing, perhaps, to Mr. Warriner misunderstanding the pronunciation. Instead of *Bout de Morte*, it is universally referred to as *Butte des Morts*, or *Hill of the Dead*—where the slain in battle were buried. A battle was here fought in 1714, between the French and Outagamies or Foxes, which is noticed by Charlevoix, Wynne, and other early historians, and in Gen. Smith's Hist. of Wisconsin.—L. C. D.]

of the son of the Great Spirit who sleeps below; and when facing the Sacs and Foxes, we swear ever to remember and revenge the death of the best of Chiefs, the favorite son of the Great Spirit, who fell by their hands."

PLINY.

APPENDIX No. 7.

EARLY TIMES IN WISCONSIN.

WRITTEN BY H. A. TENNEY, IN 1849.

Early times--Indian disturbances--first permanent white settler within the limits of Dane county--Blue Mounds Fort--savage massacres--Sauk war--location of Madison, &c., &c.

The incidents of the early settlement of our state, however unimportant in a national point of view, are worthy of being treasured up for the remembrance of posterity. But few of these hardy and daring men who came into the country many years in advance of the present population, now remain among us, and the little circle is rapidly contracting. It belongs to this generation and our time to collect together the personal history, experience, and adventures of these worthy and veteran pioneers, and preserve it as a very essential and interesting part of our local annals.

One of these earliest comers to the south-western part of the State, was EBENEZER BRIGHAM, of Blue Mounds, the oldest and undoubtedly the first permanent settler within the present limits of Dane county—a man of rare modesty, unsullied reputation, possessing a strong and retentive memory, and who is really a living history of the "life and times" of the very first white settlers. We have never been able to induce him to write out a sketch of those early times; but having got him fast by the button-hole a few days since, we took the occasion to jot down some

items, which we serve up in our own way, in connection with other matters, trusting that more complete details will be obtained, of which he has a large fund, and that the reader will bear in mind the admonition he gave us, not to make him the hero of the tale.

Mr. Brigham journeyed from Worcester, Mass., to St. Louis, in 1818. The Upper Mississippi country was then almost unknown. Beyond the narrative of Pike's Expedition, and the somewhat vague reports of hunters, boatmen, and a few lead diggers about Dubuque, the public possessed no reliable information, and felt little if any interest. It was regarded as a wild region filled with hostile savages, and very few were willing to trust themselves among them. In 1822 Mr. B. followed up the river on horseback, to the present site of Galena; the place then consisting of one log cabin, and a second one commenced, which he assisted in completing. Shortly after he returned to Springfield, the present capital of Illinois, the young city then containing four or five cabins. In '27 he again returned to the lead region for the purpose of embarking in the business. With a small party he pitched his tent on what is now called the Block House Branch of the Platte river, about four miles south of the present village of Platteville, for the purpose of prospecting. From this point the party retreated in some haste to Galena, owing to the commencement of hostilities by the Indians.

As the particulars of this outbreak are not generally known, we digress a little to give a few of the leading facts.

Gen. Cass had made an appointment to meet the Winnebagoes at Butte des Morts. On the day fixed for the council, not an Indian appeared. Alarmed at this, and other hostile signs, he rapidly descended the river to Prairie du Chien, where the people had all taken shelter in the garrison, and where he heard of an attack on a government boat, which had been up the river with supplies for the garrison at St. Peters, a short time previous. Hastening immediately to Galena, he notified the citizens of their danger, and advised them to build block-houses for their protection.

The boat alluded to, had already reached Galena, and as the fight shows some of the perils of river navigation during those early days, we give the particulars in brief. In descending, the boats had to pass a narrow place between an island and the main shore. The Indians, several hundred in number, had stationed themselves on both sides, and had also prepared canoes to board, if necessary. The forward boat was suffered to pass unmolested; but when the second came within reach, it received a discharge from the whole force, killing one man and wounding another. The fire was returned, but with little effect, as the crew were in a very exposed and awkward situation. In this position of affairs, an attempt was made to board, and a strapping warrior jumped on to the stern, seized the tiller, and set the vessel ashore, but not till after a bullet struck him dead. At this juncture an Irishman of the crew, familiarly called "*Saucy Jack*," jumped ashore, and, amidst a shower of bullets, shoved it off, and escaped unhurt, the boat proceeding without further molestation, carrying off the body of the ambitious Indian, which was left at Galena. The sides of the vessel, the boxes, &c., were riddled by over three hundred bullet holes.

This was a period of great suffering at Galena. The weather was inclement, and two or three thousand persons driven suddenly in, with a scant supply of provisions, without ammunition or weapons, encamped in the open air, or cloth tents which was but little better, were placed in a very disagreeable and critical position.

From Galena, Gen. Cass proceeded with the utmost dispatch to Jefferson Barracks. A large force under Gen. Atkinson immediately came up the river in boats, as far as the Portage (Fort Winnebago) Generals Dodge and Whitesides with companies of volunteers following along each side on land, and scouring out the lurking savages. A force from Green Bay also concentrated on the same point, and the Indians beheld with dismay a formidable army in the midst of their country. The result was a treaty of peace, and the giving up of Red Bird, who had a year previous massacred a family near Prairie du Chien.

The reports made by the officers and men, on their return from this warlike expedition, first drew public attention to the unbounded fertility and exhaustless resources of south-western Wisconsin —and their return was followed by a large immigration to the lead region.

It was while this force was on its march, that Mr. BRIGHAM and his party returned and built a block-house at the point they had left, and recommenced their diggings.

In the spring of 1828, he removed to Blue Mounds, the most advanced outpost in the mines, and has resided there ever since, being by four years at least, the oldest white settler in the county. The isolated position he thus settled upon, will be apparent from the statement of a few facts. The nearest settler was at what is now Dodgeville, about twenty-four miles distant. Mineral Point and most of the other diggings where villages have since grown up, had not then been discovered. On the south-east, the nearest house was on the O'Plaine river, twelve miles west of Chicago. On the east, SOLOMON JUNEAU was his nearest neighbor, at the mouth of the Milwaukee river; and on the north-east, Green Bay was the nearest settlement—Fort Winnebago not then having been projected.

The country at this time was part of Michigan Territory. The northern boundary of Illinois was so vaguely defined, that the diggers on the Mounds voted at the Shullsburg precinct for congress men for the Sucker State. Soon after locating at this place, Mr. BRIGHAM visited Green Bay in company with others, to attend an Indian council, in order to settle on certain boundaries between the whites and red men. The line fixed upon was drawn from the head of that branch of the Blue Mounds creek that heads east of them, to that branch of the Peckatonakie that heads east of the Mounds, and down these streams to the Wisconsin and Rock respectively. The Indians blazed the trees along this line, notifying the whites not to pass it—a prohibition about as effectual as the whistling of the wind.

To explain the reason for this treaty, it may not be amiss to look back a little at some matters of diplomacy connected with the natives. Some time between the years 1814 and 1818, (we have not the documents at hand,) some tribe ceded the lead region to the United States. As the real owners refused to be bound by it, Governor Edwards, of Illinois, as Indian Agent, was directed to cede it back again. In doing this, he reserved three leagues at Prairie du Chien, together with such other tracts as the President might select, not in all exceeding five leagues. This is the substance of it as we gather from report, not having time to hunt up the treaty; but under it the War Department allowed locations in tracts of 200 yards square, and if the miner found no mineral within his stakes, he pulled them up and and set them down again at such places, and as often, as he pleased. The effect thus was, that the whites took possession of pretty much the whole mining region. It was in consequence of complaints growing out of this construction of the treaty, that the council was held, and the new boundary agreed upon.

In 1832 the Black Hawk war broke out. The Winnebagoes were professedly friendly, but it was evidently a kind of friendship not to be relied upon in case of a reverse to the whites. To guard against surprise, Mr. B. and his neighbors built a block house in a very commanding position on the prairie near the Mounds, called "*Blue Mounds Fort.*" Into this the following persons withdrew, and kept up a regular guard day and night, about three months, to wit: Ebenezer Brigham, Thomas McCraney, Esau Johnson, John C. Kellogg, Jeremiah Lycan, George Force, Emmerson Green, William Auberry, Jonathan Ferrall, John Sherman, Hugh Bowen, Jacob Keith, Alfred Houghton, —— Houghton, John Dalby, James Collins, William Collins, Moses Collins, Harvey Brock and French Lake.

After Stillman's defeat in May, the Sauks spread rapidly over northern Illinois, for purposes of massacre and plunder. The murder of the families of Messrs. Pettigrew, Davis, and part of that of Mr. Hall, in La Salle county, is generally known, and of no far-

ther importance here, than is connected with the giving up of the two captives, (Miss Halls.*) It seems that the murderers immediately fled northward, following up Rock river a number of miles, and finally put their captives into the hands of the Winnebagoes, it is believed, for safe keeping, for the purpose of securing better terms of peace with the whites. News of the event was expressed to the Mound, and a reward of $2000 offered for the two captives. Word was sent to White Crow, who with his band was encamped somewhere about the First Lake. The result was, that next day the Indians came to the Fort and gave them up—and they were returned to their surviving friends—the reward, doubtless, in the estimation of the Indians, outweighing the obligations of friendship.

A day or two after the departure of these captives, William Auberry was murdered at a spring near Mr. Brigham's present residence, by the Winnebagoes. He was shot from his horse, and such valuables as he had about him were carried off. The assassins escaped punishment.

About twenty days after, George Force and Emmerson Green, while out on a scout, were set upon by a party of sixty or seventy Sauk warriors, in view of the fort, and both killed.† Had the Indians not stopped about half an hour to dance around and mangle the bodies of their victims, the little garrison must have been destroyed, as, owing to a feeling of security, only six were left in the

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* The narrative of these captives is one of the most harrowing incidents of the war. On the 21st of May, 1832, the families of Messrs. Hall and Pettigrew were assembled at the house of William Davis, in Indian Creek settlement. The first intimation they had of danger was the sudden appearance at the gate of some seventy savages, who rushed into the house and butchered all its inmates, men, women, and children, to the number of fifteen--sparing only these two sisters, who were taken captives, and delivered up as above stated. They were well treated, aside from the hardships of their rapid journey. It seems scarcely possible at this day, that such tragedies were enacted in this country only about seventeen years ago.

† Aubrey was killed June 6th, and Force and Green on the 20th of that month. See Smith's Hist. Wis., i. 272, 276.

Block House at the time. The delay enabled them to get ready for a desperate resistance, and the warriors, after capturing the horses of the slain, made off, without daring to assault the fort.

To follow up the events of this war: The army had moved up as far as Fort Atkinson. Getting short of provisions, Col. Dodge, with several companies, was sent to Fort Winnebago for supp ies. On his return, he struck off towards the Rock river rapids, in order, if possible, to get scent of the Indians. He struck on their trail east of the Crawfish, and immediately gave chase. He followed directly west, crossing the Catfish near where the present bridge stands, on the eastern confines of Madison, thence over the hill, and across the ground now occupied by the capitol and public square. At the head of Fourth Lake he found an encamp. ment they had left not many hours previous. Pushing on some eight or ten miles, they overtook and killed an Indian,* and at the crossing a little below Sauk Prairie, they came up with the main body. A battle immediately took place, in which fifteen Indians and one white man were killed, and numbers on both sides wounded. The battle of Bad Axe and surrender of Black Hawk, soon after closed the war.

In these details we have confined ourselves as nearly as possible to occurrences within the limits of Dane county. Our friend Brigham claims nothing on the score of military service, although taking an active part in the "rough and tumble" of the times. In 1836 the territory of Wisconsin was organized, embracing the present State of Iowa, and the north-west territory. He was

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* William Force, one of the garrison who was massacred, had a heavy gold watch, by which the hours of standing guard were regulated. At the time he was killed it was in his pocket, and was taken--his body and limbs being chopped in pieces, and scattered about on the prairie. A short time after the fight at the ferry, Wallis Rowan, who was a trader residing at the head of Fourth Lake, was out on the trail, and picked up five or six Indian saddles, the horses having given out in the retreat. On coming up to the body of this savage, he found the prairie fire had passed over it, consuming his pack and clothing. The watch of Force was found in the ashes, and identified by Mr. Brigham a day or two after. Rowan kept the watch over ten years before finally parting with it.

elected a member of the first council--the session being first held at Belmont, and the second one at Burlington, Iowa. The district at that time consisted of the territory embraced in the present counties of Grant, Iowa, Lafayette, Green, and part of Dane. He was re-elected to the same office in '38, and held four years. The district then consisted of the counties of Dane, Green, Jefferson, Dodge and Sauk. His last election to the legislature, was at the first session under the state constitution—the district being some dozen or sixteen towns.

In the twenty odd years of Mr. B.'s residence in this region, what wonderful changes have passed before him! For several years after his coming, the savages were sole lords of the soil. A large Indian village stood near the mouth of Token Creek; another stood on the ridge between the Second and Third Lake, in plain view of our present location; and their wigwams were scattered all along the streams, the remains of their gardens, &c. being still visible. Then there was not a civilized village in the state, of any considerable size. When the capitol was located here, he was the nearest settler to it—twenty-four miles distant! He stood on this ground before its selection as the seat of government was thought of, and from the enchanting beauty of the spot predicted that a village would be built here. Fort Winnebago was commenced in 1828, under the superintendence of Maj. Twiggs and Col. Harney, and the protection it afforded greatly promoted and extended immigration. The in-rolling flood has now reached 300,000 —hundreds of villages have sprung up—and every thing has changed. From being himself the sole population of Dane, he now counts but one in 16,000. Nothing remains of the Indians but their graves. He has seen a savage people pass off the stage, and a civilized one come upon it—and all with a rapidity which must appear to him like a dream.

We have thus imperfectly sketched some of the incidents in the life of the first settler in Dane, with a brief statement of some of the leading events which have passed in review before him. Although gray hairs cover his head, he still enjoys robust health,

and his straight form and elastic step show that age sits lightly upon him. We are inclined to attribute his exemption from the common ills of life to the fact, that he never sought an office, or sent a hungry man from his door without food. He has a large fund of valuable local history, with anecdotes of "lang syne" worthy of being preserved for future times. Altogether he is a noble specimen of the gentleman of the olden time, with a reputation as favorably as it is widely known. The people of this county without distinction of party, we know will all unite with us in wishing him many years yet of health, prosperity, and happiness.

Madison, Nov. 20, 1849.

APPENDIX No. 8.

SKETCH OF CALUMET COUNTY.

BY THOMAS CAMMUCK, OF THE BROTHERTOWN INDIANS.

Although the history of Calumet county may be found less interesting than that of her more wealthy sisters throughout our young, flourishing and prosperous State, yet, such as it is, I very cheerfully communicate it to you.

I think it was not until the year 1840, that Calumet county was first set off, and organized for judicial purposes.* Previous to that time, what now constitutes Calumet, was recognized as a part of Brown county, and was first taken possession of by the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians; two or three families of each of those tribes having removed there in the winter of 1834. It was then a dense forest of very heavy timber, and the only roads or improvement of any kind, then existing within the present limits of Calumet, were a few Menomonee Indian trails. About the year 1836, a white man by the name of WESTFALL settled in the northern part of what is now Calumet, and pretended to keep a

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* Calumet county was set off from Brown county, Dec. 7, 1836, organized for county purposes, Jan. 6, 1840, and on the following 13th August, was disorganized, and attached to Brown. It was re-organized for county purposes, Feb. 18, 1842, remaining in judicial connection with Brown until the formation of Fond du Lac county, Jan. 22, 1844, to which it was attached for judicial purposes. It was at length fully organized, Feb. 5, 1850.—*Hunt's Gazetteer.*

tavern on the military road leading from Green Bay to Fort Winnebago, which road was commenced about that time. But such a tavern! The writer of this sketch well remembers the time when he called at the aforesaid tavern, drenched with cold rain, and asking for breakfast for himself, and baiting of some kind for his horse, but unfortunately could obtain neither. The landlord had gone to Green Bay, a distance of nearly twenty-five miles, for the purpose of procuring and bringing home a back-load of provisions. I think I can safely say, that these were times, that not only "tried men's souls," but their appetites also.

The Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians continued to emigrate yearly from the State of New York, and joined their friends in Calumet county; and up to 1840, the county contained about 230 Stockbridge, and about 300 Brothertown Indians, and only about three whites—to wit: the tavern keeper before alluded to, the Rev. Cutting Marsh, a missionary among the Stockbridge Indians, and Moody Mann,* a mill-right, who superintended the erection of the first grist and saw mill in our county for the Brothertown Indians. Similar mills were built by the Stockbridge Indians, or rather by Daniel Whitney, by their consent, having been erected upon their lands. All these mills were built about 1836–7, and for several years after their erection, the people of Oshkosh, on the west side of Winnebago Lake, got all their milling done at these mills, as did also the people of Fond du Lac, and a large number of inhabitants from the north-eastern portion of Fond du Lac county get their milling done to this day at the Brothertown Indian mills. About two years ago, there was another saw-mill built, in what is called *Kill-Snake Settlement*, by William Urmston, about fourteen miles north-east of the Brothertown mills; and this spring I have learned that another saw mill has just been put in operation in Charlestown, about twelve miles easterly from the Brothertown mills. There is yet another saw-mill in our county, built two or three years ago, but it does not do much business.

* Hon. Moody Mann, Judge of Calumet county, died in that county, in Dec. 1854.

L. C. D.

In the year 1839, the Brothertown Indians petitioned Congress for citizenship, which was granted, and they are now enjoying all the rights, privileges, and immunities of other citizens of the United States, and the State of Wisconsin. In 1843, the Stockbridge Indians also petitioned for citizenship, and were likewise admitted; but a portion of them remonstrated from the out-set, and finally succeeded in shirking out; and, since that time, those who desired and embraced citizenship have sent a delegation to Washington to get set back again as Indians, and it is said they have agreed to emigrate west of the Mississippi.

The census of Calumet county in 1850, gave 1746 inhabitants, of whom about two hundred and fifty were Stockbridge, and four hundred Brothertown Indians. For several years past, much prejudice has existed abroad with regard to this county and its inhabitants; the former was believed to be too cold to permit the growth of ordinary crops, and the latter deemed as poor degraded savages, destitute of the common comforts of civilization, and without any principles of morality, and people scarcely dared to pass through our county, for fear of being scalped. But since they have learned that the Indians are an agricultural, mechanical and manufacturing people, that they live, dress and talk like other "human critters," (having entirely lost their language, the Brothertowns in particular,) that they have their own common schools in operation, public officers, churches and preachers, and the fact that travelers frequently get nearly through the town without being aware of it, and then enquire how far it is to Brothertown,—I say, since the people are beginning to become acquainted with these facts, they begin to entertain a little more respect for Calumet county and her population.

Yes, sir, the time has been when Calumet county was considered to be the very sink-hole of vice and iniquity, and acting upon that belief in some instances, horse-thieves and gamblers have sought to obtain a shelter here from the iron clutches of the law; but when they have found the Indians ready and willing to turn

out *en masse*, and surround and search houses in the dead of night where it was supposed these kind of gentry were concealed, they have generally made extremely short visits, being both ocularly and mentally convinced that our county was a very unsafe asylum for persons of their stamp.

For the last six months or more there has been a constant tide of emigration setting into our county. Scarcely a day, or week, at least, passes, but teams are seen passing into our county loaded with goods and families, and I should not be surprised if Calumet doubled her population in one year from this time.

It may be interesting to know, that the first steamboat that ever graced the crystal bosom of Lake Winnebago, was built in our county by the Brothertown Indians, under the superintendence of Peter Hoteling, who was a white man, and the captain of said boat. She was called the Manchester, and is still running on the lake under the name, I think, of the Fountain City. We have obtained a charter for a plank-road from Manchester to Sheboygan, a distance of thirty-five miles, which will pass through one of the finest portions of the state, in regard to the fertility of its soil, its water power, and its lofty groves of pine and other timber for lumbering purposes. Calumet county is about sixteen by twenty-five miles in size.

Manchester, April 29, 1851.

APPENDIX NO. 9.

SKETCH OF RICHLAND COUNTY.

BY IRA S. HASELTINE, ESQ.

In accordance with the request of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, I have prepared this brief sketch of Richland county:

This county was organized for judicial purposes May 1st, 1850, and now forms part of the fifth judicial circuit. It has an area of sixteen sectional townships in a square form, with also some fractional townships upon the Wisconsin river, which constitutes its southern boundary. It has four very considerable mill streams running from the north to the south through the county, and emptying into the Wisconsin. These streams are, Bear Creek in the eastern part of the county, Pine river running through the central portion, Eagle creek more westerly, and Knapp's creek in the extreme western part of the county. These several streams, with their numerous tributaries, abundantly supply all parts of the county with the best of water, which is almost invariably soft. Fishes of different kinds, including pike, pickerel, catfish, mullet, succors, and the speckled trout, are found in great abundance.

Richland county has a plenty of the best timber of various kinds, to wit: maple, ash, elm, oak, basswood, butternut, walnut, and some beautiful groves of pine and poplar. The face of the country is diversified by hills and valleys, with numerous springs of

pure soft water. There are some very pretty prairies, surrounded by groves of heavy timber. Some lead and copper ore have been discovered in the southern part of the county, and an extensive marble quarry has been opened in the valley of Bear creek. All the stone is to be found in quarries, and none scattered promiscuously upon the surface of the soil. There are many large tracts of well-watered and rich land in this county—hence the appropriateness of its name, *Richland.*

Of natural curiosities, perhaps there is in the whole western country none greater, than the *Natural Bridge* over Pine river. It is of rock, from forty to sixty feet high, and over half a mile in length, extending into a level country, with a beautiful arch sufficiently large for the passage of the waters of Pine river, even in times of flood. This rock-bridge is perfectly solid for thirty feet above the water, and covered on the top with a beautiful grove of thrifty pine. The rock is a species of sand stone, about four rods wide, and its sides perpendicular the whole length. It forms a great natural water power, and shelter for man and beast. The Indians, it is related, used to assemble here in great numbers, to worship. The chief or principal speaker ususually stood upon the top of the rock, while his audience remained below. Another very considerable curiosity in our county, is the *Warm Cave*, which sends forth a warm current of air at all seasons of the year.

This county is settling very rapidly by an intelligent and enterprising population, almost wholly Americans.* Its agricultural, mineral and lumbering resources, together with its proximity to an extensive mining country, and its facilities for market, form

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* A writer in a recent number of the Platteville American, who signs himself "An Old Pioneer," says that he explored, in 1848, the wild parts of Sauk and Richland counties, in the latter of which scarcely a section of land had been entered, although it had been in market four or five years. The entire population of Richland county did not exceed a dozen families numbering thirty souls, who were mostly composed of the sons of Nimrod who had retired from the busy haunts of men to pursue the chase, and enjoy the charms of solitude. Richland City was founded by Isaac H Wallace, who erected the first log cabin there late in the autumn of 1848. The population of the county, which was 903 in 1850, is now estimated at 3000. L. C. D.

great inducements to settlement and cultivation. There are several thriving villages already teeming with life and animation. Among them may be mentioned Richland City, situated at the mouth of a very pretty stream called Willow Creek; and seven miles still higher up on Pine, is the new county-seat, Richland Center, situated on a beautiful prairie with scattering shade trees, and the whole surrounded by noble groves of thrifty timber. At this place is an excellent water power, and mills are now in process of erection. This promising town is just springing into vigorous life and activity. Richmond, the former county-seat, is also a pretty village, situated on the Wisconsin river.

Richland Center, Dec. 15, 1852.

APPENDIX No. 10.

WISCONSIN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

BY ALFRED BRUNSON.

To the Cor. Sec. of the Wisconsin Historical Society:

The object of forming the Historical Society of Wisconsin, is to gather materials for the formation of a correct history of the State, and to preserve from oblivion such incidents, names, &c., as will be of use in compiling such a history. And to aid in the accomplishment of this design, in one particular, I respectfully suggest the propriety of collecting the original Indian and French names of the State, of counties, towns, rivers, lakes and mountains, and attach to each the signification in English; and also the derivation of all purely English names.

That my design may be understood, and at the same time to contribute my limited knowledge in this matter, I will give a list as far as they now occur to mind; and at the same time request such corrections and additions as may be necessary to perfect it.

If editors, and others, who live on the spot, and have the means of reliable information, will take some pains to correct any errors in this, and to enlarge the number of names, and publish them, an accurate vocabulary of names may be obtained, of which the future historian may avail himself, to the interest and edification of the reader.

In doing this, I would suggest the propriety of giving the name

of the *Tribe* of Indians, from whose language the Indian name of a place or a thing is derived, if known. The importance of this distinction will be seen in the sequel, and from the fact that the same thing is differently named by different tribes; and in the different languages, tongues or dialects of the Indians, slight variations in sound may have given rise to different spellings, and hence an apparently different name, while, in fact the same name is intended. For instance, *Manitowoc*, if from the Chippewa, or Ojibowa,* should be *Munedoo*—a general name of *spirit.* The prefix or termination gives the *kind* of spirit intended. Munedoo-*ish* means Devil, or Evil Spirit, in Ojibowa. *Owkesha-munedoo* is God, or Good Spirit. *Woc* may be intended for *owk*, and *munito* may be intended for *munedoo*, and if so, *Munedoo-owk* alias Manitowoc, when applied to the Islands in Lake Michigan, or the river emptying into it, probably signifies the habitation of the Good Spirit. The perversion or corruption of the word may be from the imperfect understanding, or imperfect orthography of the white man of the Indian language, or it may have been derived from the Menomonee, or some other tribe of Indians, who use the word a little differently from the Ojibowas.

I am not an Ojibowa scholar, but have a work by Peter Jones, a celebrated missionary, from which I derive the above orthography of the word, but if I am not right, will some one be so good as to put me so.

But to the general list of names; and first of the State. The State derives its name from the principal river which runs centrally through it. The Chippewas upon its head waters call this river *Wees kon-san* which signifies "the gathering of the waters." They gave it this name, as an Indian trader informed me, on account of its numerous branches near its head concentrating into one stream, which afterwards runs so great a distance with but comparatively few principal branches to swell its current. The French

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* Dr. Morse, in his Report of his Indian Tour of 1820, speaks of "an old Ottowa chief living at *Ma-nit-ou-wauk—the river of bad spirits.*" See the definition in the following paper, by Mr. Hathaway. L. C. D.

voyager called it *Ouisconsin*, the first syllable of which comes nearer to the sound of the Indian than does Wis. The second syllable of the French, if you give the *c* its hard sound, is more like *kon* than *con;* but the last syllable (sin) is evidently a deviation from the Indian both in the English and French. An attempt was made, a few years since, to restore the second syllable of this name to its original Indian sound by substituting *k* for *c*, but this would not restore either the first or the last. The attempt, however, was unpopular, and the Legislature solemnly decreed that the name should be spelled *Wisconsin*, and this, probably more from opposition to the individual who attempted the restoration, than from correct literary taste, or any regard for the original Indian name.

OF COUNTIES.

Adams.—Named in honor of President Adams.

Brown.—In honor of Gen. Brown of the U. S. Army.

Crawford.—In honor of W. H. Crawford, Sec. of U. S. Treas.

Columbia.—From Columbus.

Calumet.—Indian—pipe of peace; the name said to have been given to the place on account of the different tribes frequently holding peace councils there, when they smoke the *Calumet* or pipe of peace.

Chippewa.—From the river of that name—Indian, Ojibowa. Several bands of this tribe settled on its head waters, to which they fought their way, about 120 years since, from Lake Superior, against the Dacotah or Sioux, and gave their name to the river in honor of their victory.

Dane.—In honor of the author of the ordinance of 1787.

Dodge.—In honor of Gov. Dodge.

Fond du Lac.—The head or fountain of the Lake—Winnebago. The same name is also given to the head of Lake Superior.

Grant.—From the river which took its name from one Grant, a trapper, who had his cabin on its bank.

Greene.—In honor of Gen. Greene, of the Revolution.

Iowa.—From an Indian tribe who once inhabited the country.

Jefferson.—In honor of President Jefferson.

Lafayette.—In honor of Gen. Lafayette.

La Pointe.—From the point of Magdalene Island in Lake Superior, on which a trading post and village are situated.

Marquette.—In honor of the French discoverer of the country.

Milwaukee.—From the river of that name. It is Indian.—[Will some Milwaukeean give the meaning?]

Portage.—This county took its name originally, from the portage between the Wisconsin and Fox rivers. But when the county was divided, the representative from it, hailing from the north part of it, with a view, it is said, to keep the record books, and thereby save a few dollars in the purchase of new ones, managed to retain the *name* for the north part of it, in which is *Plover Portage*, calling the south part *Columbia.*

Racine.—From the French name of the Root or principal river in it. [Will some citizen there tell us what *root* was so abundant upon it as to give it the name?]

Richland.—So called on account of the richness of the soil.

Rock.—From Rock prairie within its limits; and this from a large rock located on it.

Sheboygan.—From its principal river. [Will some one tell us what the word means?]

St. Croix.—The holy cross—the name given to the lake and river upon which it borders, by the French missionaries, because it enters the Mississippi nearly at right angles, and because the waters of it when high, are of a dark red color, being stained by the roots of the tamarack which abound in its head branches.

Sauk.—From Sauk Prairie within its limits, which took its name from the Sauk Indians, who once had their principal village upon it.

Washington.—In honor of Gen. Washington.

Waukesha.—From the Indian name of its principal river. It signifies Fox, probably from the number foxes taken upon it.—[Is it Menomonee, Potawotomie, or what?]

Winnebago.—From the lake of that name, which took its name from the Indian tribe.

Walworth.—In honor of Chancellor Walworth.

OF PLACES, LAKES, RIVERS, AND MOUNTAINS.

Prairie du Chien—Dog's Prairie—From a Sauk chief of that name who had his village on it when first visited by the French voyagers.

Prairie La Crosse—From the French name of a "ball club," crooked or hooked at the end. When the French first visited the country, the neighboring tribes were in the habit every summer of meeting on this prairie for their annual ball play. At these games each tribe took a side, and often staked all they had at command.

Mont-trempe-l'eau—The mountain that stands in the water. It rises in the form of an oval cone or natural pyramid, from a base 80 rods long by 40 wide, to about 300 feet high, and is entirely surrounded by water. It contains an extensive den of yellow rattle snakes, from which they swim in the spring, and to which they return in the same way in the fall.

Lac Flambeau—Torch Lake. A collection of five small lakes, of from three to five miles in length, and from twenty rods to half a mile in width. On these lakes a band of Chippewas settled, about 120 years ago, to which they fought their way against the Sioux on one hand, and the Sauks and Foxes on the other. The lakes abounded in fish, which were taken by torch light, from which the French traders gave it the name of *Lac Flambeau.*

Lac Courteoreille– Short Ears.—It is said that when the French traders first visited this lake called *Ottawa*, a band of Ottawas occupied its banks, who had cut the rims off their ears, making them short; from which the Indians, their lake, and the river running from it into the Chippewa, received this singular name.

Mountain of the Stars—A natural mound some thirty miles in circumference, and several hundred feet high ; from its base and sides the Black river flows to the south, L'eau Claire and Yellow rivers—branches of the Chippewa—to the west, and two branches

of the Wisconsin river to the east. It is said to be covered with pine timber, and its rocks and sands to abound in indications of copper, or some richer ore. The Indian name is not recollected, but signifies the Mountain of the Stars, and was so called by them on account of its lofty peaks.

I shall continue to collect these names and their origin, and if others, and especially editors, will do the same and publish them, the historical object contemplated will be accomplished. The above is yet imperfect, and is open to amendments and corrections; and it is but a small portion of the names worthy of collection and preservation.

Prairie du Chien, June 11th, 1849.

APPENDIX No. 11.

INDIAN NAMES.

BY JOSHUA HATHAWAY, ESQ.

To the Cor. Sec. of the Wisconsin Historical Society:

Following the suggestion of Mr. BRUNSON in his interesting communication to your Society of the 11th ultimo, I propose to contribute a portion of the aboriginal names of places and rivers in our State, with their signification, when known, and their present corruption in spelling and pronunciation.

Much of the corruption in the pronunciation of Indian names, has arisen from the want of a simple mode of spelling, and from an inaccurate habit of pronouncing words, when correctly spelled. Thus, in orthography, the sounds au, ahn, ee, are incorrectly expressed by a, an, and e; and the orthography au, ahn and ee, is inaccurately pronounced by a, an and e, or y—for example, *Waukee-shah*, is incorrectly spelled *Wakesha*, and inaccurately pronounced, (though very commonly,) *Walkyshaw*.

One more suggestion: When the double vowel ee occurs in the orthography of an Indian word, the syllable should have a thin, prolonged accent, more especially when it forms the middle syllable.

Milwaukee, or *Milouaqui*, of the early French settlers, is derived from the Indian name of our own river, *Mahn-a wau-kee* seepe, first and third syllables accented. The word is Pottawattamie probably; and the early French traders gave different significations to it, so that no one of them is reliable.

Sheboygan, or *Che boig-an* of the early maps, is from the Indian name, *Shawb-wa way-kun*, half-accent on the first, and full accent on the third syllable; the word or sentence (most likely Chippewa,) expresses a tradition "that a great noise, coming under ground from the region of Lake Superior, was heard at this river."

Manitou-woc, or *Devil's den*.—The tradition of the Indians is, that a nondescript being was several times observed at the mouth of this river; hence the name.

Ne-sho-tah, or *Twins*, now known as Two Rivers. A glance at the place, or at the map, shows how appropriate the name.

Ke-wau nee River, on Lake Michigan, east of the head of Green Bay, signifies *Prairie Hen*. It was formerly known as Wood's river in the sketch maps; please give to the writer the credit of ascertaining and restoring this euphonious name by his Field Notes in 1834. Kewaunee is doubtless a Chippeway word—accent on second syllable.

The next and only river of any magnitude, north of the last mentioned, is the

Muk-wan wish-ta-guon—accent on first and third, and half accent on last syllable. Muk-wan signifies *Bear*—the whole, *Bear's Head*. The present settlers in that region are striving to substitute the name Wolf River; bad success to them—we prefer a bear's head to a whole wolf.

Mus kee-go, from *Muskeeguiac*, signifies *Cranberry*—probably, Pottawattamie.

Wau-kee-shah, the name given to the county wrested from Milwaukee in 1846. As the county was appropriated without the consent of the owners, so it was very proper that the name should be. It is very probable that this name was never seen in English characters until the year 1846, when it was inscribed, by the writer of this, upon an oak tree, standing where the town of Rochester now stands, in Racine county. The name was selected by me with the consent of Messrs. Cox and Myers, all being interested in the location, as a name for the future town, and it so appears on the sectional maps of those times. When the town began to

be settled shortly after, the name was changed by the inhabitants to Rochester, because, like the Rochester of New York, it had a water power—no further point of resemblance being traceable. In 1835–6, I was engaged in sub-dividing the townships now comprising Racine county, and from some Indian boys lodged near my encampments, I made additions to my Indian vocabulary; and with the medium of a fox-skin collar, I obtained this name, understanding it to be Pottawattamie for "Fox," which is a favorite name with the natives for all crooked rivers, whose course, in this respect, resembles the eccentric trail of that animal. By giving the middle syllable a thin, prolonged, decided accent, and leaving the last syllable but half aspirated, you have the original as given to me—Wau-*kee*-shah.

Me-quon-i-go, from Me-quan-i-go ick, likewise the name of the town. Mic-wan signifies a *ladle*—a bend in each stream known by that name resembling a ladle, seems to have given the name. That the resemblance may be detected, it may be well to remark, that the Indian ladle is a very crooked utensil, with the handle turned quite over the bowl.

Kosh-ko-nong, or more properly, Kosh-kaw a-nong, (third syllable unnaccented,) signifying "the lake we live on," was for many weeks, the lurking-place of the families of Black Hawk's warriors, in the troubles of 1832.

Wau-pee-ty-seepe, or Tooth River, a tributary of the Wisconsin above Grand Rapids. *Wau-pee ty* (full accent on first, and half accent on second syllable,) signifies *tooth*—Chippewa probably.

Des Plaines River, in Racine county, or more properly, River aux Plaines, named by the French, signifies, *soft maple.*

Oconomewoc, Scupernong, Pewaukie, Oshkosh, Taycheedah, Wauwatoosah, Techora, Kaukulan, and a host of other musical names remain, to invite the elucidation of contributors, among whom I hope to see the names of Governor Doty and Mr. Ellis.

Milwaukee, July 10, 1849.

APPENDIX NO. 12.

INDIAN NOMENCLATURE OF NORTHERN WISCONSIN, WITH A SKETCH OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE CHIPPEWAS.

BY HIRAM CALKINS, ESQ., OF WAUSAU.

Being personally unacquainted with the language of the Chippewas, and consequently their customs, I have taken some pains to procure the information desired by the Historical Society. I first applied by letter, and then in person, to Mr. WILLIAM CROSS, who resides in the northern part of this county, and from him have derived the necessary data to enable me to make up the narrative I now communicate. For want of time, he could not give all the information desired by the Society, but he assured me that he will pursue the subject still further, if requested to do so. I think Mr. CROSS has the ability to give as correct information as can be obtained relative to the traditions and customs of the Chippewa tribe, having been many years among them, and enjoying in a high degree their respect and confidence; and being a good scholar beside, is able to communicate correctly.

Indian curiosities, such as wampum, drums, medals, pipes of peace, war-dresses, medicine bags, &c., Mr. CROSS informs me cannot be procured, except by purchase, as they consider them sacred things, and place a high estimate upon them. Should any of these articles be desired by the Society, I will endeavor to procure them when instructed to do so.

I will now proceed to give a list of the Chippewa names, with their significations, of the tributary streams of the Wisconsin river, from the Forks down to Point Bas, a distance of one hundred and twenty-five miles by land, and about two hundred by the river. Of the Chippewa terminations *Se-be* or *Se-pee* and *We-shance*, theformer signifies *river*, and the latter *creek*.

Ma-na-to-kik-e-we-Se be—Stooping Spirit River.

Skan-a-wong-Se-be-we-shance—The creek that runs through bluffs.

Shin-gwack-Se-be-we-shance—Little Pine Creek.

Mush-ko-da-wun-Se-be we-shance—Little Prairie Creek.

Os-ka-ki-ra jaw-Se be—New Wood River.

Pe-qua-bik au Se-be—Rocky River, better known as *Copper River.*

Pau-gaw-do-waj-Se-be-we-shance—Ball Play Creek, now known as *Devil Creek.*

Mush-ko day yaw-Se-be—Prairie River.

Shin-gwack-Se-be—Pine River.

Tah-so-so-win-ing Se-be—Dead Fall River, now known as *Trap River.*

O-pic-wun-a Se-be—Rib River.

Wah-yaw con-ut-ta-gua-yaw-Se be—Clear Water River, now known as *Eau Claire.*

She-sheg-e-ma-we-she can-Se-be—Soft Maple River, now known as *Eau Pleine*, or Full Water.

Ma no-min a-kung-a-kauy-Se-be—Rice Stalks River, now known as *Little Eau Pleine.*

Au puh-ki-ra-kan-e-we-Se-be—River of Flags, now known as *Plover River.*

Wau-pee-tee-Se-be—Tooth River, now known as *Mill Creek.*

There are several rapids and falls on the Wisconsin river, with most of which the Indians have some superstitious notions associated. The first is a small rapid just below the Forks of the Wisconsin, called by the Chippewas Wa-bo-je-wun, or Narrow Falls, indicative of their character. The next are the "Brear-beaux,"

or Grand Father Bull Falls, which are the largest on the Wisconsin, and are called by the Indians Ko-na-je-wun, which signifies the Long Falls. These falls are two miles in length, having three perpendicular falls of several feet each in that distance. There is said to be one hundred feet fall in these three successive rapids. They were never run by the whites, and but one instance is known among the Indians of any of their people having passed them in safety. The Indians have a tradition, that there is a great spirit that presides over these falls, to which they make an appropriate offering. A portage passes around the falls on the west side of the river, where the Indians carry their canoes on their heads for a mile and a half. About midway on the portage is a solitary rock, about ten feet in circumference at the base, and about four feet high, in the shape of a cone or sugar-loaf, on which the Indians make an offering of tobacco. This offering, it is said, is preserved by the spirit until an Indian passes along destitute of tobacco, when it is given to him.

In 1849, these falls were navigated, in a bark canoe, for the first and last time by two Indians—the Black Nail and the Crow. At the head of the falls before starting, Crow held the canoe by a rock projecting from the shore, while Black Nail made a prayer and an offering to the spirit of the falls. The offering consisted of two yards of scarlet broad cloth, and a brass kettle. The prayer was in these words: "O Great Spirit of the Falls! I implore thee to extend thy protecting arm over us as we run these mighty waters. Mayest thou strengthen my arm and my paddle to guide my canoe safely down these dangerous waters. I do not implore thy protection for nothing; I give thee two yards of scarlet, and a brass kettle!" Having finished his prayer, he threw the offering overboard, and grappled his paddle, and the canoe went bounding over the billows, and ran the falls in safety.

Chippewa names of falls or rapids on the Wisconsin:

Sa-se-je-wun—Falls or rapids.

O-ska-kwa-yaw—New Wood rapids.

Mush-ko da-yaw—Prairie rapids, now known as *Jenny Bull.*

Nah-ba-na-sa-se-je-wun—One-sided rapids, now called *Trap Rapids.*

Pah-je-tak-a-ke ning-a-ning—The water that falls over rocks, now known as *Big Bull Falls.*

Oh-ka-kan-dah-go-kag—Spruce falls, now known as *Liltle Bull Falls.*

Mis-qua-wauk-sa se-je-wun—Red cedar rapids, now known as *Conant's Rapids.*

Ah-da-wa-gam—Two sided rapids, now known as *Grant's Rapids.*

Bun-gah je-wim—End of the rapids, now called *Whitney Rapids*, which are the last on the Wisconsin.

Chippewa names of towns or villages on the Wisconsin:

Mush ko-da-yaw-Tosh-ko-bo-je-gun—Jenny Bull Falls.

Pah-je-tak-a-ke ning-a-ning—Big Bull Falls, now called Wausau.

Wah yaw-con-ut ta-gua yaw—Eau Claire Mills.

Oh-ka kan-go kag—Little Bull Mills.

Nay-osh-ing—The Point, now known as *Du Bay's Trading Post.*

Kah-kag-e-winch-e-min-it-e-gong—Hemlock Island. This name is applied to *Steven's Point*, on account of an island in the Wisconsin opposite to the village, covered with hemlock, which is a a rare growth in that region.

Mush-ko-da-ny—Plover, the county seat of Portage county. The The meaning of this Chippewa name is "Prairie," given on account of the prairie-like country around it. The trail dividing the Chippewa and Menomonee lands runs through this town. Here the two tribes of Indians have been accustomed to make the portage from the Wisconsin to Wolf river, by carrying their canoes on their heads; the distance across being about eight miles. This portage is called by the Chippewas Wah-bau-ga-O ning-ah ming, meaning the *Eastern Portage.* The termination O-ning-ah-ming, means *a portage.*

Ah-dah-wa gam—Grand Rapids' Mills.

Ban-gah-je-wung—Point Bas.

O-ning-ah-ming—Portage city. This place is named from the portage between the Fox and Wisconsin rivers.

Mo-nung-wah-na-can-ing—This name is applied to La Pointe, on Lake Superior, and signifies *Yellow Wood-pecker*, and was given on account of the great abundance of those birds on the island on which La Pointe is situated.

The Chippewas in Wisconsin are divided into sixteen clans or bands, numbering about four thousand persons altogether. Each of those bands is governed by a chief, and each has a head-brave or war captain, who leads in war; a chief orator, who speaks for the chief; and a chief medicine man, who is regarded by the Indians as gifted with the spirit of prophesy. Great confidence is placed in the chief medicine man, as his services are required on all eventful occasions.

The Wisconsin river band numbers about two hundred Indians, and occupies the country from the Grand Rapids up to Tommy-Hawk Lake. The Head Chief of this band is Osh ka-ba-wis, or *The Messenger;* the Head Brave is Ka-kac-o-na-yosh, or *The Sparrow Hawk;* the Chief Orator is Now-o-com-ick, or *The Centre of the Earth;* and the Chief Medicine Man or Conjurer, is Mah-ca-da-o-gung-a, or *The Black Nail*, who performed the feat of descending the Long Falls in his canoe, and is represented by the other Indians as being a great Medicine Man. He is always called upon, far and near, in cases of sickness, or in the absence of relatives, to foretell whether the sickness will prove fatal, or whether the friends will return in safety, and at what time. He is also consulted by the Indians when they go out to hunt the bear, to foretell whether success will crown their efforts. Before performing these services, he is always paid by the Indians, with such articles as they have, which generally consist of tobacco, steel-traps, kettles, broad cloth, calico, and a variety of other commodities. He usually performs after dark, in a wigwam just large enough to admit of his standing erect. This lodge or wigwam is tightly covered with mats, so as entirely to exclude all light and the pry-

ing curiosity of all out-siders. Having no light within the lodge, the acts and utterances of the Medicine Man or Conjurer are regarded as mysterious, and credulously received by the wondering crowd surrounding the tent. He first prepares himself in his family wigwam by stripping off all his clothing, when he emerges singing, and the Indians out-side join him in the song with their drums, and accompany him to the lodge, which he enters alone. Upon entering, the lodge commences shaking violently, which is supposed by the Indians out side, to be caused by the spirits.—The shaking of the lodge produces a great noise by the rattling of bells and deers' hoofs fastened to the poles of the lodge at the top, and, at the same time, three voices are distinctly heard intermingled with this noise. One is a very heavy hoarse voice, which the Indians are made to believe is that of the GREAT SPIRIT; another is a very fine voice, represented to be that of a *Small Spirit*, while the third is that of the Medicine Man himself. He pretends that the GREAT SPIRIT converses in the heavy voice to the lesser spirit, unintelligibly to the conjurer, and the lesser spirit interprets it to him, and he communicates the intelligence to his brethren without. The ceremony lasts about three hours, when he comes out, in a high state of perspiration, supposed by the superstitious Indians, to be produced by mental excitement.

The present chief of this band, OSH-KA-BA-WIS, is a very sensible, intelligent Indian. He went to Washington during President POLK's administration, in company with other chiefs, to obtain redress for some grievances about their payments. They secured an appropriation of $6,000, but were cheated out of it by the interpreter who went with them, who having charge of the money, hid $5,000 of it, and soon after died, so that the Indians got only $1,000 of the amount.

Each of the other bands occupies a separate tract of country for hunting purposes. The Chippewas all belong to certain family tribes or totems. Those belonging to the same totem, are considered brothers and sisters, and consequently never marry.—These family totems or designations, are taken from some familiar

living object, such as the bear, the wild goose, fish, sand-hill crane, etc.—hence the bear clan or totem, and so of others. Almost every thing that inhabits land or water, is adopted by certain Indians as their totem, and some of the Indians belong to different clans or totems at the same time. These marks or totems descend from the father to the son. When a warrior goes to war and takes a scalp from the enemy, he sends or takes it to his family clan or totem, that they may dance over andaround the trophy, and recite his deeds of valor. They call their family or tribal name *to-tame*, or *totem*.

The Chippewas have a singular custom about hunting the bear in winter. Journeying from place to place, whenever they camp after dark, the hunters all assemble in a wigwam by themselves, excluding the squaws and children. They generally assemble at the lodge of the chief Medicine Man of the camp, who presides over the ceremonies, which are commenced by beating on the medicine-drum, and singing a certain number of songs, which are sung only on these occasions. The chief Medicine Man sits in the middle of the lodge, with some broad cloth and calico spread before him, together with a stuffed cub bear-skin, while his pipe or calumet, already filled, is placed before him on two crotched sticks. He then addresses the bear in this wise: "O, my brother! we are very hungry; we are on the point of starving, and I wish you to have pity on us, and to-morrow when the young men go out to hunt you, I want you to show yourself. I know very well that you are concealed somewhere close by my camp here. I give you my pipe to smoke out of, and I wish you would have pity on us, and give us your body that we may eat and not starve." Having thus spoken, he takes the medicine-drum and beats on it, accompanying it with some songs that he recites from two small boards, on which they are written in hieroglyphics. When he gets through, he passes the drum and boards to the next Indian, and so on around, till all have sung and beaten the same thing. The performance generally lasts about four hours, when they retire to their several lodges. In the morning, the hunters all go to the medi-

cine bag of the chief Medicine Man, which is generally suspended from a small tree, and take from it some vermillion with which they paint themselves, and the noses of their dogs. Thus prepared, they start on the hunt in different directions, and being inspired with faith and goaded on by hunger, they are almost sure of success before night.

Other customs are observed by them, which also indicate the superstition of the Chippewas. I will notice that of the burial of their dead. When an Indian dies, they believe, as did their forefathers, that he has gone to better hunting-grounds, and has need only of so much provision as will be sufficient to carry him through the journey; and when there, that he is endowed with a benevolent spirit, and in order that he may exercise it, the Indians make frequent offerings of such articles as they can spare, by placing them at the head of the grave, when any destitute Indian coming along, and finding the offering, accepts it as a gift from the benevolent spirit of the dead.

July 10th, 1854.

APPENDIX No. 13.

REMINISCENCES OF WISCONSIN,

BY ALEXANDER F. PRATT.

No. 1.—THE JUDICIARY OF WISCONSIN IN 1837-8.

The Territory of Wisconsin was organized in July, 1836. It was divided into three Judicial Districts. Judge DUNN was appointed for the Western District, Judge IRWIN for the Middle, and Judge FRAZIER, of Pennsylvania, for the Eastern. Judge FRAZIER arrived in Milwaukee on a Sunday evening, in June, 1837. He put up at the small hotel which stood where "Dickerman's Block" now stands, which was called the * * * * * * * * Tavern, kept by Mr. VAIL. On his arrival, he fell in with some old Kentucky friends, who invited him to a private room, for the purpose of participating in an innocent game of "*poker.*" The party consisted of the Judge, Col. MORTON, Register of the Land Office, and two or three others—friends of the Judge. They commenced playing for small sums at first, but increased them as the hours passed, until the dawn of day, the next morning—when small sums seemed beneath their notice. The first approach of day was heralded to them by the ringing of the bell for breakfast. The Judge made a great many apologies, saying, among other things, that as that was his first appearance in the Territory, and as his court opened at 10 o'clock that morning, he must have a little

time to prepare a charge to the Grand Jury. He therefore hoped that they would excuse him, which they accordingly did, and he withdrew from the party. The court met at the appointed hour—Owen Aldrich acting as Sheriff, and Cyrus Hawley as Clerk. The Grand Jury was called and sworn. The Judge, with much dignity, commenced his charge; and never before did we hear such a charge poured forth from the bench! After charging them upon the laws generally, he alluded to the statute against gambling. The English language is too barren to describe his abhorrence of that crime. Among other extravagances, he said, that "a gambler was unfit for earth, heaven or hell," and that "God Almighty would even *shudder* at the sight of one."

At that time, we had but one session of the Legislature, which had adopted mostly the statutes of Michigan, which allowed the Court to exercies its discretion in granting *stays* of executions, &c. A suit came up against a man in the Second Ward, who had no counsel. The Judge ordered the crier to call the defendant. He did so, and the defendant appeared. The Judge asked him if he had anything to say against judgment being rendered against him. He replied, that he did not know that he had, as it was an honest debt, but that he was unable to pay it. The Judge inquired what his occupation was. He replied that he was a fisherman.—Says the Judge, "Can you pay it in fish?" The defendant answered, that "he did not know but he could, if he had time to catch them." The Judge turned to the clerk, and ordered him to "enter up a judgment, payable in fish, and grant a stay of execution for twelve months;" at the same time remarking to the defendant, that he must surely pay it at the time, and in *good* fish; for he would not be willing to wait so long for "stinking fish." The next suit worthy of note, was against Wm. M. Dennis, our present Bank Comptroller. He, like his predecessor, had no counsel. His name was called, and he soon made his appearance. He entered the Court-room, wearing his usual smile, whittling, with his knife in the left hand. The Court addressed him in a loud voice, "What are you grinning about, Mr. Dennis?" Mr.

D. replied, that he was not aware that he was laughing. The Court inquired if he proposed to offer any defence? He replied, that he did, but was not ready for trial. "No matter," said the Judge, "there's enough that are ready; the clerk will enter it 'continued,'" The next case, about which we recollect, was the trial of two Indians, who were indicted for murdering a man on Rock river. They were also indicted for an assault, with intent to kill, upon another man, at the same time. The trial for murder came off first. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be hanged. On the day following, they were tried for the assault, &c., found guilty, and sentenced to five years imprisonment, and to pay a fine of five hundred dollars each. Governor Dodge, however, deeming it too severe to fine and imprison a man after he was hanged, commuted it to imprisonment for life. The Indians were confined in a jail a year or two, but were finally pardoned by the Governor.

Judge Frazier soon afterwards went to Green Bay, and held a Court, from whence, for want of a jail in which to confine prisoners, he sentenced a man, for some trifling offence, "to be banished to Turkey river." After the Court adjourned, he returned to Milwaukee on the steamboat Pennsylvania. She anchored in the bay, and the Judge, who was dead drunk at the time, was lowered by means of a tackle, into a boat, and rowed to the landing, at Walker's Point. From the effect of this bacchanalian revel he never recovered. His friend, Col. Morton, took him to his own house, called to his aid our best physicians, and all was done that human skill could devise, for the restoration of his health; but it was too late; the seeds of death had been sown; he lingered in great distress for four or five days, and breathed his last.* The members of the Bar, generally, neglected to attend the funeral; and having no relatives in the State, he hardly received a decent burial. His remains were followed to their last resting place by only two members of the Bar, (Messrs. Arnold and Crocker,) be-

* Hon. William C. Frazier, Associate Judge for the Territory of Wisconsin, died at Milwaukee, Oct. 13th 1838, aged sixty-two years.—*American Almanac*, 1840.

sides a few friends. They now remain in the old church-yard in the First Ward, without even a *slab* to mark the spot.

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The above sketch was written by us from memory, for the *Wisconsin*, last summer. We now re-publish it for the purpose of doing simple justice to the living, by adding that we have since learned that a son of Judge FRAZIER came to Milwaukee some years since, and had the remains of his father removed to the new church-yard in the Fifth Ward, and proper tombstones erected over them.

December 6, 1854.

No. 2.—MILWAUKEE AND SOLOMON JUNEAU.

SOLOMON JUNEAU was the first white settler in Milwaukee. He was a native of Canada, and immigrated to that place in the fall of 1818, and built him a log cabin among the natives. At that time his family consisted of a wife and one child. His nearest white neighbors were at Chicago, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. He kept a few goods suitable for the Indian trade, and for the first seventeen years he was not only the only merchant in the place, but the only white man. During that period, a few Indian traders were occasionally there, but not permanently located. In the spring of 1835, a land office having been previously established at Green Bay, this land was brought into market, and Mr. JUNEAU purchased a small tract consisting of about 130 acres, lying on the east side of the river, directly north of Wisconsin-street. Previous to this time, GEO. H. WALKER, Esq., had come and made a claim on what is now called "Walker's Point," which he subsequently obtained a title to. BYRON KILBOURN,

Esq., about that time purchased a tract on the west side of the river, which has from that time been known by the name of "Kilbourn Town." Daniel Wells, Jr., W. W. Gilman, Geo. D. Dousman, E. W. Edgerton, T. C. Dousman, Geo. O. Tiffany, D. H. Richards, William Brown, Jr., Milo Jones, Enoch Darling, and others immigrated about the same time, and made large purchases of lands. In the course of the summer of 1835, a number of good buildings were erected, and a great many eastern speculators came and bought lands at high prices. Mr. Juneau, about this time, sold an undivided interest in his lands to Morgan L. Martin. He built a fine dwelling-house on the lot where Mitchell's Banking-house now stands; also a large store and warehouse on what is now known as "Ludington's Corner." In 1836, when we came, he was doing a large business both in selling goods and lots. During that season, some two or three hundred thousand dollars' worth of goods had been brought there to sell. Ground rent was nearly as high as it is now. A merchant with a stock of goods would arrive one day, and by the next day noon he would have a store completed to open in. Things were done on the California principle. They were usually built of rough boards with a "grass floor," and in several instances a blanket was hung up for a partition, and one-half of the tenement rented to another for a dollar a day. The town was flooded with speculators, and all made money until the non-residents left and navigation closed, when a sudden change "came o'er the spirit of their dreams."

The town was left with a large stock of goods, and but few inhabitants. Merchants and other business men enjoyed the winter in the best possible manner. During the fall quite a large number of actual settlers had arrived, of the right stamp, among whom was H. N. Wells, J. E. Arnold, Henry Williams, Hans Crocker, J. H. Tweedy, L. Blossom, J. W. Pixley, S. H. Martin, Geo. P. Delaplaine, Geo. Reed, Cyrus Hawley, Fred. Wardner, A. O. T. Breed, Eliphalet Cramer, Rufus Parks, Curtis Reed, Orson Reed, William M. Dennis, Truman L. Smith, Edmond D. Clinton, A. A. Bird, and many others, whom time will not allow us to mention.

All had been doing a "land office business," and had plenty of money left to winter on. At this time our old friend JUNEAU was supposed to be worth at least $100,000 with a fair prospect of its being doubled by the rise of land in the spring. We have often seen him in those days go into his store, after business hours were over, and take from the drawers the money that his clerks had received during the day for goods and lots, amounting often to 8 or 10,000 dollars, and put it loose in his hat; and upon one occasion we recollect of his hat being knocked off in a playful crowd, when some $10,000 flew in various directions. In short, money seemed to be of no earthly use to him. If a man called upon him to subscribe for either a public improvement or a charitable object, whatever was required he subscribed, without asking why or wherefore. In the meantime he had looked on and seen others get rich on the rise of property that he had sold, and he commenced buying back lots and paying thousands for those he had previously sold for hundreds. We recollect very well one circumstance; his re-purchasing the corner lot, near Youngs' Hall, for $3,700, which he had sold the year previous for $475. He was truly in the language of the poet, "The noblest work of God, an honest man." He had implicit confidence in every body.

The spring of 1837 disappointed all our anticipations. A general stagnation in business prevailed in all directions. Immigration had almost entirely fallen off. Our currency which was mostly of the Michigan "Wild Cat," stamp was no longer a legal tender.—There was no sale for real estate. The second payments were becoming due on purchases of real estate, and all who supposed themselves rich in lands, were not only destitute of money, but the means to raise it. Some who were able to hold on, kept their property until they could get a handsome advance; while the majority were compelled to sell for what they could get, and bankruptcy was the inevitable result.

At this time, there were but a few settlements in the interior; but the hard times which continued through the years 1837 and 1838, induced many to leave Milwaukee and locate a "claim."—

The lands between Milwaukee and Rock River were then surveyed, but were not brought into market until the fall of 1839. During this time they had become thickly settled, and many of them quite valuable. The hard times at the East had led many to seek a home in the West; and in the fall of 1839, when these lands came into market, many of them had been so improved that they were worth from $10 to $100 an acre, while the occupants had not the first "red cent" to buy them with. Consequently, a large proportion of the settlers were compelled to either sell their improvements for what they could get, or pay from 25 to 50 per cent. for money to enter their lands with.

About this time, ALEX. MITCHELL, HARVEY BIRCHARD, the Messrs. LUDINGTONS, E. ELDRED and other capitalists came to Milwaukee, and purchased lots at $100 each, that had previously been sold from $1,000 to $1,500, and are now selling from $5,000 to $15,000 each. From that day to this, "the rise and progress" of Milwaukee has been steady and onward. The price of land has continued to advance with the increase of business, and nearly all who commenced in business there at that time, and continued to the present, have become wealthy and independent. In 1846, the Legislature passed an act to divide Milwaukee county, and establish the county of Waukesha; also another to incorporate the city of Milwaukee. At the first charter election in the new city, SOLOMON JUNEAU was elected Mayor, which was a well-merited compliment to the "old pioneer."

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Mr. JUNEAU, subsequently, left Milwaukee, and settled at the village of Theresa, in Dodge county, (the name of which should be changed to Juneau,) where he still resides. He has now a large family, and we learn, that by hard labor, he gets a comfortble living.

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We have spun this yarn much longer than we intended; but the name of "OLD SOLOMON," as the Indians used to call him, brings with it so many "sweet recollections of the past," that we could find no

stopping place until our sheet was full. A notice of him which we copied last week from the Green Bay *Advocate*, which stated that "Mr. JUNEAU left that place in 1830," has prompted us to correct that error,* and give this hasty sketch of a man who is truly one of Nature's Noblemen.

No. 3.—SKETCH OF WAUKESHA.

WAUKESHA was originally called "Prairie Village." Afterwards, the Legislature changed it to "Prairieville;" and after the county was set off from Milwaukee, it was changed to Waukesha. The first white settlers were Messrs. M. D. and A. R. CUTLER, JOHN MANDERVILLE and —— LUTHER. They came here in the spring of 1834, not very long after the close of the "Black Hawk War." At that time the land had been purchased of the Indians; yet, in

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* The editor of the *Green Bay Advocate*, Hon. C. D. ROBINSON, thus notices this sketch of the old pioneer of Milwaukee, and furnishes some additional facts relative to early Milwaukee settlers: "The *Waukesha Plaindealer* has a lengthy notice of Hon. SOLOMON JUNEAU, who, it says, was the first white settler in Milwaukee, and corrects our error in stating that he left here (Green Bay,) some time about 1830. The brief article which we made at the time was penned without any definite knowledge of Mr. JUNEAU's early history, other than that we believed him to be the first settler of Milwaukee, and supposed, though erroneously, that he went there from Green Bay.

We were reminded by Mr. A. J VIEAU, of this place, that his father, Mr. JAS VIEAU, Sen., emigrated to and settled in Milwaukee some years before Mr. JUNEAU went there; and that before Mr. VIEAU came, other white men had settled there. Mr. J. B. BEAUBIEN, now of Chicago, had already been there some years before Mr. VIEAU, and a Mr. LAFROMBOISE, whose children now live in Chicago, was there some time before Mr BEAUBIEN.

These facts touch only the question, of course, as to the *first* white settler of Milwaukee. That Mr. JUNEAU is entitled to the credit of founding the city, and taking an active and honorable part in its early government, and in contributing in a very great degree to its prosperity, there is no doubt."

accordance with the Treaty, they remained in possession of it up to the summer of 1836, when it was surveyed by the General Government. The Messrs. CUTLER built the first "log cabin" in this town in the year 1834. It was located near where Messrs. BLAIR & SMITH'S machine shop now stands. Mr. MANDERVILLE at that time made a "claim" on what is now the "school section." Mr. LUTHER claimed the land where Mr. MEYER now resides, on section 20, in this town. These were the only settlers who came here that year. At that time large tribes of Indians were located in this county. Their head quarters were at this place; yet their *wig-wams* were scattered up and down the Fox River, (or *Pish-ta-ka*, as they called it,) from Mukwonago to Pewaukee Lake; and for the first two or three years they were a great annoyance to the white settlers. There being no fences, the settlers' cattle would often get among the Indians' corn fields, and caused much trouble. The Indians being legally in possession of the land, and having the numbers and power to rule, would demand such damages as they saw fit; and upon one occasion claimed and received of the Messrs. CUTLER a fat ox for the damage he had done their corn. In the spring of 1835, Mr. MCMILLAN and family came and built a cabin where the Court House now stands. Mr. A. C. NICKELL and Dr. CORNWALL located on the south part of the farm now owned by Mr. NICKELL. Mr. IRA STEWART located on what is now known as the "Cushman farm," and Messrs. ISAAC and RICHARD SMART located where they now live. These were the only settlers who came that year.

During the summer and fall of 1836, Mr. —— MURRAY located on what is now WILLIAM WHITE'S farm. Messrs NELSON and THOS. H. OLIN located on what is now known as the "Gale farm." Mr. SERGEANT located on the west side of the river, near the water-power. Soon afterwards, this township was surveyed, when it seemed that the Messrs. CUTLER, MCMILLAN and SERGEANT were all on one quarter section, where the village and mills are now located. This, for some length of time, was a bone of contention, all being anxious to "claim" the water-power. In the fall of that

year, Mr. NATHANIEL WALTON, with his family, located where they still reside, near this village. Up to this time, Mrs. McMILLAN was the only white woman in this part of the country; consequently there was no tea table gossip at that time. Mr. McMILLAN's cabin, which was about 16 by 24 feet, was the only public house in the place, and an interesting spot it was, too.

At that time we were located at Milwaukee, and came out here often. Upon one occasion, we stopped with twelve others at this hotel over night, there being but one room and two beds in the house. We have often seen the hogs occupy the inside of the house, and the whiskey barrel placed on the outside to make room. If a landlord, at that time, could raise a barrel of flour, pork and whiskey, it was all that was necessary for a "first-class hotel" In short, tavern-keeping was more an act of necessity than choice with many, as the settlements were so few and far between that they were compelled to keep all travellers that came, regardless of their means of accommodation, as all preferred sleeping on a floor to a bed, or on a blanket in the open fields, as we were often compelled to do.

In the spring of 1837, we came here to look at a claim owned by Mr. CUTLER, which he had then recently purchased of Mr. LUTHER for five hundred dollars. We stopped with Mr. WALTON, who at that time kept the best house. In the morning we started on foot, in company with Mr. M. D. CUTLER, to view the "claim" —a distance of about four miles. When we came to the river, which at that time was nearly two feet deep, Mr. C. commenced fording it. We backed out, and proposed to return to the hotel for our pony; but Mr. C. insisted on our trying our pedestrian powers in the water, and after spending some time in consultation, he supplied the place of our pony, and carried us safe through the river. Upon arriving at the "claim," we found it to be "all our fancy painted," and we soon closed a bargain for it at $1,000, paying in four (paper) city lots, at $250 each.

Previous to this time, Mr. ORRIN BROWN had come and located on the quarter section where the "Stone Quarry" is; and Mr.

Manderville having found himself, after the survey, on the school section, located on the quarter section that Mr. A. Minor now lives on. In the course of that season, Messrs. E. D. Clinton, Z. Bidwell, Henry Bowron, James Y. Watson, J. M. Wells, J. Rice, J. W. Rossman, E. Churchill, Ezra Mendall, Joel Bidwell, Daniel Thompson, Robert Love, Moses Ordway, Sabina Barney, Asa S. Watson, and Peter N. Cushman, located on different claims in this town. This comprised the whole settlement here, in the year 1837.

In the spring of 1838, several new settlers immigrated. Among them were H N. Davis, James Buckner, Charles Crownheart, Ira Doliver, B. F. Chamberlain, O. N. Higley, Albert White, James and Edward W. King, I. C. Owen, Daniel Chandler, Allen Clinton, Lyman and E. W. Goodnow, and several others. During that season, James Buckner and Mr. Bowron built what is now a part of the "Prairieville House." Robert Love built a small frame dwelling house, and we another. These were the only framed buildings in this county at that time. Associations had been formed by the settlers for the mutual protection of each other in their "claims." Each had his claim registered, and was protected in the peaceable possession of so many acres, which was altered from time to time by the Association. At first, each man was allowed to claim 160 acres; after which "claims" became more valuable, and it was extended to a whole section. Disputes having arisen between the Messrs. Cutler, McMillan and Sergeant, (who were all on one "claim,") several "claim trials" were had, and finally, the Messrs. Cutler bought off the other claimants. In the mean time, M. D. Cutler had bought out Mr. Brown, and taken possession of the quarter section where he now lives.

Up to this time, the only provisions used or seen in the country were salt pork, flour and potatoes. Flour was worth in Milwaukee $16 to $17 a barrel, pork $30 to $33, potatoes $2 to $3 a bushel; and the price of hauling a barrel of pork from there was $5, and other freights in proportion. The road from here to Milwaukee was anywhere we chose to travel, as travellers generally preferred new

routes each time, knowing that a change must necessarily be an improvement. It had never been cut out through the timber, and each traveller was compelled to carry an axe to cut the trees, whenever he ran against them. Previous to the summer of 1838, there were but few settlers between here and Milwaukee.

During the summer of 1836, Messrs. Camp and Andrews had settled at Mukwonago, Messrs. Hatch and Rockwell at Oconomowoc, and Messrs Fuller and Porter in Pewaukee, where they now live; and in 1837, Messrs. Edgerton and Dousman located their claims in Summit and Ottowa, where they now reside. The same season, Mr. John Gale, who then lived at Milwaukee, bought Mr. Cutler's claim to the quarter section containing the water-power, for $6,600, and the next season built a flour and saw-mill on it. After which he sold an undivided interest in it to Wm. A. Barstow and Robert Lockwood, who, in company with him, laid it out into village lots, many of which were sold at a high price, and bonds for deeds given while the title still remained in the General Government.

In October, 1839, the lands were brought into market and sold. At that time all the best locations had been taken, and each occupant was permitted to purchase his land at public auction, at the minimum price of $1 25 per acre. Many of the settlers being poor, paid from 25 to 50 per cent. for money to purchase their lands, and allowed the speculators to take the titles to them in their own names, as security for the money loaned; whereby in the end, being unable to pay, they lost their all. All those who succeeded in paying for their lands, and have remained on them up to the present time, have become wealthy; while some, who were unable to pay for their lands, sold their improvements for what they could get, and commenced anew on unimproved lands. From that time to this, the settlement of our county has gone forward steadily, and the lands are now mostly owned and occupied by actual settlers. Several large and flourishing villages have been built up in the county, which time and space will not allow us to speak of, on this occasion.

In 1847, the "Milwaukee and Waukesha Railroad Co." was incorporated, and subsequently it was changed to "Milwaukee and Mississippi," and extended to the Mississippi. The road was completed from Milwaukee to this village in March, 1852. There are also charters for three other Railroads running through this village.

The village of Waukesha was incorporated in 1852, and now has a population of about 2,200. It contains one saw mill, one flouring mill, two foundries, one railroad car factory, one machine shop, one threshing machine manufactory, two breweries, nine blacksmith shops, nine boot and shoe shops, two paint shops, one cooper shop, one carriage and wagon manufactory, two tailors' shops, two millinery establishments, two jewelry shops, three saddle and harness establishments, two cabinet ware-rooms, two tin and sheet-iron manufacturing establishments, two stone-cutting establishments, two butchers' shops, three drug stores, three stationery and book stores, three hardware stores, five dry goods stores, seven groceries, three hotels, two livery stables, nine physicians one daguerreian room, one portrait painter, one dentist, seven lawyers, twelve ministers of the gospel, besides Rev. Dr. SAVAGE, President of Carroll College; eight churches, the court-house and jail, a college, a female seminary, the Waukesha County Bank, two printing presses, one literary paper, and two newspapers.

No. 4.—OLD SETTLERS.

Some time in the month of February, A. D. 1837, we in company with AUGUSTUS STORY, (a nephew of the late Chief Justice STORY,) started from Milwaukee on a tour to the mining regions. We were both young and *green* in every thing connected with

western life, if not upon general principles. Our outfit consisted of two Indian ponies, rigged with pack-saddles, saddle-bags, blankets, "provisions for man and beast," with a few extra "liquids." The snow was about ten inches deep, and the weather extremely cold —say 10 or 15 degrees below 0. We reached Prairie Village the first night, pretty much "used up," being unaccustomed to riding, especially through heavy timber, where there was no road, except what we made for each other, in travelling in "Indian file." At Prairie Village, (now Waukesha,) we put up at the best house in town, which was a small log cabin, about fifteen feet square, and contained but one room and two beds. Some five or six travellers from other directions, had arrived in advance of us, and a "sight" for lodgings looked rather dubious. Upon inquiry, we were told that we could stay, as it was a standing rule of the country to entertain all travellers, regardless of accommodation, for necessity compelled it. After partaking of a very palatable supper, consisting of fried pork and bread, the two beds were properly divided among the crowd upon the floor; but, having a good supply of blankets ourselves, we refused our proportion, and made our bed near the stove; and being so much fatigued, from our journey, we soon fell asleep, and did not even awake until daylight pressed the duty upon us. After having breakfasted, we resumed our journey in the direction of Fort Atkinson. Being aware of the fact, that there was no house on the route between Prairie Village and that point, we prepared ourselves for the worst. The road was but an Indian trail, completely hidden by the snow; so we were compelled to travel by compass instead of "trails." We reached Rock River just as the day-god was sinking in the west; and, as good luck would have it, we discovered a light a short distance from the river, and directed our steps towards it. Upon our arrival at the spot from whence it proceeded, we found some old friends, whom we had previously seen at Prairie Village—the Messrs. Foster, of Fort Atkinson. This was the only cabin in the place. It had just been completed, and was located near the old Fort. Reader, if you were ever cold, hungry, weary, "*dry*" and wet, at

the same time, you can imagine our feelings on that occasion. The accommodations were somewhat limited, it being a log cabin of about the usual size, and contained but one room occupied by two families. Ten travellers, besides ourselves, had bespoken lodgings for the night; still we were comfortably provided for.

The next morning, with much reluctance, we again resumed our journey, weary and sore. We would willingly have retreated; but did not do so, lest we should be laughed at. We were informed that the next nearest stopping place (except among the natives) was at HANEY'S, near the Blue Mounds, a distance of 50 miles. It was a cold, cloudy day. Our compass, from some unknown cause, refused to perform its duty; and after travelling five or six miles, we were unable to determine whether we were going west or east. Our comrade becoming weary and discouraged, seemed determined to take the back track; but this we demurred to, as being contra to our early education. We took the lead, and kept it till about 3 o'clock P. M., when, looking round for our friend STORY, we found that we had distanced him, and that he was not in sight. We halted for a short time, when he came up, and insisted upon "camping" upon the spot. We assured him that we would reach an Indian settlement, on the First Lake, before dark and prevailed upon him to follow. He finally consented to do so, and we again led the way till night overtook us, when we halted on the banks of the Catfish river, near the present site of the village of Dunkirk. After brushing the snow away from an old log, we struck up a fire, turned our pony loose to browse, and made preparations for lodgings. Our companion had not yet arrived, and we started on the back track in search of him. Twilight was fast deepening into night; and it soon became so dark, that we could only proceed in the direction from whence we came by feeling the footprints of our pony in the snow. Placed in this dilemma, we knew not what course to pursue. The wolves commenced howling around us, evidently intending to give us their hand, without a formal introduction; and at times they would approach so near us that we could see their glaring eye-balls through

the darkness. In this manner we felt our way back for the distance of about a mile, when we met our companion who was completely exhausted. He was proceeding on foot, feeling his way, and leading his pony—cursing both us and the country. We assured him that we had procured the best of lodgings, at the nearest hotel, which was but a short distance ahead; and in this way we kept his spirits up until we reached the lodgings which we had provided by the "old oaken" log; and never were mortals more happy than we were on reaching it. After hancelling our ponies, and turning them loose to browse, we looked after our provisions, and found that they had "stepped out," or, in other words, we had lost them; and nothing had we in the shape of refreshments, excedt a bottle, about half full, of "fourth proof." We took that to the river, for the purpose of diluting it with water, and thus making it more palatable; but we found the river frozen over. We attempted to break the ice with our fist, but it was stronger than we had anticipated; and after dealing it a few blows, our knuckles "backed out." After seeking in vain to find a stone near by we conceived the idea of breaking the ice through with our bottle; but at the first blow the bottle yielded, instead of the ice; and away went the last of our *liquid refreshments.* We returned to the camp, and found our friend engaged in endeavoring to re-kindle the fire, which had nearly expired. We informed him of our misfortune, and at the same time reminded him that it was useless to mourn for "spilled milk," or brandy. After a while we succeeded in reviving the fire, which we took turns in replenishing with fuel during the night. It was so cold that we should have been frozen before morning, had we not kept up a fire, which, together with the time occupied in keeping the wolves at bay, occupied one or the other of us until day dawned upon us. The wolves watched every move we made, as though, (if possible,) they were more hungry than ourselves.

We were "up and dressed" in good season in the morning—not having slept at all during the night—and proceeded up the Catfish river, knowing that that stream would lead us to the "Fourth

Lake," where were several Indian wig-wams; and when there, we could obtain something to eat, even if it was not of the choicest kind. At about noon we reached the First Lake, and seeing moccasin tracks in the snow, we followed them a short distance to a wigwam, but found it tenantless. After searching it from top to bottom, we found a few cold roasted potatoes, which, we assure you, (after having fasted for twenty-four hours,) relished well.—We remained in this wigwam an hour or two, and then passed on to the point where Madison is now located. At that time, neither the axe, nor "the shovel and the hoe," had been hung up or laid down in that vicinity. It was nearly sundown when we crossed the Third Lake. After travelling over the first eminence—where the Capitol now stands—we struck a ravine, (between Capitol-square and the present site of the University,) where we made a halt, struck up a fire, and encamped for the night, without even making any inquiry about supper. The cold potatoes which we ate at noon, supplied the place of breakfast, dinner and supper. The weather had moderated a little, which, together with the hardships of the journey, and our extreme fatigue, caused us to sleep quite comfortably during the night. The next morning we crossed Fourth Lake, a distance of about four miles, where we saw a small log cabin, which was the first building of the kind we had seen since leaving Fort Atkinson. We knocked at the door, but all was silent. We were both cold and hungry, and the *sight* of a cabin was some relief. We did not wait for ceremony, but bolted in, where we found a squaw and some four or five pappooses. We spoke to her in the Pottawatamie language, but she made no reply. We were soon satisfied that she did not understand us. We then made all the signs that our Indian education or ingenuity would admit of, to show her that we were hungry; but all in vain. We expected that her husband would soon come in and kick us out of doors, without waiting for an explanation, and were at a loss what to do. A white man, however, soon came in, spoke to us in good English, and seemed glad to see us. He informed us that he was a Canadian, that the squaw was his wife, and that the children

were also his. The squaw belonged to the Winnebago tribe, and spoke a different language from the other Indians in the vicinity. He had been an Indian trader there for years. The lands which he had cultivated had been sold without his knowledge; for, in fact, he took no interest in anything, except trading in furs, &c. His wife, on being made acquainted with our wants, flew around and prepared for us a supper. It was a kind of pot pie, which relished very well. After finishing our meal, we inquired what kind of meat we had eaten, and were informed that it was *musk rat.*— We remained there till morning, and then left for the "Blue Mounds." In the meantime, we had become blind, from the effect of sore eyes, caused by too frequent exposure of our ocular organs to the smoke.

At Blue Mounds we found Mr. Ebenezer Brigham, who still resides there. By this time, our eyes had become so sore, that we could not bear the light. We remained at the Mounds a day or two, while our friend Story went on to Mineral Point. Being anxious to arrive at the "diggings," whether we were able to see or not, we hired an Indian to lead our pony, mounted upon his back, and proceeded to Mineral Point. We were obliged to ride blindfolded, to protect our eyes from the wind We arrived at the Point a little after dark, on Sunday evening. We were conducted into a room at the principal hotel, kept by Mr. Nichols; but still kept our eyes bandaged. There were all kinds of fun, sports and music going on in the room. After sitting a while, we removed the bandage from our eyes, washed them, and found that they were much better. Such a sight as presented itself to our view, we never saw before or since. It seemed that the miners were in the habit of assembling there on Saturday nights, to drink, gamble and frolic until Monday morning. The house was composed of three or four log cabins put together, with passage ways cut from one to another. This was the only public house in the place. The bar room, in which we were sitting, contained a large bar, well supplied with all kinds of liquors. In one corner of the room, was a Faro Bank, discounting to a crowd around it; in anc-

ther corner a Roulette; and in another, sat a party engaged in playing at cards. One man sat back in a corner, playing a fiddle, to whose music two others were dancing in the middle of the room. Hundreds of dollars were lying upon the tables; and among the crowd were the principal men of the Territory—men who held high and responsible offices then, and do now. Being pretty much worn out by our journey, we expressed a wish to retire. The landlord showed us through a dark room, and opened the door of another, in which two men were also playing at cards, and a third lay drunk upon the floor. The landlord sat down his light, seized the drunken man by the collar, and dragged him into the next room. He soon returned, and informed us that we could choose between the beds—there being two in the room—and bid us good night. We sat down upon the side of the bed, and began to figure in our mind upon the chances. We had several hundred dollars in our pocket, which we had brought with us, for the purpose of entering land.* We imagined that in case they should get "short," they might call for our "pile."

After studying a while, we threw down the outside blanket, and quietly crawled into bed with all our clothes on, except cap and boots. We had a good bowie-knife in our belt, and a pistol in each pocket; we clasped a pistol in each hand, and in this way we lay until daylight, and a longer night we never wish to see.—When daylight made its appearance, we got up; our room-mates were still playing at cards. On going out to the bar-room, we found that the crowd had mostly disappeared; there were here and there one or two asleep around the room, and all was still.—The next day, our companion, (Mr. Story,) who had been visiting some friends near by, came round. We entered our lands and returned to the Blue Mounds, where we laid in a store of provisions and left for home, which we reached in four days, having learned the way, the fare, the manners and customs of the miners, and have seen enough of travelling in a new country to last us from that time to the present.

* Perhaps it would be well to state here, in connection with this fact, that this was previous to our connection with politics or newspapers. P.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE SOCIETY.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notices of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, associations, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1835—and hence the Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of Michigan newspapers for that period, we are peculiarly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, or other curiositses found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

7. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will conver a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities; all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward to the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

DEPOSITARIES.

G. & J. A. Remsen, at Lippincott, Grambo & Co.'s Philadelphia.
Samuel G. Drake, Antiquarian Book Store, Boston.
Charles B. Norton, Astor Place, New York.
Joel Munsell, Publisher, 78 State Street, Albany.
George Ogden Deeth & Co., Washington City.
C. R. Starkweather, No. 102 Michigan Avenue, Chicago.
C. C. Simmons, City Recorder, St. Louis.
I. A. Lapham, Milwaukee.
David Anderson, Cincinnati.
Jesse Clement, Editor Western Literary Messenger, Buffalo.

☞ Donors to the Society's Library and Collections will, in return, be placed upon the list of exchanges, and receive equivalent publications of the Society.

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ERRATTA.

Page 29—End of first line, instead of "Engignkhils," read *English King.*

" 100—William Force should evidently read George Force.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

AND

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

OF

WISCONSIN,

FOR THE YEAR 1855.

VOLUME II.

MADISON:
CALKINS & PROUDFIT, PRINTERS.
1856.

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OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE SOCIETY.

1. Manuscript statements and narratives of pioneer settlers—old letters and journals relative to the early history and settlement of Wisconsin, and of the Black Hawk War; biographical notices of our pioneers, and of eminent citizens, deceased; and facts illustrative of our Indian tribes, their history, characteristics, sketches of their prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions of Indian implements, dress, ornaments and curiosities.

2. Files of newspapers, books, pamphlets, college catalogues; minutes of ecclesiastical conventions, conferences and synods, and other publications relating to this State, or Michigan Territory, of which Wisconsin formed a part from 1818 to 1825—and hence the Territorial Laws and Journals, and files of Michigan newspapers for that period, we are peculiarly anxious to obtain.

3. Drawings and descriptions of our ancient mounds and fortifications, their size, representation and locality.

4. Information respecting any ancient coins, or other curiosities found in Wisconsin. The contribution of such articles to the Cabinet of the Society is respectfully solicited.

5. Indian geographical names of streams and localities in this State, with their significations.

6. Books of all kinds, and especially such as relate to American history, travels and biography in general and the West in particular, family genealogies, old magazines, pamphlets, files of newspapers, maps, historical manuscripts, autographs of distinguished persons, coins, medals, paintings, portraits, statuary and engravings.

7. We solicit from Historical Societies and other learned bodies, that interchange of books and other materials by which the usefulness of institutions of this nature is so essentially enhanced—pledging ourselves to repay such contributions by acts in kind to the full extent of our ability.

8. The Society particularly begs the favor and compliment of authors and publishers, to present, with their autographs, copies of their respective works for its Library.

9. Editors and publishers of newspapers, magazines and reviews, will confer a lasting favor on the Society by contributing their publications regularly for its library—or, at least, such numbers as may contain articles bearing upon Wisconsin history, biography, geography, or antiquities; all which will be carefully preserved for binding.

Packages for the Society may be sent to, or deposited with, the following gentlemen, who have kindly consented to take charge of them. Such parcels, to prevent mistakes, should be properly enveloped and addressed, even if but a single article; and it would, furthermore, be desirable, that donors should forward to the Corresponding Secretary a specification of books or articles donated and deposited.

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Joel Munsell, Publisher, 78 State Street, Albany.
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☞ Donors to the Society's Library and Collections will, in return, be placed upon the list of exchanges, and receive equivalent publications of the Society.

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT.

To His Excellency, Wm. A. Barstow,

Governor of the State of Wisconsin:

Sir:—The undersigned Executive Committee of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in compliance with the act of the Legislature granting five hundred dollars annually to the Society, beg to present herewith the report of the Treasurer for the past year, exhibiting the objects and extent of the expenditures of the Society, with the accompanying vouchers. The total receipts of the year, including the balance on hand on the 2d of January last, have been $760 42, and the disbursements $668 12—leaving a balance in the Treasury of $92 30.

In presenting their Second Annual Report, the Executive Committee are happy in being able to congratulate the members of the Society, and the citizens of the State, on the large measure of success that has attended the Society during the past year. The increase in the library and collections has been very large—without a precedent in the history of any similar association in the Western States; and the Society, at the same time, has increased its hold upon the sympathies and kind offices of men of letters abroad, and of our own enlightened fellow citizens of Wisconsin. With noble ends gained by honorable means, it is a subject of just pride to the Committee, that our institution, having no selfish, sectarian, partizan, or exclusive aims, should thus receive the warm approbation of the wise and the good at home and abroad.

In January, 1854, after the Society had been five years in existence, there were but fifty volumes in the library. At that date an efficient re-organization was effected, and the patronage of the State secured; and the result was, that on the 1st of January, 1855, the library by gifts, purchases and exchanges had increased to 1050; and now, after the labors of another successful year, we have to report the present number of volumes in the library at 2115—exhibiting an increase the past year of 1065 volumes, thus something more than doubling the aggregate in a single year. Of this increase, 192 were by purchase, and 873 by donation and exchange; while the previous year, the number of volumes purchased was 130, and 870 received by donation and exchange; and the 50 volumes which the Society possessed prior to 1854, were all donated. Thus of the present number in the library, 322 volumes were purchased, and 1793 were received by donation and exchange. During the past year, of the additions to the library, 46 volumes were folios, 53 were quartos, the rest chiefly of octavo size; thus making now in the library 108 folios, and 128 quartos. These works relate almost exclusively to our own country, and may be classified as follows:

Works on history, biography, travels, bound newspaper files, and publications of Historical and Antiquarian Societies,	937 vols.
Congressional publications,	509 "
Agricultural, mechanical and scientific,	155 "
State laws and State legislation,	150 "
Miscellaneous,	364 "
Total,	2115 "

The character and value of the works added to the library during the past year, demand a passing notice. The Committee have had constantly in view the paramount object of first obtaining all works relating immediately or remotely to our own State, and then of the West generally. Of this class may be mentioned the works of Lescarbot, Marquette, La Hontan, La Salle, Hennepin, Labat, Lafitau, Crespel, Carver, Henry, Pike, Shea,

Franchere, Falconer, McLeod, Hanson and others. The large folio work on the American Indians, by Hall and McKinney, in three volumes, with 120 beautifully colored engravings, taken mostly from the collection of the Indian Bureau at Washington, and embracing among the number several chieftains of the Ottawa, Chippewa, Winnebago, Menomonee, Sauk and Fox nations, is a valuable acquisition to our library. It was purchased at considerably less than the usual price. A large number of state, county and town histories and family genealogies, relating to various portions of the Union, and many of them gifts from their respective authors, have been added to the library, and serve a most valuable purpose in tracing genealogies, as well as facilitating general and local historical research and investigation.

Our newspaper files, so valuable for numerous purposes of reference, have been largely augmented. Fifty-eight bound volumes have been added during the past twelve months, of which thirty-three volumes relate to the period preceding the introduction of the printing press in Wisconsin, in 1833. The whole number of bound newspaper files now in the library, including Niles' Register, is 206, making almost a continuous series from 1784 to the present time. We have one prior volume, covering a portion of 1776 and 1777. We have Gen. Ellis' file of the Green Bay *Intelligencer* from its commencement, Dec. 11, 1833 to Sept. 1835, and then a gap occurs until the establishment of the *Wisconsin Enquirer*, by J. A. Noonan, Nov. 8, 1838; but this hiatus, we hope, will be amply supplied by the valuable files of territorial papers so considerately preserved and so kindly promised to our Society, by the Hon. George Hyer and the Hon. Joshua Hathaway, both early and meritorious pioneers of Wisconsin, and warm friends of our Society. Rev. Alfred Brunson, another early pioneer, has promised a file of the *N. Y. Advocate and Journal*, from Aug. 1832 to May 1834, containing many of Mr. Brunson's communications relative to Western matters at that period; G. W. Bliss promises a full file of the Mineral Point *Tribune*, embracing 8 volumes; J. C. Cover, the Lancaster *Herald*, 1851–55;

E. B. Quiner, Watertown *Register*, 1850–54; Mrs. Hiram A. Wright, a file of the Prairie du Chien *Patriot*, 1846–51; John Dougherty, a file of the Oshkosh *Democrat*, 1854–55; J. Crowley, Menasha *Advocate*, 1854–55; Gen. A. G. Ellis, Stevens Point *Pinery*, 1853–55; and Gov. Doty, a file of Dr. Philleo's *Galenian* for 1832, valuable as containing the current news of the Black Hawk war. Other early files of Wisconsin papers, preserved by members of our Society, residing at Milwaukee, Mineral Point, Kenosha, Appleton, Elkhorn and Portage City, in this State, and Easton, Pa., it is anxiously hoped will eventually find their way to our collections, and thus very materially enrich this invaluable department of our library.

The Society is in the regular receipt of sixty-eight publications, of which fifty-two are published in Wisconsin, and of this number, five are dailies, fifty-one weeklies, ten monthlies, or semi-monthlies, and one quarterly; and there are besides, at least, seven Wisconsin weekly papers, preserved for the Society, at the offices of their publication—making a total of seventy-five publications carefully preserved for binding, and which will add largely to our already respectable collection of newspaper files. It is extremely desirable, that the newspaper editors and publishers of our State, who have not hitherto contributed their respective publications, should do so regularly and, if possible, from their commencement; and those persons who may possess old files, are earnestly requested to bestow them upon the society. Let it be the pride of Wisconsin that we endeavor to possess a more complete series of newspapers of our own State, than does any similar Society of its State in the Union. Beginning thus early, if we but persevere unfalteringly, we can secure this desirable attainment.

During the past year, about two thousand pamphlets and documents have been received, making our whole collection number not far from three thousand. This kind of material is important, comprising history, statistics, orations, eulogies, speeches in Congress, catalogues, essays, and public documents—they form, in the

estimation of Webster, "the elements of history." They should, in due time, be arranged by subjects, bound and indexed, and then would be regarded as truly valuable. The cost of binding, however, would be quite an item.

Among the donors to the library, ex-Gov. Tallmadge is the most conspicuous He has presented his valuable collection of Congressional documents, for the period he was a member of the U. S. Senate, from 1832 to 1843, uniformly bound, in 160 volumes, which form a complete series. From the Department of State, Washington, has been received 164 bound volumes, comprising mostly laws, journals and reports of national legislation. Hon. Wm. B. Towne, the American Antiquarian Society, S. G. Drake, Geo. R. Sampson, John P. Jewett, Rev. J. S. Barry, Dr. Edward Jarvis, Wm. H. Prescott and Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, of Mass.; J. S. C. Abbott, of Maine; Rev. E. W. Stone, R. I.; Miss F. M. Caulkins, Conn.; Samuel Cole and G. O. Deeth, D. C.; J. B. Lippincott & Co., Phila.; S. G. Deeth, N. J.; Dr. Martyn Paine, Joel Munsell, Mrs. Emma Willard, Dr. F. B. Hough, and J. H. Hickcox, New York; D. B. Cooke & Co, Ill.; N. Trubner, London; and Silas Chapman, D. S. Durrie, Hon. Chas. Durkee, Hon. Henry Dodge, Hon. I. P. Walker, Hon. B. C. Eastman, Hon. Daniel Wells, jr., Hon. J. B. Macy, Hon. S. S. Case, ex Gov. J. D. Doty, Dr. H. D. Holt, Hon. Chas. Clement, Hon. Levi Russell, Cyrus Woodman, Dr. W. H. Brisbane and Daniel Noble Johnson, of our own State, have severally made valuable contributions to the library. A full list of the donors of bound volumes, and the number contributed by each, will be found appended to this report.

The publications of the Historical Societies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Minnesota, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, the Smithsonian Institution, and Am. Ethnological Society, have been previously announced as having been received; and we have the pleasure to add, that during the past year those of the American Antiquarian Society, Maine and Ohio Historical Societies, and one volume of

the Pennsylvania Historical Society, have been placed upon our shelves, with assurances that those of the New York, Maryland and Georgia Historical Societies, and ten quarto volumes of the Am. Philosophical Society will be early forwarded. We have also received one volume and several pamphlets from the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen; and it would be extremely desirable to receive their larger work on the early discovery and colonization of America by the Northmen in the tenth century. We have the most sanguine expectations that our Sociey will soon be in possession of a complete series of all the publications of the several Historical and Antiquarian associations of our country.

Twenty maps, pertaining mostly to our own and other Western States, and a large number of charts, have been received; also several fine engravings, among which may be mentioned, the County Election, 22 by 30 inches, from the artist, Geo. C. Bingham; engravings of President Taylor, Silas Wright, Calhoun and Fremont, 12 by 16 inches in size, from N. Trubner, London, of Hon. H. A. Wise, from Cyrus Sharp, a fine photograph of the late Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati, from E. G. Hawkins, and a large fac-simile copy of the Declaration of Independence, from the State Department, Washington.

To our autograph collection, several interesting additions have been made: Autograph letters of six of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the signature of another, have been received; of Samuel Huntington and William Ellery, from Rev. Dr. Sprague; of Thomas McKean, Cæsar Rodney and George Read, from Wm. T. Read, Esq.; of Carter Braxton, and signature of John Hart, from F. M. Etting, Esq. We have also received those of John Dickinson, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, De Witt Clinton, Aaron Burr, Nathan Dane, C. C. Pinckney, Henry Lee, W. H. Crawford, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Martin Van Buren, Zachary Taylor, R. M. Johnson, Thomas Carwin, John M. Clayton, and others.

A beautiful plaster statuette of Gen. Jackson has been received from the celebrated artist, Clark Mills, but was unfortunately broken on the way; and learning which, the talented and indefatigable artist, nothing daunted, has informed the Society that he has resolved to supply its place with a metal one, as soon as he can conveniently cast it. A gift so valuable, from such an eminent artist, would ever be regarded as a splendid triumph of American genius, and a worthy ornament to our library.

To C. A. Johnson the Society is indebted for a beautiful case of daguerreotypes of 27 members of the last Wisconsin Legislature, and a framed daguerreotype of Gen. W. R. Smith. Also daguerreotypes of Col. Joseph Dickson and William Davidson, pioneers of our State, and of Lieut. Gov. Burns, Hon. A. P. Ladd, and Hon. T. J. Moorman have been received since the last report was made.

During the year, the Cabinet has been enriched with various curiosities; a silken tassel from the bed of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, obtained from Holyrood Castle, Edinburgh, and presented by Robert White; a fragment of the frigate Constitution, so well known as Old Ironsides, from Hon. Levi Russell; one of the original stamps of the celebrated Stamp Act of 1765, which aroused the spirit of resistance to British oppression, and led the way to American Independence, from F. M. Etting, Esq.; a white marble idol, with the head broken off and missing, five inches in height, in an oriental sitting posture, found in 1854, about one foot under the surface, while ditching a marsh lot near Taycheedah, Fond du Lac county, presented by Judge Hubbell; a rosary of olive wood, from the Mount of Olives, presented by the late Hon. G. R. McLane; a large quantity of continental paper money, from Gen. W. R. Smith, F. M. Etting, and Rev. A. Brunson; and from the latter and others, several notes and shinplasters of early Wisconsin banks and corporations. From the heirs of the late Hon. John Lawe of Green Bay, has been received, through the kindness of Hon. H. S. Baird, the ancient court dress of the quaint old Green Bay pioneer, the late Judge Charles Reaume. Quite

a number of curious coin have been added to our collection; three ancient Roman ones of the first century, dug up a few years since, in Lincolnshire, on the old Roman road from London to Scotland, presented by Robert White; a silver coin, about the value of 16 cents, bearing date 1593, dug up, about 1842, in Berkshire county, England, and presented by John W. Ford; and others of modern dates, from Prof. J. J. Cole, Mrs. O. M. Conover, Mrs. Robert White, H. D. Holt, and others. Capt. George S. Dodge, with the just appreciation of an enlightened scholar and traveler, has generously promised, that our Society shall, in due time, receive his valuable collection of about two hundred rare and curious coin, collected in the United States, Europe, Mexico, and other countries, and must add much to our knowledge of numismatics.

The Picture Gallery has become one of the most interesting and valuable features of our collection. In the last annual report three portraits were acknowledged as having been received—a copy of Stuart's Washington, from the venerable Thomas Sully; and a copy of Jarvis' Gen. George Rogers Clark, the Hannibal of the west, and an orignal portrait of Dr. Wm. Byrd Powell, a learned writer of Kentucky on medicine and science. Fifteen others were announced as having been kindly promised the Society. During the past year, eight* portraits have been received, and now adorn our Hall. Five of them are from the pencil of the late Robert M. Sully—two of them originals, never copied, Wa-pe-she ka or the *Light Cloud*, better known as *the Prophet* of the Sauks and Foxes, and Black Hawk's son Na-she-a-kusk or *Loud Thunder*, both painted from life by the artist in 1833; and an improved copy of his Black Hawk, painted at the same time; also a copy of a splendid portrait of Chief Justice Marshall, from an original taken by the lamented artist; and a copy of the beautiful Pocahontas, taken from an ancient painting, since crumbled to ruins, long preserved by the descendants of this renowned In-

* As this page is being put in type, April, 1856, the total number of oil paintings in the Picture Gallery has increased to twenty-two; vide Librarian's report, which has been made to include them all.

L. C. D.

dian Princess; of the others, one is an original portrait of De Witt Clinton, which was once possessed by that eminent statesman, another is a striking likeness of Hon. Byron Kilbourn, a Milwaukee pioneer, painted by S. M. Brookes; and the other, a good portrait of Hon. I. P. Walker, taken in 1852. The portraits of Black Hawk, Na-she-a-kusk and Wa-pe-she-ka, were purchased at a low price from Mr. Sully; while those of Pocahontas and Chief Justice Marshall were liberally presented by the lamented artist. The portrait of Clinton was purchased at a mere nominal price, that of Mr. Kilbourn was presented by himself, and that of Ex-Senator Walker was kindly contributed by Geo. P. Delaplaine, Esq.

We have the promise of portraits from the following forty-seven persons, all more or less intimately associated with the history of Wisconsin: Gen. Lewis Cass, so long the Governor of Michigan Territory when what is now Wisconsin formed a portion of his government, ex-Gov. John Reynolds, of Illinois, so prominently connected with the Black Hawk war, Gov. Henry Dodge, Gov. Tallmadge, Gov. Dewey, Gov. Farwell, Gov. Barstow, Hon. Solomon Juneau, Hon. James H. Lockwood, Col. Ebenezer Childs, Hon. Henry S. Baird, Hon. Ebenezer Brigham, Hon. Moses Meeker, Gen. Wm. R. Smith, Hon. Morgan L. Martin, Col. Jas. Morrison, Col. D. M. Parkison, Maj. John H. Rountree, Hon. A. A. Townsend, Capt. R. M. McGoon, Rev. Alfred Brunson, Gen. A. G. Ellis, Hon. John S. Horner, Chief Justice Whiton, Hon. A. D. Smith, I. A. Lapham, Esq., Hon. Alanson Sweet, Hon. Mason C. Darling, Col. Samuel Ryan, Hon. Charles C. Sholes, Col. James Maxwell, Cyrus Woodman, Esq., Col. A. A. Bird, Hon. Simeon Mills, Darwin Clark, Esq., Col. H. M. Billings, Hon. Patrick Rogan, John Messersmith, Gen. Geo. W. Hickcox, Stephen Taylor, Esq., Maj. John P. Sheldon, Hon. Joshua Hathaway, Bishop Henni, Hon. Charles H. Larrabee, Asahel Finch, Jr., Esq., Hon. Daniel Wells, Jr., and Geo. P. Delaplaine, Esq. It is anxiously to be desired, that all these portraits, with those of other pioneers and early public men of Wisconsin which have been respectfully solicited, will be early furnished: then the Society

may well point with pride to the collection as the most complete possessed by any State of its worthy pioneers and early public servants. Such a Gallery would not only prove deeply interesting as works of art, but most of them would serve an invaluable purpose in illustrating the history and historic men of our State. It is proper in this connection to remark, that the distinguished artists Jasper F. Cropsey, John Neagle, J. McMurtrie, P. F. Rothermel, William Hart, and Samuel M. Brookes, have severally promised or intimated some gift of their pencil to the Society —worthy tributes from men of genius which would ever be held in high estimation by our Society.

By the great kindness of S. M. Brookes, of Milwaukee, a bust of Hon. Byron Kilbourn, and one of Bishop Henni, both cast by that talented artist, have been bestowed upon the Society, and now adorn our Library.

Personal memorials of Henry Clay and Dewitt Clinton have been received from Thomas H. Clay, Esq., and Hon. G. W. Clinton. Personal memorials of Washington, kindly promised by his venerable step-son, Geo. W. P. Custis, of Webster, by his son Hon. Fletcher Webster, and of Harrison, by his son, Hon. J. S. Harrison, have not yet reached our Cabinet, but hope they may during the coming year. Similar memorials of Franklin, La Fayette and Jackson have been sought, but hitherto without success. Such relics possess a peculiar interest, and serve to keep alive the fires of patriotism in the hearts of the people.

Several important donations have been kindly tendered the Society, and which may confidently be expected to reach our collections during the year; among them, a set of the works of John Adams, in 10 volumes, from his grandson, Hon. Charles Francis Adams; over 30 volumes of the N. A. Review, from D. W. Ballou, Jr.; nearly 70 historical volumes from the library of the late Dr. Stephen W. Williams, tendered by his family in accordance with his request; the works of B. J. Lossing, Hon. J. R. Bartlett, Rev. Dr. R. Davidson, Alfred B. Street, Edmund Flagg, S.

Agustus Mitchell, G. W. Riggs, Jr., and others. The committee of Boston merchants having in charge the getting up of the gold medal to Com. Perry, have promised a bronze copy to our Society; and G. W. Childs, Esq., the enterprising publisher, has tendered proof impressions of his engravings of Stuart's Washington and Sully's Jackson, beside several volumes of books.

Since the last annual meeting, the *First Annual Report and Collections of the Society* have been published by the State in a thin volume of 160 pages, and some three thousand copies have been circulated in our State, and other portions of the Union. This publication has served the Society a valuable purpose, to send in return to donors, making more fully known, especially to the citizens of our own State, the worthy aims of our organization, and giving ample evidence of the good it has already effected, and is destined still further to effect. There is, however, a suggestion which has come from many able and learned men, that we must beg to present—that our annual publication, which is to be the permanent repository of a large mass of valuable historical and statistical matter relating to Wisconsin, should be issued in a better and more enduring form; that the quality of the paper should be better, and a portion, if not all of the edition, should be put up in cloth binding—in a style similar to the Transactions of our Agricultural Society, published by the State. While this would cost the State but a small additional sum, it would prove largely creditable alike to the State and Society, and would better subserve the great end of preserving the valuable collections thus yearly brought together.

Among the many reasons which might be adduced in favor of an improved style of publication, we would respectfully advert to the following:

I. It would prove highly useful to the State, by furnishing reliable materials for historians and other writers, at home and abroad, and by thus disseminating a correct knowledge of the history and progress of our towns and counties, render our State

more favorably known abroad, and more especially direct the attention of an intelligent class of emigrants and capitalists to our borders.

II. Such a publication would be a powerful incentive to our old pioneers and intelligent early settlers to prepare and furnish their written reminiscences.

III. The valuable manuscript narratives collected by the Society would thereby be rendered secure from all contingencies and accidents—the most of which collections once lost, could never be replaced.

IV. The library, now numbering over 2100 volumes, and over 3000 pamphlets, and about 70 periodicals regularly received, has been collected mainly by donations; and this publication, if creditably gotten up in its typographical appearance, would enable the Society to properly reciprocate these valuable gifts, and largely encourage others.

VI. Every reasonable encouragement to the Society in its earnest efforts to build up a public reference library of works of history, statistics and general literature, would lessen the necessity of making appropriations to increase the State Library, except for that class of works relating particularly to law and legislation.

The manuscript collections of the past year have been quite large in number, and valuable in point of matter. The more important of those received, may be found appended to this report, and evince, as all must acknowledge, a gratifying evidence of the success of the Society in this department of its labors, and testify most conclusively to the interest and high appreciation cherished by the intelligent pioneers of Wisconsin in behalf of the worthy objects contemplated by our organization. In addition to these, a number of other valuable papers are promised, which may early be expected to reach our archives.

The State publications granted the Society to aid in effecting exchanges have been mostly received for the years 1854 and 1855,

and will be early transmitted to the several societies and libraries to which they have been voted. Several causes have conspired to delay their reception by the Society. The volumes granted by the State to Mons. A. Vattemare, to be transmitted through the meridian of the Society, will be speedily sent forward to their destination; and both our own Society and the State Library may soon hope to reap the benefits of Vattemare's noble system of International Literary Exchanges.

During the past year, the Executive Committee have regularly held their monthly stated meetings, and four special meetings, and one special meeting of the Society has also been held. This steady interest manifested by the members may be inferred from the fact that, since the re-organization of the Society in January, 1854, no meeting ever failed for want of a quorum. Forty-seven active members have been added to the Society in the course of the year, seventeen life members, several honorary, and a large number of corresponding members. The library and collections have been frequently consulted, and the varied benefits to be derived from them must largely increase with the growth and expansion of the Society. Pains have been taken by the Society to encourage and facilitate the preparation of works devoted to the history and progress of the more important towns and counties of our State.

The Society has sustained, during the year, a serious loss in the deaths of Judge Wright, a member of the Executive Committee, Dr. McLane, a Vice President of the Society, and R. M. Sully, an Honorary Member, and one of its largest benefactors. We cannot well over-estimate the loss of the lamented Sully, whose generous soul seemed constantly on the study to devise new plans by which to render the Society unique and prosperous. And dying while on his journey to take up his permanent residence among us, and devote his superior talents to the honor of our State and Society, added not a little to our sorrow and regret at his untimely departure. The action of the Executive Committee on these occasions, will be found appended to this report.

The Society will continue to need, as we trust it will cheerfully receive, the fostering care of the Legislature, and the people.—May we not venture to express the hope, that many of our liberal and wealthy citizens may be induced to bestow a portion of their surplus wealth upon our Society, that it may, like several similar societies, have an endowment to place it beyond the reach of capricious favor, and thus never be suffered to languish for want of means to carry into effect its laudable purposes.

Our collections are already becoming so large and valuable, as to impress the minds of the Committee with the importance of a fire-proof building for their safety and preservation. We should be admonished by the destruction, in whole or in part, of public archives by fire on many occasions—in New Hampshire in 1736, in Massachusetts in 1747, besides having been damaged by three previous fires; in New York in 1740–41, and 1773; in New Jersey in 1686; in North Carolina in 1831; in South Carolina in 1698; and in Canada in 1854—all which were accidental; and in Virginia in 1781, by the fratricide Arnold. Five times have the national archives suffered by conflagration—in 1800, when the buildings of the War Department were destroyed; in 1814, when the British troops burned the public buildings; in 1833, when the Treasury buildings were destroyed; and again in 1836, and lastly in 1851, when the Congressional Library was burned. Until our Society secures a fire-proof building for the custody of its inestimable treasures, its friends cannot entirely repress their fears and anxieties. Several public-spirited citizens of our State, justly appreciating the importance of preserving the Society's collections, have each pledged fifty dollars towards a fire-proof building fund; others stand ready to contribute liberally when it shall be deemed a proper time to make an efficient movement.

The American Antiquarian Society has a fire-proof building which cost about $18,000, of which its President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, contributed $5,000 and the ground on which the building stands; the New York Historical Society has a commodious building nearly ready for occupancy, the foundation fund for

which was the generous bequest of a maiden lady, of five thousand dollars; the Pennsylvania and Maryland Historical Societies, possessing each a library and collections scarcely larger than ours, have their permanent quarters; while the Maine Historical Society has received from the Legislature of that State a donation of land, valued at $6,000, to aid in erecting a permanent edifice. The Historical Society of New Jersey, whose collections are about the same in extent as ours, has raised funds for a building; and even the young, energetic Society of Minnesota is now engaged in raising fifteen hundred dollars to purchase a lot for the site of its intended structure.

If we had a fire-proof depository for our collections, they would be largely augmented by books, manuscripts, papers, pictures—comprising the most authentic materials for history, now scattered over the State, and beyond the reach of those who might, for public or historic purposes, wish to consult them. It is to be hoped that if the State should soon erect a new capitol, or enlarge the present edifice, the legislature would provide a permanent, safe and commodious Hall for the use of our Society; and if this cannot be effected within a reasonable period, that the Legislature be memorialized for an appropriation to aid in the erection of a fire proof building, on condition that a certain additional amount be raised among the citizens of the State for that purpose. A Hall of this character is greatly needed, and we cannot too soon take the matter into consideration, and devise the best means to secure the object in view.

Such is the history and almost unexampled growth, and such the aims, the hopes, the wants, of our State Historical Society.—We can better comprehend what has been accomplished in our comparatively brief career, by glancing briefly at the rise and progress of similar Societies in our country. The Massachusetts Historical Society, the pioneer institution of the Union, which was founded in 1791, has 8,000 volumes in its library, and has published 31 volumes of collections; the New York Historical Society was founded in 1804, has 25,000 vols., and has published

about thirteen volumes of collections and proceedings; the American Antiquarian Society, founded in 1812, has 22,000 vols., and has published 3 vols. of collections, a catalogue volume, and several pamphlets; the Rhode Island Historical Society, founded in 1822, has 2500 vols., and has published five volumes of collections; Maine Historical Society, founded in 1822, number of vols. in its library unknown, has published 3 vols, of collections; the New Hampshire Historical Society, founded in 1823, has 1500 vols., and has published six volumes of collections; the Connecticut Historical Society, founded in 1825, has 8,000 vols., but has published no collections; the Pennsylvania Historical Society, founded in 1825, with 2,000 vols. in its library, has published five vols. of collections, and several bulletins and pamphlets; the Virginia Historical Society, founded in 1831, has 1200 vols., and has published one volume of collections, and about seven volumes of an Historical Register; the Ohio Historical Society, founded in 1831, has 1,000 vols., and has published three volumes of collections and several pamphlets; the Kentucky Historical Society, founded in 1838, has 1,000 volumes, and has issued no publications; the Georgia Historical Society, founded in 1839, has united its library with that of the Savannah Society, and has published three volumes of collections; the Maryland Historical Society, founded in 1844, has 2128 vols., and has published several pamphlets; the Missouri Historical Society, founded in 1844, has 300 vols., and has issued one pamphlet of proceedings; the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, founded in 1844, has 3,000 volumes, and has published 9 vols. of an Historical and Genealogical Register, and some pamphlets; the New Jersey Historical Society, founded in 1845, has 1930 volumes, and has published four volumes of collections and six of proceedings; the Minnesota Historical Society, founded in 1849, has 300 volumes, and has published four pamphlets of collections. There are other Historical Societies extant, such as those of Vermont, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Iowa, whose libraries are small, and which have issued no publications. It thus appears from the most

recent statistics of these Societies, that there are only seven which exceed ours in the extent of their libraries, and none that has equalled ours in the rapidity of its growth—our Society having been founded Jan. 30, 1849, and having 2,115 volumes, some 3000 pamphlets, eleven paintings, and a large number of manuscripts, engravings, antiquities and curiosities in its library, and having published one volume of collections, and three annual addresses in pamphlet form.

The value of such collections cannot be too highly estimated. Clinton, Gallatin, Webster, Bancroft, Cass, Everett, Harrison, and many other leading minds of our country, have warmly commended and encouraged the labors of Historical Societies. "The advantages resulting from the study of history and the collection of historical records," as remarked in a former report of the New York Historical Society, and which is equally applicable to ours, "cannot be too strongly urged on the attention of the members of this society. In order that history may be written with truth, authentic materials must be provided. No generation comprises within its own knowledge and experience all that is necessary to secure the integrity of its annals. It must rely upon records, it must examine and compare opinions, it must study the events of the past. It must have the means of investigation and analysis at hand. Collections like this by which we are surrounded, and which are designed to preserve the memories of other days, will be deemed of inestimable value by generations which are to come after us. Such works are a blessing to mankind, since they furnish men with a true standard of character, excite them to a noble emulation, keep alive the stimulus of honorable example and prevent that lapse of national reputation which would be unavoidable without the incitement and influence of great names and noble deeds."

In drawing their report to a close, the Executive Committee would advert to the fact, that they have been cheered in their labors by the encouraging words of those who rank among the most eminent in our country in the walks of history—such as Bancroft, Prescott, Hildreth, Irving, Sparks, Parkman, Adams, Mrs. Wil-

lard, Miss Caulkins, and others. "I hear on all hands," observes Mr. Bancroft, "that the immediate associates of your Society are singularly zealous and diligent in gathering together, preserving, and, as far as possible, in publishing the memorials of other days." "Your new State," writes Miss Caulkins, the faithful historian of Norwich and New London, Connecticut, "will, I trust, be more fortunate than older ones at the East. You will have records that begin with the beginning—full, accurate, and carefully preserved. We hail your Society with peculiar satisfaction as an earnest and pledge that the records of the early history of your State, of all kinds, will be preserved from destruction. You have not commenced your labors a day too soon. I fear, even now, that in some instances the Goths and Vandals have preceded you, and this or that document—here a file of old letters, and there the loose sheets of a clerk, or the note-books of a moderator, collector, or constable, have been cast into the flames, or scattered by the winds." "When again," writes the historian, Mrs. Willard, "I shall add to the record of passing events in my larger American history, I shall be benefitted, especially with regard to the progress of Wisconsin, by the papers which I shall be happy occasionally to receive, or which *possibly* I may have opportunity of examining at the place of deposite; for such collections as you are so efficiently making, and at a date when everything respecting your State may be known, will make Madison a point of attraction to those who wish to learn the true history of your astonishing progress."

With such noble aims, and high encouragements, may the State Historical Society of Wisconsin never falter in its chosen career of usefulness and prosperity.

WM. R. SMITH, D. J. POWERS,
L. J. FARWELL, E. A. CALKINS,
J. P. ATWOOD, DAVID ATWOOD,
LYMAN C. DRAPER, SIMEON MILLS,
JOHN W. HUNT, DANIEL S. DURRIE,
O. M. CONOVER, WM. A. WHITE,
S. H. CARPENTER, JULIUS T. CLARK,
JOHN Y. SMITH,

Madison, Jan. 1, 1856. Executive Committee.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX No. 1.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

The Treasurer of the WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY respectfully presents the following statement of receipts into the Treasury, and disbursements therefrom, during the year ending January 1st, 1856:

RECEIPTS.

Jan. 2,	1855,	Balance in treasury, as per last report		$55 42
March 7,	"	Annual appropriation from the State,		500 00
April 7,	"	From Secretary, dues from active members,		1 00
"	"	do	donation from Hon. J. A. Bryan,	5 00
"	"	do	do Hon. G. F. Wright,	1 00
Aug. 9,	"	do	dues from active members,	7 00
"	"	do	A. Finch, jr., life membership,	20 00
"	"	do	W. Plocker, donation,	1 00
Sept. 11,	"	do	dues from active members,	4 00
"	"	do	donation from Gen. C. Bracken,	2 00
"	"	do	do Col. J. Maxwell,	1 00
"	"	do	do Dr. B. S. Henning,	1 00
Oct. 2,	"	do	dues from active members,	2 00
"	"	do	Hon. John Catlin, life membership,	20 00
Nov. 6,	"	do	dues from active members,	2 00
Dec. 22,	"	do	do do	13 00
"	"	do	Hon. L. J. Farwell, life membership;	20 00
Jan. 1,	1856,	do	dues from active members,	5 00
"	"	do	Hon. L. B. Vilas, life membership,	20 00
"	"	do	Hon. D. J. Powers, do	20 00
"	"	do	H. C. Bull, do	20 00
"	"	do	H. K. Lawrence, do	20 00
"	"	do	B. F. Hopkins, do	20 00
		Total,		$760 42

DISBURSEMENTS.

Feb. 6,	1855,	To R. White & Co., for shelving in library,	$10 00
do	do	Atwood & Rublee, extra papers of proceedings	10 00
do	do	D. Gorum, for 2 cords wood, and sawing same	8 00
do	do	L. C. Draper, postage, lights and express charges	1 75
do	do	For large map of Kentucky	4 00
April 5,	do	To R. M. Sully, for three Indian portraits	100 00
do	do	Trustees of Baptist Society for room rent,	50 00
do	do	C. B. Norton, for Lit. Gazette, 1855	2 00
do	do	For books purchased at sale of Ingraham library	56 43
do	do	S. H. Carpenter, for printing circular	30 00
do	do	L. C. Draper, for postage and freight	6 35
May 1,	do	Express Company, freight on Sully pictures	5 75
do	do	L. C. Draper, freight and lights	1 25
June 12,	do	C. B. Norton, for bill of books	50 64
do	do	L. C. Draper, for shelving, postage, &c.	14 57
do	do	Mil. & Miss. R. R.	4 70
do	do	Am. Express Company, for freight	8 75
Aug. 14,	do	S. G. Deeth, for bound newspapers and books	54 50
do	do	Am. Express company, for freight	9 75
do	do	L. C. Draper, postage, &c.	8 17
Sept. 11,	do	Trustees Baptist Society, for room rent	60 00
do	do	J. B. Duclus, for shelving in library	20 00
do	do	L. C. Draper, amount of two freight bills	6 88
do	do	do postage and items	10 76
Oct. 2,	do	Weed & Eberhard, binding newspapers	40 00
do	do	Am. Express Company, for freight	4 75
do	do	L. C. Draper, freight, &c	3 00
Nov. 6,	do	do postage and items	6 47
do	do	M. & M. R. R., freight	3 00
do	do	Am. Express Company, freight	1 38
Dec. 20,	do	L. C. Draper, postage, freight, &c	
do	do	Am. Express Company, freight	26 50
do	do	M. & M. R. R., freight	2 20
Jan. 1,	1856, do	L. C. Draper, postage and items	6 80
do	do	Am. Express Company, freight	28 00
do	do	Grim & Co., for framing engraving	5 00
		Total disbursements	$668 12
		Balance on hand	92 30
			$760 42

Vouchers for each of the foregoing disbursements are herewith presented.

Respectfully submitted, O. M. CONOVER, Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.

JOHN W. HUNT,
J. P. ATWOOD,
D. J. POWERS,
} Auditing Committee.

APPENDIX NO. 2.

LIST OF DONORS TO THE LIBRARY, 1849-55, INCLUSIVE.

Only 50 volumes of the following list were received prior to the re-organization of the Society, in January, 1854:

MAINE.

Maine Historical Society	6	
Rev. J. C. S. Abbott	6	
Cyrus Eaton	1	
	—	13

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

New Hampshire Historical Society	7	
Rev. Dr. N. Bouton	1	
Dartmouth College	1	
Rev. Dr. L. W. Leonard	1	
	—	10

VERMONT.

Rev. Zadock Thompson		4

MASSACHUSETTS.

Massachusetts Historical Society	31
American Antiquarian Society	13
New England Historic-Genealogical Society	9
Harvard College	6
Essex Institute	4
Hon. Wm. B. Towne	19
Samuel G. Drake	15
Hon. Edward Everett	10
John P. Jewett	7
George R. Sampson	6
Wm. H. Prescott	5
Hon. Charles Francis Adams	4

MASSACHUSETTS—*continued.*

Rev. John S. Barry	3	
Hon Stephen Salisbury	2	
Hon. Josiah Quincy	2	
Henry Gassett	2	
John Dean	2	
A. H. Ward	2	
Hon. Wm. Whiting	2	
Dean Dudley	2	
Rev. Dr. A. Lamson	2	
Gen. W. H. Sumner	2	
Francis Parkman, Col. Sam'l Sweet, J. S. Loring, Rev. H. R. Hoisington, Charles Stearns, Rev. Frederick Kidder, Hon. S. A. Eliot, C. M. Ellis, E. V. Childe, G. & C. Merriam, S. H. Jennison, Hon. Mark Doolittle, John Dagget, Rev. John Pierpont, H. S. Chase, Hon. Joseph Willard, Rev. E. B. Wilson, Dr. Edward Jarvis, and Dr. W. R. Lawrence, 1 vol. each	19	
	—	169

RHODE ISLAND.

Rhode Island Historical Society	7	
Rev. E. M. Stone	6	
R. A. Guild	2	
Hon. W. B. Lawrence	1	
Dr. Usher Parsons	1	
	—	17

CONNECTICUT.

Connecticut Historical Society	2	
Wm. G. Webster	4	
J. H. Trumbull	3	
Prof. B. Silliman, Sr	3	
Rev. Edwin Hall	3	
Hon. Henry Barnard	2	
Hon. Wm. Cothren	2	
Miss Frances M. Caulkins	2	
John Durrie	2	
Hon. N. A. Phelps	1	
Prof. B. Silliman, Jr	1	
	—	25

NEW YORK.

Hon. E. W. Leavenworth, State Department	33	
Regents of the University	23	
American Institute	8	

NEW YORK—*continued.*

American Ethnological Society	1
Albany Institute	1
Transactions Agricultural Society	50
Transactions American Institute	40
Joel Munsell	32
Dr. Chandler R. Gilman	26
David T. Valentine	11
Jesse Clement	7
Prof. Martyn Paine	6
John H. Hickcox	6
David Davidson	6
Hon. Hamilton Fish	5
Mrs. Emma Willard	5
A. S. Barnes & Co.	5
Dr. F. B. Hough	5
John Disturnell	5
Hon. Washington Hunt	4
Hon. Henry S. Randall	4
Hon. Frederick Follett	4
J. V. H. Clark	4
Gen. B. P. Johnson	3
Rev. Dr. W. R. Williams	3
Col. John S. Williams	3
Hon. Royal R. Hinman	3
Hon. Wm. W. Campbell	3
Wm. Cullen Bryant	2
James Lenox	2
Hon. Lucien B. Chase	2
Herman J. Meyer	2
John G. Shea	2
Prof. Horace Webster	2
Gen. J. Watts De Peyster	2
Hon. G. W. Clinton	2
Prof. Amos Dean	2
Wm. A. Jones	2
Wanzer, McKim & Co., J. R. Simms, H. E. Ludewig, G. A. Ward, Hon. S. W. Eager, Hon. A. W. Bradford, E. A. Beach, Ivison & Phinney, Rev. S. Wright, H. Onderdonk, jr., Dr. A. T. Skilton, and Rev. Dr. T. H. Skinner, 1 vol. each.	12
	— 338

NEW JERSEY.

New Jersey Historical Society	11
S. G. Deeth	30

NEW JERSEY—*continued.*

Henry C. Carey	2	
Rev. Dr. J. F. Stearns	1	
Rev. Dr. J. Hall	1	
Hon. Wm. Wright	1	
	—	46

PENNSYLVANIA.

Pennsylvania Historical Society	1	
State Department	24	
Rev. Albert Barnes	16	
J. B. Lippincott & Co.	13	
E. C. & J. Biddle	7	
Dr. Wm. Darlington	7	
J. W. Moore	5	
Neville B. Craig	4	
President W. H. Allen, Girard College	3	
Stephen Taylor	2	
Samuel Hazard, John F. Watson, Dr. J. Thomas, Dr. A. L. Elwyn, Rev. Dr. Jos. Belcher, Isaac Lea, Hon. J. Robbins, jr. and J. G. C. Kennedy, 1 vol. each	8	
	—	90

DELAWARE.

Benjamin Ferris		4

MARYLAND.

Rev. G. W. Burnap	9	
Hon. James A. Pierce	2	
Hon. Thos. G. Pratt	1	
	—	12

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Smithsonian Institution	7	
State Department, Hon. W. L. Marcy	164	
Indian Bureau	5	
Patent Office, Hon. C. Mason	4	
Topographical Bureau, Col. J. J. Abert	3	
Coast Survey, Prof. A. D. Bache	2	
Hon. R. McClelland, Sec. Interior	5	
Gen. Thos. Lawson, Surgeon General	4	
Geo. Ogden Deeth	11	
Samuel Cole, Ch'f Clerk Pension Office	7	
Wm. S. Carroll, Clerk Sup. Court	2	
has. Lanman	2	
	—	216

VIRGINIA.

Hon. James M. Mason	4	
Robert R. Howison	2	
Samuel M. Janney	2	
Dr. Wells De Hass	1	
John R. Thompson	1	
	—	10

NORTH CAROLINA.

Hon. David L. Swain		1

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Smyth	14	
Dr. Joseph Johnson	1	
Hon. A. P. Butler	1	
	—	16

LOUISIANA.

Hon. Charles Gayarre	3	
Hon. J. D. DeBow	2	
	—	5

MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. Albert G. Brown	2	
Hon. Stephen Adams	1	
	—	3

TENNESSEE.

Dr. James G. M. Ramsey		1

KENTUCKY.

Gen. Lewis Collins	1	
Hon. Linn Boyd	1	
	—	2

MISSOURI.

Hon. Thomas H. Benton	4	
Hon. D. R. Atchison	3	
	—	7

OHIO.

Ohio Historical and Philosophica. Society	6	
Hon. Salmon P. Chase	9	
Henry Beard	6	

OHIO—*contined.*

Hon. Elisha Whittlesey	4	
Caleb Atwater	2	
David Anderson	2	
John P. Foote, John C. McDonald, Dr. S. P. Hildreth, W. H. Safford, Gen. L. V. Bierce, W. T. Coggeshall and Chas. Olcott, 1 vol. each	7	
	—	36

INDIANA.

Gov. Joseph A. Wright	21	
Hon. John Petit	6	
Hon. J. G. Davis	2	
	—	29

ILLINOIS.

A. H. & C. Burley	30	
D. B. Cooke & Co	20	
Hon. James Shields	5	
Charles R. Starkweather	4	
Dr. E. C. Shipman	2	
Hon. S. A. Douglas	2	
Hon. John Reynolds	2	
H. C. Foster	2	
S. C. Griggs & Co	1	
Hon. Norman Eddy	1	
S. De Witt Drown	1	
	—	70

IOWA.

Hon. Augustus C. Dodge	8	
Hon. Bernhart Henn	2	
	—	10

MICHIGAN.

Hon. Lewis Cass	2

NEBRASKA.

William Walker	1

GREAT BRITAIN.

N. Trubner, publisher, London	14

DENMARK.

Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries	1

WISCONSIN.

From the State	71
Hon. N. P. Tallmadge	160
Hon. Ben. C. Eastman	45
Hon. Henry Dodge	35
Lyman C. Draper	31
Hon. I. P. Walker	21
Silas Chapman	18
Cyrus Woodman	18
W. N. Seymour	15
Darwin Clark	15
W. W. Wyman	15
Hon. James D. Doty	14
Daniel S. Durrie	14
Dr. H. D. Holt	11
Hon. Levi Russsell	10
Col. John Shaw	9
Dr. John W. Hunt	8
Hon. Charles Durkee	8
Hon. John B. Macy	7
Chancy C. Britt	7
Dr. Joseph Gray	7
Hon. Charles Clement	6
Dr. Wm. Henry Brisbane	6
Daniel Noble Johnson	6
Elias A. Calkins	5
I. A. Lapham	5
Daniel S. Curtis	4
David Holt	4
Mark Miller	4
State Agricultural Society	3
Hon. James H. Lockwood	3
Beriah Brown	3
Col. Alex. Botkin	3
Stephen G. Benedict	3
Hon. Daniel Wells, Jr.	3
Hon. G. R. McLane	2
Prof. F. Hudson	2
Col. James Morrison	2
Hon. Thomas McHugh	2
Hon. Squire S. Case	2
Weed & Eberhard	2
W. H. Watson	2
Dr. A. L. Castleman	2

WISCONSIN—*continued.*

Rev. M. D. Miller	2	
Julius T. Clark	2	
D. C. Brown, Hon. C. A. Stevens, J. R. Baltzell, Hon. D. J. Powers, G. O. Tiffany, Hon. I. E. Goodall, Rev. Spencer Carr, Gen. A. G. Ellis, Gen. Wm. R. Smith, P. Toland, C. Beeson, Royal Buck, John Delaney, A. F. Clarke, Prof. J. G. Percival, Jas. T. Smith, N. Campbell, Prest. Roswell Park, Hon. L. J. Farwell, Joshua Hathaway, Col. D. Atwood, Col. D. M. Parkison, Hon. J. Sutherland, D. C. Bush, and Grand Lodge of Wisconsin, 1 vol. each	25	
		— 642
Purchased		323
		2115

Recapitulation.

Wisconsin	642
New York	338
Purchased	323
District of Columbia	216
Massachusetts	169
Pennsylvania	90
Illinois	70
New Jersey	46
Ohio	36
Indiana	29
Connecticut	25
Rhode Island	17
South Carolina	16
Great Britain	14
Maine	13
Maryland	12
New Hampshire	10
Virginia	10
Iowa	10
Missouri	7
Louisiana	5
Vermont	4
Delaware	4
Mississippi	3
Michigan	2
North Carolina	1
Tennessee	1
Nebraska	1
Denmark	1
Total	2115

PAMPHLETS AND DOCUMENTS REC'D DURING 1854-5.

From Hon. Charles Durkee, of Wis.	1,180
do Joel Munsell, Albany	250
do Rev. E. M. Stone, of R. I.	185
do Dr. Edward Jarvis, of Mass	175
do Essex Institute "	109
do Dr. F. B. Hough, Albany	105
do Samuel G. Drake, Boston	85
do Hon. Levi Russell, of Wis	76
do Lyman C. Draper, "	75
do Cyrus Woodman, "	75
do Wm. H. Watson, "	75
do Harvard College, Mass	60
do Dr. J. W. Hunt, of Wis	50
do J. S. Loring, Boston	45
do J. H. Hickcox, Albany	43
do I. A. Lapham, of Wis	30
do Silas Chapman, "	30
do S. G. Deeth & Son, New Jersey	30
do Martin Mitchell, of Wis	20
do Rev. Spencer Carr, "	15
do Hon. W. B. Towne, of Mass	12
do Hon. G. S. Boutwell, "	10
From Hon. H. Dodge, Hon. L. J. Farwell, Atwood & Rublee, E. A. Calkins, American Antiquarian Society, American Poilosophical Society, Smithsonian Institution, Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Minnesota Historical Societies, and other sources, at least	265
Total	3,000

Maps and charts have been received from Lieut. Maury, Hon. C. Durkee, Hon. Jas. Shields, J. Disturnell, I. A. Lapham, S. A. Mitchell, Dr. J. W. Hunt, Mrs. Emma Willard, Dr. H. Newhall, Rev. A. Kent, Gen. Charles Bracken, S. Chapman, and others.

LIST OF PERIODICALS RECEIVED AND PRESERVED.

QUARTERLIES.

New York Quarterly Review, (not now received.)
Bibliotheca Sacra, do do
N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register.

MONTHLIES.

Mining Magazine.
Western Literary Messenger.
Cincinnati Genius of the West.
Wisconsin Farmer.
Telegraph Magazine, (not now received.)
Phrenological Journal.
Wis. Educational Journal.
Beloit College Monthly.
Carroll College Student.
Wisconsin Home.

DAILIES.

Milwaukee Sentinel.
Janesville Free Press.
Madison Argus and Democrat.
do Journal.
do Patriot.

WEEKLIES.

Milwaukee Wisconsin.
Kenosha Telegraph.
do Democrat.
Baraboo Republic.
Geneva Express.
Whitewater Gazette.
Waukesha Plain Dealer.
do Democrat.
Beloit Journal.
Janesville Standard.
do Free Press.
do Gazette.
Sheboygan Journal.
do Evergreen City Times.
do Nieuwsbode.

WEEKLIES—*continued.*

Manitowoc Tribune.
do Herald.
do Democrat.
Fond du Lac Union.
do Herald.
Madison Weekly Argus.
do Journal.
do Patriot.
La Crosse Republican.
do National Democrat.
Monroe Sentinel.
Platteville American.
Prescott Transcript.
Portage City Badger State.
Watertown Democrat.
Beaver Dam Republican.
Horicon Argus.
Oshkosh Courier.
Menasha Advocate.
Appleton Crescent.
Green Bay Advocate.
Mineral Point Tribune.
Columbus Republican Journal.
Ozaukee Advertiser.
Newport Wisconsin Mirror.
Richland County Observer.
La Fayette County Herald.
Mineral Point Democrat, file kept at the office.
Stevens Point Pinery, do
West Bend Organ, do
Hudson North Star, do
Lancaster Herald, do
Oshkosh Democrat, do
Madison Staats Zeitung, do

WEEKLIES—*continued.*

Chicago Democratic Press.
do Christian Times.
Kentucky Commonwealth.
Athens, Tennessee, Post.
Philadelphia New Church Herald.
New York Criterion—literary.
do Publishers' Circular.
do Weekly Mirror.
do Weekly Tribune, preserved by secretary.
do Home Mission Record,(monthly) do
Philadelphia Christian Chronicle. do

Total, 78 periodicals—of which 59 are Wisconsin publications.

APPENDIX No. 3.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT ON THE PICTURE GALLERY.

As the statistical details relative to the increase of the library proper during the past year, are more appropriately embodied in the report of the Executive Committee, the librarian begs to submit the following report on the rise and progress of the PICTURE GALLERY, together with some remarks on the merits of the several pictures, and their respective artists :

The design of the Historical Society is to preserve all mementoes of the past that yet remain to us, buried though they may be underneath the dust and rubbish of ages; records of the Aboriginal inhabitants of the country, as well those which have forever passed away, leaving behind them only apocryphal mounds, to puzzle the learned antiquary, as those who yet mingle among us. But we must not lose sight of the great fact, that the present will soon be past, and the incidents that we hardly notice to-day, will ere long form a portion of our history; and the knowledge that we now scarcely think worth retaining will one day be earnestly and laboriously sought after by the curious antiquarian.

History, proper, is a record of deeds, but a valuable aid, and a choice relic of the past, are true and reliable portraits of those whose acts formed the history of their day. Deeds will live in tradition or in the more lasting forms of books and writings, but the form and features are doomed to a more ephemeral existence. Consequently, a great part of the labor of an Historical Society, in the realm of the present, is to secure reliable portraits of those who

figure prominently in our State; and as some may imagine, that the Society have exceeded the limits of a proper discretion in laying so much stress upon this subject, we will give a brief outline of the plan proposed to be carried out by the Society.

I. To secure the portraits of all the Governors of Wisconsin. Fortunately all are yet living, and after the lapse of centuries, when all those noble forms shall have mingled with their kindred dust, with what feelings of pride will the inhabitants of our State point to this list of portraits, sketched by master hands, of those whom their ancestors delighted to honor!

II. To secure the portraits of the Judges of our Supreme Court.

III. To secure portraits of noted Indian Chiefs and early settlers. In this department we are peculiarly fortunate, as from the master pencil of SULLY, we have those of BLACK HAWK, his SON, and the PROPHET, which we will notice more at length hereafter; and of our Wisconsin pioneers, we have made a noble commencement.

IV. To secure the portraits of our Senators and Representatives in Congress. All are yet living, except Mr. EASTMAN.

V. To obtain portraits of some of the illustrious historic men of our common country.

It will be seen that this plan is extensive, too extensive to be properly carried out, with the limited means at the disposal of the Society; and were it not for a private liberality and hearty co-operation of lovers of art, and of artists, it could hardly be attempted.

Of the Governors of the State, but one portrait, that of Governor BARSTOW, is yet in the Gallery, and this is a striking and effective likeness, painted by S. M. BROOKES. Gen. LEWIS CASS, who was Governor while Wisconsin formed a part of Michigan Territory, Governors DODGE, TALLMADGE, DEWEY and FARWELL have promised theirs, which will shortly adorn our walls.

Of the Supreme Court Judges only that of Hon. A. D. Smith is as yet received. This portrait, executed by S. M. Brookes, of Milwaukee, is a strikingly accurate one, and is remarkably correct in preserving the expression—an excellence which we can almost call a peculiarity of the celebrated artist.

The preservation of the likenesses of early Indian Chiefs is too often overlooked, and we suffer the consequences. Still we are fortunate in having striking portraits of Black Hawk, and the leaders of his band, who were at one time the terror of the whites of the North West. The original portrait of Black Hawk, of which this is an improved copy, was painted by Sully at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, while Black Hawk was a U. S. prisoner, and strikingly depicts the sad and mournful expression of a captive chief, struggling to subdue his feelings, and repress the sad emotion of a vanquished chieftain. There is a dignity in his look, an expression half concealed by the cloud of sadness that shades his brow, that marks him as a man of character and of true greatness. He is clad in the English dress, and one in gazing upon his portrait might well imagine him a Roman, looking mournfully upon his degenerate country. There is less of the features and expression which we are wont to associate with the Indian name and character, than we usually find. Of the truth of the likeness we have many living witnesses now among us, all of whom agree as to its exact and striking correctness.

Black Hawk's son, Na-she-a-kusk, never bore a conspicuous part in the early history of our State, and is chiefly interesting from his association with the more noted chief, his father, whose fortunes he followed during the war of 1832, and whose captivity he shared. The portrait was painted under the same circumstances as the former; only this is an original, never copied, as is also that of the Prophet, who accompanied Black Hawk, taken at the same time. The Prophet's is a striking portrait. The very muscles of the face seem to relax and tighten with all the malicious passions, of which

man in his most degraded state is capable. The dark depths of a fiendish soul, with all its hellish thoughts of torture and revenge seem inscribed in every feature of that forbidding countenance. The drapery of the figure is bad, but the head is perfect. The low forehead, the matted hair, the deep-set eyes, the heavy jaws, and the sensuous mouth, all betray the most accomplished villain; and such his character is well known to have been.*

From this dark picture we turn to the light, graceful, and beautiful portrait of POCAHONTAS, the well known Indian Princess of Virginia, whose history and early death are familiar to every one. Soon after, her marriage with ROLFE she sailed for England, where her beauty and queenly behavior attracted universal attention. A portrait of her was there painted, which subsequently passed into the hands of the family of his brother in England. In process of time this old portrait was brought to Virginia; and, in a state almost crumbling to ruins, it was copied by SULLY, and from this was made the copy in our possession, although the artist in bad taste, as we think, embellished it with a wreath of flowers in her hair, and substituted the simple drapery of an Indian maiden, in place of the antique dress of the time of JAMES I. The embellishment gives to the picture an air of ideality, and we are apt to consider the portrait as a fancy sketch, while it is, as will be seen from the following testimonials, a genuine and truthful portrait of this celebrated princess:

Statement of RICHARD RANDOLPH, of Virginia, April 1st, 1842:

"POCAHONTAS and Mr. ROLFE, her husband, arrived at Plymouth on the 12th June, 1616. Their portraits were taken whilst in

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* The following notice of the PROPHET was written in 1832, by the late Maj. THOMAS FORSYTH, who had previously for many years been an Indian trader, and until 1830, the Indian agent of the Sauks and Foxes; and gives us a more favorable view of his character: Yet truth extorts the remark, that he has had the reputation of being chiefly instrumental in leading his deluded followers, against the wishes of BLACK HAWK, into the unfortunate outbreak of 1832. Maj. FORSYTH'S testimony is taken from that excellent and charming work, MRS. KINZIES *Wau-Bun, or the 'Early Day' in the North-West*: "Many a good meal has *the Prophet* given to people travelling past his village, and very many stray horses has he recovered from the Indians, and restored to their rightful owners, without asking any recompense whatever."

L. C. D

England, where their son Thomas was born. Pocahontas died at Gravesend in the early part of the year 1617; her husband returned to Virginia, leaving his son to the care of Mr. Henry Rolfe, his brother.

"Thomas Rolfe returned to Virginia, and there married, and died, leaving an only child, Jane, who married Col. Robert Bolling, and died, leaving an only child, John Bolling, whose daughter Jane, married Richard Randolph, of Curles, in the county of Henrico, Virginia. Their son Ryland, who owned and resided on the patrimonial estate, after receiving his education in England, was informed that the portraits of Pocahontas and Rolfe, were in possession of a gentleman in England, whose name is now forgotten.

"He wrote to his friend in England, to endeavor to purchase them for him; when the gentleman was applied to, and informed that Mr. Randolph was a descendant of Pocahontas and Rolfe, he presented the portraits to Mr. Randolph, whose friend sent them to Virginia, where they arrived safely, and were hung up in Mr. Randolph's mansion, at Turkey Island.

"Mr. Randolph died in 1784. Soon after his death, his estate was publicly sold, and these portraits were purchased by Mr. Thomas Bolling, of Cobbs, in the county of Chesterfield, at twenty shillings each, that being the appraised value; owing to the following agreement: Mr. Thomas Bolling, and four other descendants of Pocahontas, were each anxious to purchase the pictures, and a proposition was made to decide by lot which of the five should have them, and Mr. Bolling, being the nearest, was permitted to purchase them without opposition.

"This statement was made to me by my father, David Meade Randolph, who was the executor of Ryland Randolph, and sold the pictures. The inventory and account of sales may be seen in the office of the county court of Henrico."

Statement of D. M. Randolph, of Yorktown, September, 1830, addressed to R. M. Sully:

"About the year 1788–9, I resided at Presque Isle, one mile from Bermuda Hundred. Occasionally interchanging visits of hospitality with the masters of vessels while in that part, it was my good fortune to become intimate with a Captain JOSEPH WATSON, of the brig Jane, of Washington. This Captain WATSON brought Mr. RANDOLPH a parcel of books. These books were accompanied with a long letter from JONAH WHEELER, of the respectable commercial house of GERARD, PRESTON, WINDER and WHEELER, then existing in Liverpool. The books were presented by Mr. Wheeler, from his having understood my character as a farmer, and my name as a descendant of POCAHONTAS.

"Mr. WHEELER stated that he had 'heard his mother relate the circumstances of a Mr. RANDOLPH or BOLLING, having in their day been over to England and going down into Warwickshire, one hundred and fifty miles from London, in pursuit of the portraits of Mr. ROLFE and POCAHONTAS;' the gentleman, he said, offered a large price for the pictures, but the family who had them, themselves not descendants from POCAHONTAS, but from ROLFE, disdaining a premium, generously gave the same to RYLAND RANDOLPH, who satisfied them of his better pretension to so valuable a possession. I retain a perfect recollection of their being brought over from England by my uncle, their appearance at Turkey Island, and lastly their sale, by myself, acting as clerk to my father, the administrator, in the month of March, 1784. Our estimable fellow-citizen, LA FAYETTE, was he now among us, would, I believe, identify the pictures and confirm their history, from the fact of his intimacy with RYLAND RANDOLPH, whose house served for his head-quarters a considerable time in the memorable campaign of 1781."

Statement of Mrs. ANNE ROBINSON, of Virginia:

"From my earliest recollection I have been accustomed to see the picture copied by Mr. SULLY, in the house of my grandfather, Mr. T. BOLLING, of Cobbs; it was always shown as the portrait of POCAHONTAS. Mr. T. BOLLING was the representative of POWHAT-

TAN; my grandmother, Mrs. BETTY BOLLING, equally distinct from POCAHONTAS; neither entertained a doubt that the picture in question was a portrait of POCAHONTAS. My father, also a descendant of POCAHONTAS, was well acquainted with the history of the picture."

Statement of Dr. THOMAS ROBINSON, Petersburg, Va., August 20th, 1843:

"The Indian picture copied by Mr. SULLY, the original of which is now in my possession, was shown to me at Cobbs, some seventeen or eighteen years ago, by Mr. BOLLING, as the portrait of POCAHONTAS; Mrs. B., then proprietor of the portrait, was herself a descendant of POCAHONTAS, and widow of the representative of POWHATTAN. A slight inspection of the costume, satisfied me that this was the only portrait of a female, painted in the reign of JAMES I., among the family pictures.

"With very great pleasure I bear testimony to the rigid fidelity, with which Mr. SULLY has copied this very interesting portrait, notwithstanding the temptation to certain alterations in conformity with the romantic spirit of the history of the individual whom it represents, by which the effect might have been increased, without impairing the likeness. From every thing of this kind Mr. SULLY has, with great propriety, abstained, while the likeness, costume and attitude have been presented with great exactness.

"The original is crumbling so rapidly that it may be considered as having already passed out of existence."

Statement of W. F. SIMPSON, of Va., Aug. 13, 1830:

"DEAR SULLY:—You requested me a few days ago to call and see the portrait of POCAHONTAS you have lately been busy upon, from the one which you borrowed from the descendants at Cobbs. I did so last evening while you were from home, and feel much pleasure in bearing testimony to the style in which you have executed your trust, a task so difficult from the mutilated state of the original picture, that I really thought it almost impossible for you

to succeed as completely as you have done. It is faithful to a letter, perhaps more so than is *politic*, since had you made some little alteration in her ladyship's position, and dressed her rather more in accordance with the taste of this after age, I have no doubt the picture would tell better with the majority of those who may hereafter see it. I of course think you quite right in sticking as rigidly to the 'better of the law' as you have done."

Additional statements could be adduced, but we think these will be deemed amply sufficient upon which to rest the genuineness of the original picture, as well as the first copy taken by Sully. He employed great labor in attaching the mutilated and decaying parts together, so as to bring the whole within his power, and at length happily succeeded. When Sully proposed to execute a new copy of Pocahontas for our Society, and another for the Virginia Historical Society, his own deep reverence and admiration for the memory, virtues and *portrait* of the lovely Forest Princess, led him while anxiously desiring to preserve a faithful copy of her features, to wish to change the full facial front, to the three-quarter view, and substituting for the absurd costume of the time of James the First, the more appropriate Indian dress of that period. Sully thought that in this ancient English costume, all Indian association was destroyed, and that the proposed change would give her a much more truthful and characteristic representation. The Virginia Historical Society expressed a wish that Sully would so paint it—thus *Indianizing* the original portrait; and our Society left the matter entirely to the artist's taste and judgment, as the copy he designed for us was to come as a gift.

As Sully learned from the early Virginia historian Beverly, that it was customary for the Indian maidens on their gala days, to weave wreaths of the fairest wild flowers of the forest, into their hair—and that Pocahontas took part in these past-times, he conceived the idea of heightening the effect of the picture by introducing such a wreath encircling her brow, and particularly as he had unquestionable historical authority for it, and himself

lived in the valley of James River, in the native region of the Princess, and could there select from the forest the loveliest flowers for the purpose. Such were Sully's views, sanctioned and approved by the Virginia Historical Society, and acquiesced in by our own; and though we may not all of us fully co incide with them, yet they deserve great respect, and serve to show that the artist did not make the change without some show of reason for it. He accordingly made a selection of forest flowers, and the painting will ever testify with what taste he executed that delicate task.

The Society may well feel proud of possessing such correct likenesses of Black Hawk and his companions—of Black Hawk's son and the Prophet none others are known to exist; and we believe there are but two other portraits of Pocahontas, in the country, that can lay the least claim to genuineness, and both were copied by Sully. But with the feeling of pride in the possession of these treasurers, comes an emotion of sadness as we remember the melancholy fate of the talented artist whose gift, in part, they were.

By Thos. Sully, we have a fine copy of Gilbert Stuart's celebrated portrait of Washington. It stands out nobly from the canvass, and impresses every beholder with a feeling of awe and admiration. By Edwards, formerly of Cincinnati, now of Louisville, we have two fine portraits—one an original of Dr. Wm. Byrd Powell, the other a copy of Jarvis' portrait of Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark, *the Washington of the West.* Clark did for the great Ohio Valley what Washington did for the Atlantic States; his life and exploits we hope soon to see rescued from oblivion by the Corresponding Secretary of our Society, who possesses all his old papers and other ample materials for such a work. Dr. Powell, of Kentucky, as his noble head would indicate, is a man of originality of mind, and has written much and well upon medical and scientific subjects.

From the pencil of Robt. M. Sully, in addition to the four before mentioned, we have an excellent portrait of Chief Justice

Marshall, so eminent as a soldier, statesman, jurist and historian. While this was his last, it is by far the best of the Sully portraits, in its artistic finish—and he himself so considered it.

The portrait of De Witt Clinton which we possess, is one which adorned the Governor's own library, which fact is a sufficient guarantee of its correctness. By whom it was painted is a matter of some doubt, though the weight of evidence points to Catlin as the artist; if so, this must have been during his earliest efforts. It is said to have been painted while Clinton was Mayor of New York, and this is rendered almost certain by the dress which apparently belongs to the costume of that period. None of the Clinton family can give any positive testimony concerning its origin; but we know it is an original, as we obtained it from an aged retired bookseller of Albany, who purchased it at the sale of Gov. Clinton's library, immediately after his death in 1828.

Of our Congressmen, although many are promised, as yet only that of Ex Senator I. P. Walker is received. It is a good portrait, and was painted at Milwaukee by Wm. J. Head, of St. Louis, in 1852, and presented to the Society by G. P. Delaplaine.

Our list of portraits of old pioneers is quite full, and bespeaks well for the future. The following are by S. M. Brookes, of Milwaukee: Byron Kilbourn and Alanson Sweet, among the first settlers of Milwaukee; I. A. Lapham, an early settler, well known by his writings, illustrating the natural history and antiquities of our state; Wm. R. Smith, the President of our Society, and historiographer of the State, author of the Documentary History of the State, two volumes of which are published; Col. Ebenezer Childs, of La Crosse, one of the first American settlers of Green Bay; Ebenezer Brigham, one of the pioneers of the lead region, who was engaged in the Indian difficulties from 1828 to 1832; Simeon Mills, who was one of the three first settlers of Madison; Solomon Juneau, an early American trader at Milwaukee, before there were any settlements in the State, except at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, and who was chosen the first Mayor of Mil-

waukee: and HENRY S. BAIRD, of Green Bay, one of the first American settlers there, and the first practising lawyer in Wisconsin.

Besides these, we have a fine *View on the Hudson*, from the pencil of JASPER F. CROPSEY, the well known landscape artist of New York. The view is looking down the Hudson, with the Highlands in the distance; and the effect is that of the sun about an hour or two high of a warm, hazy, summer afternoon. It is a picturesque scene well worthy of the artist in both the study and execution. This is the twenty-second picture in the catalogue.

This feature of the Society—the PICTURE GALLERY, is alone well worth the attention of the public. For although the library, as another department, may be ever of more lasting interest, the Gallery of portraits cannot fail to attract a large share of attention from those who have little time for more lengthy examinations of books and references, and bespeaks well for the liberality and public spirit of our citizens, and promises well for the future prospects of the Society when its aims shall be more generally understood, and public attention more particularly attracted to it by its merits and success.

The Society may well pride itself upon the possession of such a list of portraits already furnished, and we hope it may have the effect to incite more of the old pioneers to furnish theirs. If the forty-seven persons who have so generously promised the Society their portraits, are not forgetful of their pledges, the *Picture Gallery* must speedily become the pride and admiration of Wisconsin.

We shall close this report, by a brief reference to the several artists by whose skill and genius our Gallery enterprise has received so much encouragement and fostering care.

The first to tender our Society a production of his pencil, was the veteran THOMAS SULLY, who was born in Lincolnshire, England, June, 1783, and, at the age of nine, came with his parents, who were comedians, to the United States. At the age of twelve, he was placed in the office of an insurance-broker in Charleston,

but his artistic inclination rendered his services of little avail to his employer, who advised his father to make an artist of him. This advice was followed, and young Sully studied for some time with his brother-in-law in Charleston, and subsequently with his brother, a miniature painter, at Richmond, Va. Having made creditable progress in oil painting, about 1803 he commenced the world for himself. For the ensuing six years he was engaged in his profession successively at Norfolk, Richmond, New York and Boston, and met with much success as a portrait painter. In 1809 he settled in Philadelphia, where he has ever since made his home; and the same year he visited England, and during a sojourn of nine months there, he made the acquaintance and enjoyed the friendship of West. During a second visit to England in 1837–'38, he painted a full-length portrait of Queen Victoria, which is said to be the most faithful likeness of her that has yet been taken. He has painted full lengths of La Fayette and Commodore Decatur, and a large picture of Washington crossing the Delaware. He still lives, with rigor unabated, the Nestor of American art.

Clement R. Edwards was born in Woodston, New Jersey, in 1820, and ten years afterwards his parents removed to Cincinnati, where, in 1837, he was apprenticed to a house and sign painter, and so remained two years, when he yielded to his strong inclination to portrait painting, and opened a studio. He left Cincinnati in 1843, following his profession in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and in 1847, joined the army, and served in the Voltigeur Regiment in the memorable battles of Contreras, Cherubusco, Molino del Rey and Chapultepec, and the capture of the city of Mexico. At the termination of the war, he returned to Cincinnati and resumed the practice of his profession, and last year removed to Louisville. His two portraits of Gen. George Rogers Clark and Dr. Wm. Byrd Powell, which he so kindly presented our Society, deservedly fill a conspicuous place in the Gallery.

It is not necessary to speak of R. M. Sully in this connection, as Mr. Draper's remarks upon the occasion of announcing his death to the Society, are as full as could be desired. His fine pictures will remain to tell their own story of the worth and genius of the lamented artist.

Samuel M. Brookes, who for several months has been so busy with his pencil and pallet in the production of faithful pictures for our Gallery, is a native of England; but when a child his parents migrated to America, and in 1833 we find them at Chicago, and subsequently in the region near Waukegan. Possessing an early aptness for drawing, young Brookes took lessons in oil painting of an artist who tarried a while at Chicago, and soon after opened a studio of his own. He met with encouraging success, considering the newness of the country, the poverty of the people, and the little taste for art then prevalent in the North West. Determined on visiting London and the Continent, he started with only a few dollars in his pocket, spent nearly two years abroad, and returned with more money than when he left, besides several hundred dollars' worth of pictures, the most of which were copies he had made in London. Since his return, he has followed his profession, first in Chicago, but for several years past in Milwaukee, and bids fair with his genius and love for the art, to add largely to his own reputation, and do a noble work for our Picture Gallery.

Of the artist Catlin, we need only say, that since he visited the Mandans and other distant tribes beyond the Mississippi, and made a noble collection of portraits of the Red Men, which he has exhibited in this country and Europe, he has written a work on the Indians, and is now understood to be in the Amazon Valley, in South America, where he is doubtless engaged in making sketches of that wonderful country. We know but little of Wm. J. Head, save that he is regarded at St. Louis as an artist of much skill and promise. Jasper F. Cropsey has long ranked among the most eminent landscape painters of our country. We should esteem it no small honor to have in our collection one of the pro-

ductions from his fine pencil—and it should be regarded as doubly honorable, as it comes to us as a free offering of his appreciation of the worth, enterprise and success of our beloved Wisconsin Historical Society.

S. H. CARPENTER,
Librarian.

Madison, April 10, 1856.

APPENDIX No. 4.

EULOGIES ON WRIGHT, McLANE AND SULLY.

HON. HIRAM A. WRIGHT.

In Executive Committee, June 5, 1855, Hon. JOHN Y. SMITH in the chair, Hon. J. P. ATWOOD arose and announced the death of Hon. HIRAM A. WRIGHT, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—I arise to announce an event as solemn as such an announcement is unusual, in this hall. For the first time since the organization of this society, the members of the Executive Committee have occasion to mourn the loss of one of their number. A bolt has descended from a clear sky, and the heavens are shrouded in gloom. A chair is vacant, and with heavy hearts we sit amid the sable insignia of death.

The Hon. HIRAM A. WRIGHT, late Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Wisconsin, and one of the Curators of this Society, died at Prairie du Chien, on the twenty seventh ult.

This event was as unexpected as the intelligence which is now flying from town to town, and from hamlet to hamlet, is startling and mournful. The shadow of his form lingers about the capitol, and the instruments of his office—the opened book—the unfinished manuscript, lay upon the table where he placed them. Almost imperceptibly we expect on the walks and in public places, that pleasant, yet dignified and courtly salutation, and can hardly believe that we are to receive that greeting no more.

The deceased left us, but a few days since, in feeble health, occasioned, as was then supposed, by constant and arduous labors during the past winter, for the purpose of enjoying a short season

of relaxation and repose, among the recuperating influences of his home, and with the intent of soon resuming the official duties, in the discharge of which he had been actively engaged up to the hour of his departure. But ere we were apprised that his illness denoted impending danger, and before he was scarcely missed, the wire vibrates, and we are told that he is dead.

Mr. WRIGHT left the place where he was reared and educated, in the State of New York, near where lived and died his illustrious namesake and relative, when quite young, to seek his fortune in the adventurous and rising west. He came to this State when its beauties and resources were comparatively unknown, and before it had emerged from its territorial infancy. He early learned the habits, customs and peculiarities of the people, who were then laying the foundations of a State on the frontier of civilization; and that people early conferred upon him the honors and distinctions, which though sometimes tardy, surely come to crown the just and meritorious. He won their confidence—they trusted him—and the highest eulogium that need be passed upon his name is, that he never betrayed that trust.

In the various positions of responsibility and prominence which he occupied, at the Bar, on the Bench, in the Assembly hall, in the Senate chamber, at the head of an important department of the executive government of the State, during the mutations of party and the ebullitions of public opinion, he maintained the confidence reposed in him, and did what he esteemed to be his duty and his right, unswerved by considerations of a temporary policy. He was eminently consistent in all the relations of life, of unquestionable integrity, prudent, considerate, decisive, energetic in action and untiring in the prosecution of his purpose. A firm, inflexible partizan, he was not a demagogue. Though always, from his youth, in public life, he never forgot his responsibilities as a man. Exalted to a seat with the first men in the State, he preserved a modest and unpretending demeanor. These qualities, not always found in public men, were discovered and

appreciated. They made his name a familiar word in every hamlet and cottage. The impress of his character is on the public heart, and *there is his cenotaph*, and there it will remain more eloquent and enduring than the chiseled column.

Judge Wright was still young. Thirty summers had not yet strewed flowers in his pathway—thirty winters had not yet come to chill the life blood in his heart. He had but just entered upon the broad field of manly aspirations and exertions, and was prepared by age and experience, for a life of enviable distinction and usefulness. Competency, honor, station, a cultivated head, a noble heart—the enjoyment of domestic felicity, all seemed combined to make his future fair and auspicious; but he fell, "with all his blushing honors thick upon him," ere the early days of manhood had lost one ray of brightness.

The reflections suggested by this dispensation of Providence, are a sad and truthful commentary upon the uncertainties of life —on the frailty of all earthly hopes and enjoyments.

In this connection I cannot refrain from remarking, that it was my fortune to be associated with him, a short time, in the private walks of life, and that it was there, amid the kindly influences which hallow and bless the domestic altar, that I learned to love the man. Of the ten persons, including children, comprising the families of Judge Wright, then a member of the Senate—Hon. Chas. D. Robinson, then Secretary of State, Doct. Ladd, then Superintendent of Public Instruction, and myself, who sat around the same board, during the winter of 1852, but three remain. The wisest, the purest, the loveliest have left us, and lent the light of their character and their smiles to illumine another sphere.

Our grief is assuaged by the reflection, that the last moments of our friend were spent where he most loved to live—in the bosom of his family—in the quiet seclusion of his home. The amiable and accomplished lady, whose life destinies were linked with his by ties which now bind her to the spirit world—smoothed with her own gentle hand the pillow of the dying man, and closed his eyes

in that sleep which knows no earthly waking. I would not intrude, with words of condolence, upon the sacred reverie of that widow—weeping with her orphaned child, at the fountain where the silver cord has been loosed, and the golden bowl been broken. Her sorrow is too holy for the minstration of human consolation. All that we could say is but the suggestion of every mind. She will seek and obtain from another source that purer illumination, of which human reason is but the reflection.

We mourn not as for one who leaves no bright mark behind him. We will cherish his memory, and feel that we shall grow better by a contrast of our lives with his own.

His race has terminated; his mission on earth is ended; his cup of fortune has over-run. On the eastern bank of the Mississippi, his ashes repose, but his spirit—free as the wind that swept around his river home, and now sings a midnight requiem o'er his urn—still lives and moves among us. Truly the form may moulder to its native dust—but for the memory of the just and good there is no grave.

Mr. President, I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed by the chair to report to this meeting resolutions expressive of the sense of the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society upon the death of Hon. Hiram A. Wright.

It was moved by S. H. Carpenter, and seconded by L. C. Draper, that Judge Atwood be requested to furnish a copy of his address to be filed among the papers of the Society. Carried.

Messrs. E. A. Calkins, J. P. Atwood and J. T. Clark, were appointed the committee on resolutions, who, through their chairman, reported the following:

Resolved, That we have heard with feelings of the deepest regret, of the recent death of the Hon. Hiram A. Wright, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Wisconsin, and a member of the Executive Committee of the State Historical Society.

Resolved, That, in the death of Judge WRIGHT, the community has lost an honored and useful member, his friends an ornament to their circle, his family a devoted husband and father, the State a faithful and efficient officer, and this Society a worthy coadjutor.

Resolved, That, in respect for the memory of Judge WRIGHT, this meeting do adjourn for one week, and that a copy of these proceedings, properly attested, be transmitted to the family of the lamented deceased.

In presenting these resolutions, Mr. CALKINS said:

Mr. PRESIDENT:—The duty which I have discharged in offering for consideration these resolutions, is rather to me a sad and sacred pleasure. It is a tribute due to the memory of my lamented friend, a respectable member of my own profession, a man whom I loved and honored. I can add little to the generous and eloquent fervor of the eulogy already rendered to the deceased—it expresses the emotions of us all at the melancholy event which it commemorates.

The death of Judge WRIGHT was unexpected, though in no form does death appear, and not strike a thrill to the hearts of the living. It reminds us how frail we are, how feeble and fleeting is the hold we have upon life, how closely the pathway which we travel lies to the borders of the tomb. But death came to him whose respected memory we here honor, as it comes to few. It came to him when the spring was opening upon the pomps and glories of summer, like the cloud that veils a morning sun, or the blight that settles on a bursting flower. He was in the earliest prime of a successful life, in the possession of a comfortable competence, enjoying the ends of a manly ambition, popular favor, and the esteem of troops of friends. I hardly know of one whose death could sunder more or dearer ties, one who could leave so much behind him, and a path lighted by a fairer radiance.

A more modest, unassuming man; a finer and a truer gentle-

man, in the essential qualities that made him such; a better and a nobler friend, I never knew. But he is dead. So true it is,

> "——— The good die first;
> While those whose hearts are dry as summer dust,
> Burn to the socket."

But death comes to us all. It is the catastrophe which makes life a tragedy, shrouding its close in gloom and bedewing it with tears. Yet it makes the meanest of us sacred; it instals the humblest in human respect; it lends to vice even a shield that protects it from insult, while it doubly canonizes social and public virtue.

I can but add the invocation, green be the grave of the lamented dead, as his memory will be in the hearts of those that loved him.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted.*

HON. GEORGE R. M'LANE.

In Executive Committee, Sept. 4th, 1855, S. H. CARPENTER, Esq., in the chair, Dr. JOHN W. HUNT arose and announced the death of Hon. GEORGE R. McLANE, of Delafield, Waukesha county, as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT:—Again we have to record and deplore the decease of another of our most valuable and estimable associates. Since our last meeting, the hand of death has been laid upon our Vice President McLANE, who closed his earthly career at his residence, Readland, in Waukesha county, at noon on Thursday, the 16th day of August last.

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* Judge WRIGHT was a native of St. Lawrence County, N. Y., and settled at Prairie du Chien in 1846, and took part in the publication of the Prairie du Chien Patriot, the pioneer paper of that place, and continued that connection till its discontinuance in 1852. In 1850, he was elected a member of the State Senate, and served two years, and then, in 1852, was chosen to a seat in the Assembly. He held at different times the position of County Judge, and several minor offices of Crawford County, and in the fall of 1853, was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. "It was our fortune," said the Kenosha Tribune and Telegraph, "to be quite well acquainted with him, and we say in the spirit of severe truth rather than that of customary eulogy, that few men exhibited more virtues and fewer faults than he did." At the time of his death he lacked a little of thirty years of age. L. C. D.

George Read McLane was a native of Delaware, born at Wilmington, on the 20th of December, 1819. He was descended through both parents from some of the earliest and most honorable stock in that State. His paternal grandfather, Colonel Allen McLane, was a most gallant and distinguished officer of the Revolution—a most intrepid leader of a legion of cavalry, under the immediate command of Washington; and his maternal great grand father, George Read, was one of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence. His father, the late Dr. Allen McLane, was an eminent physician and distinguished gentleman in Wilmington.

At an early age, George became a pupil at Newark Academy, in that State, to which resorted, for a period of nearly seventy years, many of the youth of the peninsula, composed of Delaware and the Eastern shore counties of Maryland and Virginia. In due time he was admitted to the Freshman class in Delaware College, in the village of Newark, and continued a student of that institution until the second term of the Sophomore year. The profession of Civil Engineering was at that time attracting to its ranks many young men of the older States, and young McLane entered it at about the age of 17, under the instruction of Isaac Trimble, a distinguished engineer, then in charge of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad. Remaining in the service nearly two years, he became satisfied that his right place was in the profession of which his father had so long been an ornament in his native State.

Under the instruction of his accomplished parent, he went through the regular course of study, and after graduating with credit in the Medical department of Pennsylvania University, availed himself of the advantages afforded in the city of Philadelphia, for the reputation which he afterwards acquired as a practitioner in his native place. Several years were spent by him in the active pursuit of his profession, in partnership with his father, until the decease of the latter, and a large and lucrative practice rewarded his industry and merit.

Like all men accomplished in their calling, Dr. McLane loved his own; but he found the duties of his honorable but arduous profession too severe for his delicate constitution; and with a view of finding a more healthful field of labor, he first visited Wisconsin, in the autumn of 1847, and removed to this State in the fall of 1848. He went immediately into the occupation of his beautiful farm of Readland, on Pine Lake, Waukesha county, where he resided for the remainder of his life, and where he died. Few could receive so much inspiration from the calm moral beauties of nature; and in this lovely spot, amidst its quiet duties, his gentle, refined and cultivated character made his home a paradise to himself and family. But he was too young, and gifted with talents of too high an order, to remain wholly content in rural privacy. The quiet duties of his farm and his household were insufficient to satisfy his mind and to develop his capacities, and loving them none the less, his generous ambition craved farther and larger duties in life. And when, in the fall of '52, his friends pressed upon him the position of State Senator from his district, he accepted the trust, and was elected to that honorable and responsible office. He remained in the Senate for two years, discharging every duty industriously, intelligently and faithfully.

The office was not one to give full scope to his peculiar powers; but he always brought to its discharge more than ordinary ability. He was one of those who honor station, rather than are honored by it; but in this position his admirable talents, attainments and character became more extensively known and more justly appreciated. It falls to the lot of but few men in public life to win for themselves such universal and cordial respect and affection as Dr. McLane did in the Senate.

Retiring from that position in 1854, an appointment was tendered to him, far more congenial to his tastes and acquirements. The State had been, as it still is, without any provision for the insane. The Legislature having taken preliminary measures for the establishment of an Insane Asylum, the Governor appointed Dr. McLane to the position of Superintendent. A happier selec-

tion could not have been made. The high general cultivation, the eminent medical attainments, and great benevolence of our lamented associate, peculiarly fitted him for the place.

The friends of Geo. R. McLane will long remember with admiration the generous ardor with which he devoted his whole mind to his new duties, and the comprehensive and intelligent benignity of character with which he mastered the charitable science which modern skill has brought to the cure of that most pitiable and helpless class of human unfortunates, the insane. It was to his fine nature a labor of noble-hearted love. It was amongst his duties to perfect a plan for the institution. In the highest heat of summer he proceeded to the eastern States, visited the best institutions of the kind, and consulted the most eminent men skilled in the cure of the insane. By them he was cordially recognized and appreciated as a brother in human science. He brought back, as the result of his investigations, a plan differing in some respects from any yet in use, and believed by many eminent physicians, of large experience in such institutions, to be the best ever devised for the purpose. In all the controversy which followed, no fault was ever found with the admirable adaptation of the plan to the object, and no imputation was ever cast upon the benevolent ability which matured it.

The succeeding Legislature abandoned the undertaking. But it is earnestly believed that Dr. McLane's labors have not been in vain; and that in due time hereafter an institution will arise, upon the model he devised, which will be an honor to the State and a monument to him.

This was Dr. McLane's last active employment. His strength was not equal to his duties and trials. He suffered severely during the summer journey, and never after wholly recovered his health. Upon the termination of his duties, he returned home an invalid, and his disease soon assumed an alarming character. He himself, from the beginning, foresaw its fatal termination, and never suffered himself to hope for recovery.

He set himself to put his house in order, and to provide for his beloved family after he should be gone. For over four months he endured a painful and distressing disease with singular patience and resignation. Always foreseeing his own speedy death, he calmly awaited it in the noble gentleness of his disposition, cheered by the intense affection of his home, sustained by the consciousness of a just life, and consoled by the undying hope of a Christian. And so he died.

Dr. McLane was a gentleman of rare talents, of refined taste, and extensive acquirements. In his profession he was learned and able. He was a good scholar in several languages, and an accomplished one in his own. The real literature of our language, too rarely studied in our day, was familiar to his cultivated mind. He was no mean scholar in the common law, and had acquired much and varied scientific knowledge. But high as were his talents and his acquirements, it was by his singularly noble disposition he was most distinguished. Peculiarly unpretending and inobtrusive, to be truly known, he must have been intimately known. His fine nature was too sensitive for the trials, and too high for the appreciation of common life. In him happily blended the strength of his own sex and the gentleness of the other. He united the unflinching firmness of upright manhood to the unselfish devotion, the fervent affection, the fine sensibility of woman's nature. Brave, upright, loyal, generous, gentle to all, he lavished on those he loved a devoted enthusiasm of affection, rarely to be met with in man, and in return he was beloved in life, and is mourned in death as such a man only can be loved and mourned.

In our Society, Mr. President, George R. McLane was active whenever opportunity was presented, and he felt a deep interest in its success. Our kindest memories are due to his worth as a public man, and his many noble qualities as exhibited in the common relations of life.

He has left his place of honor and usefulness among us in the prime of early manhood. He lived the life and died the death of

an unsullied, noble Christian gentleman. All our memories of him are gentle and reverential; gentle and full of hope is the sorrow, acute as it is, of those whom no time can console, no fortune can compensate for his loss.

Messrs. Draper, Durrie and Conover were appointed a committee on resolutions, who, through their chairman, reported the following:

"*Resolved*, That in the death of Hon. Geo. R. McLane, we have to lament the loss of an intelligent and sympathising coadjutor, and the State one of her most worthy and public-spirited citizens, who, by his talents, usefulness and gentlemanly deportment, endeared himself to all with whom he associated.

"*Resolved*, That in respect to the memory of Dr. McLane, this meeting adjourn for one week, and that a copy of these proceedings be transmitted to his family, with the expression of our sincere condolence."

After appropriate remarks by Messrs. Draper, Durrie and Carpenter, as to the worth and talents of Dr. McLane, and the great loss the Society has sustained in his death, the resolutions were adopted.

It was voted that Dr. Hunt be requested to furnish a copy of his address to be filed in the archives of the Society.

ROBERT M. SULLY.

In Executive Committee, Dec. 18th, 1855, E. A. Calkins, Esq. in the chair, Lyman C. Draper arose, and announced the death of Robert M. Sully, as follows:

Mr. President:—Once and again have we met, within a few brief months, to pay a merited tribute of respect to departed worth. In May last, Hon. Hiram A Wright, a fellow member of the Executive Committee of this Society, was summoned away; and, in August, Hon. George R. McLane, one of our Vice Pres-

idents, followed him to that "bourne whence no traveller returns." Both had evinced a lively interest in the prosperity of our Society, and we all felt, and still feel, that in their death, we were bereft of true hearted co-workers in the particular field of labor and research for which this association was especially formed.

And now, in such quick succession, we are called upon to mourn the departure of another devoted friend of our Society—Robert M. Sully, one of its honorary members, and one of its most generous benefactors. The peculiar relation which he bore to this Society, calls for some appropriate notice of his professional career, and of his worth as a man. But such a rehearsel carries with it a melancholy reflection, for it will naturally serve to enhance the sense we all feel of the uncommon loss our Society has sustained by his sudden and untimely death.

Mr. Sully was born at Petersburg, Virginia, July 17th, 1803. His father, who was a native of England, was by profession an actor, and was for many years attached to the Charleston theatre. Between his ninth and tenth years, and not long after his father's death, young Sully evinced an extreme fondness for drawing, which was increased, if not originally excited, by the sight of some excellent drawings made by his father, who, when a youth, had received some instruction from Naysmith, a celebrated landscape painter of Edinburg. This early partiality for drawing steadily grew upon him, and when about sixteen or seventeen, he fully determined on becoming a painter, despite the many difficulties and privations attending the profession, which were carefully pointed out to him by his friends. In his eighteenth year, he visited Philadelphia for the purpose of placing himself under the instructions of his distinguished uncle, Thomas Sully. His zeal, which had hitherto been wasted in ill-directed efforts, was now, for the first time, applied to a proper course of study. As he was enthusiastic, and labored with great assiduity, he made rapid advancement in the art. He ever remembered, with sincere gratitude, his uncle's kindness and instructions.

Having remained with his uncle eight or nine months, he returned to Virginia, and commenced the practice of his profession. He soon found the ancient saying but too true in his case, that a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country; and so the poor artist was left to obtain, as best he could, a precarious support in Richmond, the capital of the Old Dominion. One friend however, Mr. J. H. Sinobia, patronized and encouraged him. But even at that day, Sully's proud spirit despised the canting term of patron as generally used, as much as he did the artist, who could descend to apply it to those who, after all, give him merely the value of his honest services.

The letters of his uncle, Thomas Sully, at this period were very encouraging, and strongly advised him to visit London as soon as possible. Naturally proud of his chosen profession, he cherished an ardent desire to comply with his uncle's wishes and advice, and improve his taste and skill by studying the works of the great English masters. To aid in this purpose, he visited several towns in North Carolina, where he met with encouraging success. He sailed for London on the first of August, 1824, where he arrived the 23d of the following month.

Now thrown into the vortex of art, it was some little time before he could sufficiently recover from the fascinating excitement produced by the change, to commence a regular course of study. Of the then living English artists, Sir Thomas Lawrence became his first idol, but after remaining sometime in London, and carefully studying the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds, his admiration for the former somewhat abated. The portraits of Lawrence are said to be striking likenesses, and display a bold and free pencil; but they are, particularly his later ones, chargeable with mannerism, and are not considered to be successful in expressing the nicer shades of character, while his drawing evinced a want of accuracy and finish. Nothing so delighted Sully as the pictures of Reynolds, and no wonder, for they were master pieces of art. Reynolds rejected the stiff, unvaried and unmeaning attitudes of

former artists, and imparted to his pictures the air and action adapted to their characters, and thereby displayed something of the dignity and invention of history. He has seldom been excelled in the ease and elegance of his faces, and in the beauty and adaptation of the habiliments of his figures; and his coloring combined, in a high degree, the qualities of richness, brilliancy and freshness. These were the excellencies of Reynolds' productions that so strongly attracted the attention, and extorted the admiration of the young American artist. And frequently, as some fine engraving from his works would catch Sully's eye, would he reconcile himself to the loss of his dinner, and spend his last shilling to possess it.

Sully thought Jackson, who then ranked as the second portrait painter of England, surpassed Lawrence in color. There was a fine rich tone to his pictures not unlike Reynolds, but he wanted the grace and elegance of Lawrence. In their peculiar walk, Sully found none equal to Leslie and Newton; but in the higher ranks of history, he concluded that Haydon, Gitty and Hilton were inferior to our own Washington Allston, judging from his exquisite production of *Jacob's Dream*, then on exhibition at the British Gallery.

During the course of his second year in London, Sully painted a portrait of Mr. C. Bi loe, the Secretary of the Briti-h Institution. It was shown to that veteran in art, James Northcote, a pupil of Reynolds; it gained his approbation, although qualified by a very judicious criticism, which ended with his sending Sully an excellent picture by Reynolds to copy, from which he derived much improvement. He also painted a portrait of Northcote, then eighty years of age, which gained him great credit in London, and was much praised by connoisseurs and artists. From Northcote he derived much useful information respecting Reynolds, Opie, Gaine-borough, and others. But Sully found the older artists generally little disposed to aid their younger brethren in art, either by advice or by the loan of their pictures. He

therefore the more highly appreciated the kindness of the veteran NORTHCOTE. LESLIE too, was an exception, for he was not only kind in directing his studies and criticising his work, but in lending him many of his own choice productions. Such were some of the great masters of the British Metropolis with whom SULLY associated, and from whose experience, suggestions and instructions he added largely to his knowledge and skill in the divine art to which he so enthusiastically devoted the better portion of his days.

After an absence of four years, he returned to his native country in September, 1828, and at once commenced redeeming the promise of his youthful genius. Of all the numerous productions of his pencil, the five noble portraits now adorning our Hall, will ever render his name indissolubly connected with our Society. Two of them are originals—those of WA-PE-SHE-KA, or *the Prophet*, and BLACK HAWK'S son NA-SHE-A-KUSK, both painted from life in 1833, and never copied. That of BLACK HAWK is a perfect copy of the original which he painted at the same time, but the copy is an improved picture. In a letter addressed to our Society, SULLY himself happily remarks, that "there is in the original portrait of of the PROPHET, a peculiar, indescribable, devilish expression—a something that you cannot explain, that I hit exactly in the original, and might not hit again so perfectly in any copy. It might be a fac simile, and yet not retain that *something*, which has been a subject of remark by all who have seen it." SULLY spent nearly six weeks at Fortress Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Virginia, with BLACK HAWK and his companions, studying their characters and sketching their features. The officers at the fort, Gen. DODGE and other pioneers of this State, unite in testifying to the life like expression and accuracy of the likenesses. The portraits of these remarkable Indians, whose names are so closely identified with the early history and border warfare of our State, will ever possess an enduring interest to the citizens of Wisconsin.

The other SULLY portraits in our collection are more national in their character—those of POCAHONTAS and Chief Justice MAR-

SHALL. The beautiful POCAHONTAS appears to us as the guardian angel who twice saved the infant Colony of Virginia from destruction, by her almost superhuman heroism and devotion, and under circumstances of singular peril and romance. This fine painting is a copy of a copy of an ancient original, which was long preserved in the family of Mr. ROLFE, the husband of POCAHONTAS, in Warwickshire, England, until about 1772, when it was sent over, together with ROLFE's portrait, as a present to the late RYLAND RANDOLPH, of Virginia, a lineal descendant of the Indian princess. The tooth of time had so gnawed this ancient relic, that it crumbled to pieces soon after SULLY copied it, which was in 1830. The copy, however, hanging upon our wall, is somewhat idealized, yet preserving a faithful transcript of her features, with her costume Indianized, and a wreath of the beautiful wild flowers of Virginia embroidered in her hair, as represented by the ancient Virginia historian BEVERLY. It is not necessary to dwell upon the remaining SULLY picture, that of Chief Justice MARSHALL, the soldier, statesman, jurist and historian. He was one of the fathers of the republic, and prior to his death in 1836, he sat to SULLY, and ours is a copy of that picture; and this copy SULLY declared to be the best portrait he ever executed.

Mr. SULLY had resolved, as you all know full well, to migrate to Wisconsin, and make our town his future home. Everything our Society could do, was done to encourage his coming; and not a few of our pioneers and public men were waiting his arrival, to sit to him for their portraits for our Picture Gallery. We all fondly hoped to grasp the hand of the accomplished artist, whose genius and success in fine painting had given him a place in all our hearts. "Man proposes, but God disposes." He left Richmond for this place, with bouyant hopes and high anticipations, on the 16th of October last, and proceeded as far as Buffalo, where he was arrested by a fatal disease, at a hotel where he stopped, and was removed by the advice of his physician to a hospital, for the advantage of more constant medical attendance, and more assiduous nursing. But all to no purpose. He lingered till the 28th, when

he breathed his last, and his body was interred in the cemetery of the institution; and has since been removed by his relatives to Richmond, and buried by the side of the mouldering relics of his mother. It is fit, in the language of the Richmond *Enquirer*, that the citizens of Richmond should "pay some tribute to the memory of a man whose talents have done honor to their city and state."

Since it was the misfortune of us all not to have personally known Mr. SULLY, I can only say, that he has been represented by those who best knew him, to have possessed many of the finest traits that adorn the human character. "We knew the deceased," says the editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, "somewhat familiarly for some years, during his residence in our city, and whilst we admired his brilliant talents as an artist, we could not help warmly esteeming some of his most amiable qualities as a man. Unhappily, however, neither his fortune nor his fame was at all equal to his merits, and he lived, as it were, under a cloud, and oppressed by adverse circumstances which he could not control. He bore up, however, against them with a manly fortitude which won our respect." It was in making a noble effort to come to Wisconsin to retrieve his fortune, and add to his fame and usefulness, that he sickened by the way, and passed to the tomb—thus blasting his own and our fondest anticipations.

I have endeavored, in a brief and faithful manner, to trace Mr. SULLY'S career and characteristics, as due to his worth and memory, and especially as he had done so much, and that so well, in aiding to found the Picture Gallery of our Society, and by his name and influence had added to the reputation of our institution at home and abroad. In acquainting ourselves with his history, and his early struggles and success in fitting himself for his noble profession, we cannot but admire his genius, deplore his loss, and place a higher estimate upon the value of his paintings which it is the good fortune of our Society to possess.

SULLY evinced, in an unusual degree, the spirit of the true antiquarian. Even when in London, in his visits to the Tower, he

discovered, by means of some ancient fire-arms, the peculiar meaning of certain passages in the primitive history of Virginia, which had hitherto been regarded as vague and obscure. He loved to visit scenes rendered sacred from their historic associations, and to decipher, like another Old Mortality, the moss-covered and half obliterated inscriptions on tomb-stones in ancient grave yards; and he delighted, as in the case of the likeness of POCAHONTAS and others, to preserve for history and future usefulness, truthful representations of such characters as have rendered themselves conspicuous by their labors of love, or deeds of noble daring. We had, by common consent, awaited his arrival, to tender him the place in our Executive Committee, made vacant by the death of the lamented WRIGHT.

He had devised liberal things for our Society—to sketch and paint the battle fields of our Black Hawk war, and portraits of our noble and fast fading band of pioneers. He had also copied a fine sketch of OSCEOLA, which he proposed enlarging into a portrait of that unfortunate Seminole chief, as an addition to our gallery; and he had visited the ruins of Jamestown, and sketched that hallowed spot, made memorable by POCAHONTAS and Captain JOHN SMITH nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, and which he designed putting upon canvass for the further adornment of our hall, already so richly embellished by the beautiful creations af his genius. But SULLY is gone—these hopes and designs all frustrated; and in lamenting the loss we have sustained —we can not repress the anxious inquiry—upon whom will his mantle fall? who can worthily fill the place his untimely death has made vacant?

It was moved by Hon. J. P. ATWOOD, seconded by Ex Governor FARWELL, that a copy of Mr. DRAPER'S address be filed in the archives of the Society.

Messrs. Judge ATWOOD, WHITE and DRAPER were appointed a committee to report suitable resolutions, who through Mr. WHITE submitted the following—which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in the death of Robert M. Sully, we feel that our Society has met with an irreparable loss, and we deplore the sad event which has deprived our State of an artist of high merit, and our Society of one of its truest friends.

Resolved, That we tender his relatives our sincere condolence, and that a copy of these proceedings be transmitted to them; and, in respect for the memory of the deceased, that this meeting do now adjourn till Thursday evening next.

APPENDIX NO. 5.

EARLY HISTORY AND CONDITION OF WISCONSIN.

Annual Address delivered before the State Historical Society, in the Senate Hall, by Hon. Henry S. Baird, of Green Bay, on the 30th January, 1856, the seventh anniversary of the Society:

Mr. President:—The eventful changes and vicissitudes constantly occurring in the history of nations and individuals, admonish us to note carefully every thing of moment connected with our own generation; to look forward to that period when the present shall have passed into futurity—when the forms of government, and existing institutions, both civil and political, shall have changed—and when those who are now the busy actors in the grand drama of life, shall have given place to those who are destined to succeed them. Then nothing will remain to commemorate the events of our time but the page of History, or the imperfect recollections of our descendants.

It is the design of History faithfully and truly to record events worthy of notice, in the rise, progress and decline of nations; also to transmit to posterity the virtues and noble deeds of individuals, and the perfections in the several forms of government, as examples worthy of imitation; and, on the other hand, to point out the vices, errors or imperfections to be avoided. To rely solely on tradition for a knowledge of preceding generations, would inevitably involve the past in uncertainty and obscurity. As it is the province and design of History to preserve and perpetuate

events, so is it equally the duty of man faithfully to record, and leave to his successors an account of the transactions and occurrences of his own generation.

The historian is often misled by misstatements or prejudices, and oftentimes finds himself at a loss for reliable materials from which to prepare a correct history. The formation of *Historical Societies* is comparatively of but recent origin. Such institutions may have existed for a long period, but to a very limited extent, in some of the older countries in Europe. Still their usefulness and value are, as yet, scarcely appreciated as they deserve. Their object is not only to collect information as to existing institutions, and the present state of social and political society, but to rescue from oblivion the events of past ages; to delineate the character and habits of the people of past generations; to record whatever was peculiar in their forms of government, their social and national habits, their virtues or their vices, and transmit the whole to those who may succeed them.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is yet in its infancy. It has been in existence but seven years. For the first four or five years after its formation, but little more was accomplished than to organize it, and hold an annual meeting for the election of officers. A degree of apathy seemed to exist, which greatly retarded its prosperity, and limited its usefulness. But it is highly gratifying to know, that such is no longer the case. Your Society is constantly receiving valuable contributions, the number of its members steadily increasing, and its early establishment will doubtless secure and perpetuate many interesting memorials of the "olden time," which otherwise would be lost or forgotten. Let us hope that its usefulness will be duly appreciated; that the best men of our country will not only give it their countenance, but contribute freely their aid and exertions to render it worthy of the noble objects it has in view; and may its annual gatherings, in all time to come, be attended, as on the present occasion, by the intelligent citizens, and high functionaries of the State.

On an occasion like this, it may by some be expected, that some allusion will be made to the history of the State in which the Society is located. To attempt anything like a connected history in an Annual Address, even in reference to so young a member of the Confederacy as Wisconsin, would be preposterous.—Still much may be said relating to particular periods or occurrences in that history, worthy of being preserved, and which may prove interesting to the audience I have the honor to address.

The rise, progress and prosperity of this Republic, are unparallelled in the annals of nations. Within little more than half a century, and in a period of time scarcely equal to that allotted to the ordinary life of man, the UNITED STATES have emerged from a state of vassalage and dependence—defied and rejected the master that controlled and governed her, declared herself free and independent, and now forms, within her own limits, a constellation of States, each of which is equal in power and resources to many of the kingdoms of the old world. To trace the history and progress of the several States comprising this Union, would be interesting. For although the period of their existence is brief, yet it is replete with events of most thrilling interest. In this respect, Wisconsin occupies a position surpassed by no other State in the Union. It is true, much of her history is involved in obscurity, and it is in some degree blended with that of other States which are parts of what was formerly termed the *North West Territory*, and out of which have been formed the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin.

The early history of this region can only be gathered from the traditionary accounts given by the oldest inhabitants, and the exaggerated published journals and narratives of the early missionaries and other explorers of these then wild and inhospitable regions. This portion of the history of Wisconsin has been written by an abler hand than mine. The volumes lately compiled by the venerable historian of the State, have done full justice to the

subject, and are undoubtedly as full and correct a history of that period, as ample knowledge, industry and research could make them.

In recurring to the early history of the country, we are naturally led to inquire—By whom was it first explored, and what motives prompted its exploration and occupation? And here, I would observe, that posterity has scarcely yet done justice to the character and merits of those who first entered upon this hazardous enterprise. Columbus, after repeated rebuffs and disappointments, at length, by indomitable courage and perseverance, succeeded in discovering a new world. That success excited the envy and hostility of the great and powerful. During his life time he suffered injustice at the hands of his sovereign, and failed to receive the reward he so nobly won, and so richly deserved. It was reserved for posterity to do full justice to his merits. His monument is no less than this vast Continent, peopled by millions of freemen, who acknowledge him as the discoverer of America. The principal motive which influenced him in undertaking his great voyage of discovery, was probably that of ambition, and the desire to give his name to the new and hitherto undiscovered country.

But how different the motives of those who first entered the path for the exploration of the distant wilds of Wisconsin! They were the poor but devoted missionaries, who could gain nothing by their discoveries; men, who not only professed to have at heart the welfare and happiness of the Indians, but by every action of their lives, proved the disinterestedness and purity of their intentions. Whatever opinion some may entertain of the efforts of modern philanthropists to ameliorate the condition, and improve the morals, of the natives, none should withhold from the early missionaries and reverend fathers, the meed of praise for their zeal and devotion in their attempts to civilize the Red Man, and better his moral and social condition. The kindness and friendship with which these efforts were received by the Indians, and the sincere and enduring ties of good will which so long subsis-

ted between the French and the Natives, show conclusively that the early visits of the missionaries, were missions of peace and friendship. To the efforts of these primitive pioneers, devoted and pious men, do we owe the first settlement of this country; and to their journals and narratives, imperfect though they be, can we alone have recourse for information relative to their early expeditions and discoveries, and the condition of the country at that remote period.

Cotemporaneous with the arrival of the Jesuits in this region, another class of adventurers visited, and eventually became identified with the country. I allude to the French traders, familiarly known among their compeers as *voyageurs*. They were truly pioneers of Wisconsin, and are justly entitled to share with the missionaries the reward and credit of bringing the country into notice; opening the way for the introduction of civilization and improvement, and, to some extent, improving the condition of the natives, and subduing their savage propensities. This class of men were actuated by more selfish and sordid motives than those which governed their brethren the missionaries, yet their character and disposition bore a great similarity to each other. All, or nearly all, were Frenchmen, and were possessed, in common, with that urbanity of manner, and all those warm and friendly traits so characteristic of that polite but volatile nation. And experience has shown, that the people of no other country have ever acquired and maintained, during their intercourse with them, the same degree of influence over the Indian tribes.

Nor have any other people ever succeeded in preserving so long and enduring peace and friendship. This result was probably owing as well to the peculiar character of the French people, as also to their adaptation, and ready conformity, to many of the customs and habits of the Aborigines. Of a social and excitable temperament, fond of change, and unaccustomed to the restraints and conventional refinements of society, they found it an easy task to conform readily to the customs and modes of life peculiar to those with whom they came to reside. They

lived, to some extent, as the Indians did; occupying wig-wams, or rude houses made of the bark of trees; depending for food, during a portion of the year, on the proceeds of the chase, or success in taking fish, which abounded in the numerous lakes and streams interspersed throughout the North-West; and many, moreover, intermarrying with the native females, and raising families, who in their turn became permanent residents of the country.

When the dominion of the North-West was transferred by the French to the English, the latter failed, in a great measure, to conciliate the good will of the natives, and secure their friendship. That nation never acquired the confidence of, or established a permanent friendship with the Indian tribes, like the French. The feelings of the Indians towards the French seem to have been respect and affection, induced by kind treatment, and fair and equitable traffic; while towards the English, they cherished a secret dislike, only subdued and smothered because they were the weaker party. On the surrender of the country to the United States, these unfriendly feelings were by no means diminished, but rather increased; which but too often showed themselves in hostile attacks, and the murder of the weak and unprotected.

These different phases of feeling manifested by the Wisconsin Indian tribes towards the people of the several nations who successively became the occupants of their country, may be easily accounted for. The French came as friends, and not as task masters. They opened a traffic with the natives, lucrative to the former, and, at the same time, beneficial to the latter; supplying their wants in exchange for their furs and peltries. They did not attempt to take forcible possession of the soil, or appropriate it to their own use. They cultivated little or no land, and did not interfere with the game.

The English had in view, not only this rich and profitable traffic, but a more important ulterior object—the acquisition of the country, and its entire subjection to British dominion. This soon manifested itself to the Indians by the policy adopted by the

English government, and the arbitrary acts of her governors and military commandants. And when we add to these causes of dislike and alienation, the recollection that for many years a sanguinary war had been waged between France and England for the avowed purpose of gaining ascendency in, and exercising exclusive sovereignty over, this very country—*the birth-right of the natives*, it is not wonderful that the latter should favor the people whom they viewed as friends, and take sides against the English, whom they had always considered as their worst enemies. During the period of English sovereignty over the country, this state of things scarcely changed. That period was marked by constant outbreaks, and frequent sanguinary conflicts between the whites and Indians.

At the termination of the American Revolution, the whole extent of territory lying between the Canadas, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi, was to have been surrendered to the new Republic. The formal surrender, however, was delayed on various pretexts by the English government; and many of the forts, trading posts and settlements were with held for several years after the time stipulated for their delivery; and we can well imagine, that during this period, no pains were spared by the emissaries of the English, to keep alive the jealous feelings of the Indians, and incite them to hostilities with those whom they believed had come to expel them from their country, and destroy and exterminate them as a people. The English differed from the French in many particulars, but especially in their taciturn dispositions and unsocial habits. The character of the Americans was still more marked, and in many respects obnoxious to the Indians. They came as conquerors, and assumed the government of a country and people originally free and independent. They asserted that the country was theirs by conquest, and that the natives were but tenants at sufferance. They assumed the right to fell the forest, till the soil, and destroy the game, the sole dependence of the people who inherited this beautiful region—the gift of the Great Spirit whom they worshipped and adored.

Is it surprising then, that this people should have entertained hostile feelings, and waged war against the intruders? Before dismissing this part of Wisconsin history, let us for a moment pause. Let us sympathise with a race who have been most deeply, most irretrievably wronged. When this fair land was first invaded, and taken possession of by the whites, it was as the God of Nature had formed it; abounding in every thing to make it desirable for the residence and support of man in a state of primitive simplicity, and peopled by numerous aboriginal tribes. Unacquainted with the wants, luxuries and refinements of civilization, and free from the vices and crimes of modern society, they lived a contented and happy people. The French and English found the country inhabited by the Sauks, Foxes, Winnebagoes, Chippewas, Pottawattamies, Ottawas, Menomonees and other powerful tribes which have now become extinct, and whose names even are forgotten. Those tribes, numbering many thousands, occupied the country now embraced within the present States of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and the territory of Minnesota. *But where are they now?* While some of these warlike and noble tribes are entirely extinct, others bear but a faint resemblance of their former greatness; a few miserable and squalid families make up the sole remnant of their once formidable bands.

It is the common practice of the white man to charge cruelty and duplicity upon the Indian. If he is cruel, who has made him so? If he is guilty of duplicity, who has taught him the lesson? We are too apt to charge upon this wronged and persecuted people the commission of unprovoked crimes, and the perpetration of cruel wrongs, without justification or excuse; and this is especially the case amongst American frontiersmen who may have suffered at their hands. But when we compare the present condition of these people with that when first discovered by the whites, their sufferings must go far to mitigate, if not justify, their sanguinary warfare. At that period, they were truly the *lords of the soil*—sole and undisputed owners of the rich and lovely

country they occupied, surrounded by the abundant gifts of nature, sufficient for the supply of every want, and unaccountable to any master, save the Grand Master of the Universe. Thus they passed their lives in happy simplicity and contentment, little dreaming of the disastrous future that awaited them. The first white men who visited these tribes were received with friendship, and entertained with hospitality. But, alas! it was but a brief space before this kind reception met with an ungrateful return. Soon were these children of nature to be driven from the forests and prairies, through and over which they had been accustomed to roam unmolested and uncontrolled; to be expelled from their beautiful villages where their ancestors were born; from the hunting grounds which for so many generations had supplied them with game—yea, even denied the last consolation of decaying nature, that of mingling their ashes with the dust of their kindred. Why then should we express any wonder that the untutored and injured Indian, goaded on by such harrowing recollections, should feel resentment, and seek to avenge himself on those who have wrought this crushing misery! To feel and act otherwise, would rather evince a want of the noblest and holiest feelings of our nature—filial attachment, and a love of our homes and firesides. Compared with nations of antiquity, who were classed as refined and civilized, the North American Indians would lose nothing in the scale of humanity. Many of the battles of the ancients were equally sanguinary, and blackened by deeds as cruel and cold-blooded in their character. Even among our own people, acts of atrocity have been committed on the Indian, revolting to humanity, and contrary to every principle of honorable warfare.

There is much that is noble and elevating in the character of the Indian yet left to him. But how different is the present from his original character. When first visited by Europeans, he walked erect, with the proud and haughty bearing of one conscious of his independence, and freedom from restraint; yet with all this feeling, he would extend the hand of friendship, and en-

tertain the stranger with kindness and hospitality. And what has been the return for all this? The answer is found in the squalid appearance of a few miserable beings who yet linger in portions of our State; reduced by the introduction of the low and wasting vices of the whites, and the more dire effects of spirituous liquors, he stalks our streets a living evidence of *what he is*, contradistinguished from *what he once was*—an enduring reproach upon the white man for the debased creature he has made him. The nature of the Indian is to avenge injury or wrong, but he is always susceptible of friendship, and grateful for kindness shown him. To partake of his hospitality is sure to secure protection and safety.

Much has been said as to the policy adopted by our Government in relation to this suffering people. Some public functionaries have, at different times, lauded the Government for its *just and parental care and protection* of this persecuted race. *Justice to the Indians!* After robbing them of their possessions; forcibly expelling them from their homes and their country; and by the introduction of spirituous liquors and low vices of civilized man, degrading them from their once proud and noble bearing to the lowest and most abject condition; then the General Government *does them justice*, and exercises parental care over them, by doling out a pitiful annuity of a few blankets to cover their naked limbs, and a scanty supply of provisions to keep their famishing women and children from utter starvation. It would be more magnanimous for the white man candidly to acknowledge the wrongs committed, and to the utmost of his power to atone for them by exertions to ameliorate the hard fate of the sufferers.

But their destiny is written. As the white man advances, they recede—even the stupendous and almost inaccessible ramparts of the Rocky Mountains cannot stay the advance of the enterprising American. Already has the Red Man fled beyond what he once believed to be the utmost boundary of civilization, and yet he is pursued. His relentless foe is still close upon his retreating foot-

steps, leaving no hope to him but that of finding a peaceful grave —a last resting place from his pursuer—beneath the rolling billows of the Pacific.

If we cannot do justice to the Indian by restoring him to his country, and re-uniting him with his scattered race, let us at least do justice to his character. In our prejudice, let us not lose sight of his many noble and redeeming traits. Many of the early settlers of Wisconsin have experienced from the Indians numerous instances of friendship and hospitality; and not a few were indebted to individuals of the Menomonee tribe for the preservation of their lives and liberty during the war of 1812.

By the treaty of peace of 1783, as also by Jay's Treaty of 1795, it was stipulated by the English Government, that the North-Western territory, with its forts, trading posts and dependencies, should be surrendered and transferred to the United States; but as already remarked, the surrender of the posts and evacuation of the country, by the English, were long delayed. Although the United States exercised nominal jurisdiction over parts of the territory previous to the war of 1812, yet this exercise of authority was barely in name. During the war, nearly all of this part of the North West was in possession of the British, and the few Americans who resided here were subject to their authority. It was not until 1816, that that portion of the territory comprising Wisconsin became really a portion of the United States.

All of the tribes of Indians inhabiting the North West between the Lakes and the Mississippi, with the exception of the Pottawattamies and a part of the Ottawas*, were hostile to the States; enlisted on the side of the English, and during the contest waged

* There would appear to be some mistake in this statement. When Col. Robert Dickson collected a large Indian force under the British flag at Green Bay in the summer of 1812, the Pottawattamies and Ottawas formed a part; and in August of that year, a large band of Pottawattamies, under their chief, Black Bird, committed the memorable massacre at Chicago; and the Pottawattamies also figured prominently at Tippecanoe, Brownstown, River Raisin, Fort Meigs, Sandusky and the Thames. The Menomonees as a nation, it is believed, were mainly controlled by their able chief Tomah, who used all his great influence to prevail upon his people to remain neutral—and but a few of the young warriors joined the fortunes of the British. L. C. D.

war against the Americans. The Pottawattamies and Ottawas, although friendly, remained neutral. By the terms of Jay's treaty, all the inhabitants of whatever nation, then residents of the country, were protected in the possession of their property, with the right to remain, or, at their option, withdraw with their effects from the country, and one year was allowed them to make their election. All who did not withdraw within that period were deemed American citizens, allowed to enjoy all the privileges of citizenship, and to be under the protection of our Government. But few of the settlers left the country. Those who remained virtually became American citizens; but we find that nearly all the French and English of this class, were subsequently found in the ranks of our enemies. Several bore commissions under the King, and, with their Indian allies, assisted in taking Mackinaw and other places, during the war of 1812–'15. During that contest, the few Americans that resided at Green Bay, Mackinaw, Chicago, and Prairie du Chien, were at the mercy of the British, and exposed to the depredations of the Indians. Some were taken prisoners and conveyed to Detroit; some made captive by the Indians, and others fell by the tomahawk and scalping-knife. The cruelties practised upon the whites have been generally and indiscriminately charged upon the Indians, when in truth they were instigated to the commission of such deeds by white men, the officers or emissaries of the English. Perhaps some of the most diabolical acts were committed by the white fiends themselves; for instances were not rare, when white men or their descendants were found wearing the garb and wielding the weapons of the red men, the better to conceal themselves from the Americans.

At the termination of the war, formal possession was taken by the American troops of the North West. The first American vessel, laden with troops and military supplies, entered Green Bay, and finally anchored in Fox River, opposite where Fort Howard was soon after established, in August or September, 1816. They were piloted from Mackinaw by two old citizens of Brown county—Augustin Grignon and Stanislaus Chappin, the former

of whom is still living. They were traders and residents of Green Bay, but then at Mackinaw, on their annual visit to sell their peltries, and obtain supplies for the trade of the ensuing winter. They were applied to by Col. Chambers, the commanding officer of the American detachment, to pilot the vessels; but as they had their own boats and men there, they declined, as it would be a sacrifice of time, and be attended with risk in reaching their remote wintering grounds, or trading posts, before the commencement of winter. But these objections availed nothing. In those days, and in this country, the will of the military commandant was the law of the land. Having refused to go voluntarily, they were pressed into the public service, and safely piloted the vessels into the waters of Fox River.

From 1816 to 1824, a period of eight years, although Wisconsin and a part of Michigan Territory were nominally under the protection of the flag of the Union, yet but little of parental care was bestowed upon her citizens in civil life by the General Government. The rule that bore sway was essentially military. No courts were organized, and offenders against the laws were either sent from remote parts of the settlement to Detroit for trial, or perhaps more usually suffered to escape punishment. The civil code was limited, and but sparingly administered. But the military code, such as it was, more than supplied the deficiencies of the civil. While this state of things continued, it occasionally happened that some military genius, possessed of more tinsel than discretion, became the commanding officer, and to mark the era of his reign, would exercise his "little brief authority" in an arbitrary manner, and thus contrive to render the condition of the citizen as uncomfortable as possible. Instances of high handed oppression and injustice were, in the early days of our history, frequently committed by some military martinet, upon the persons, liberty or property of those whom they were sent to protect. A few such cases were witnessed by myself.

It happened that some thirty years ago, a gentleman still living in this State, being then engaged in the Indian trade near Green

Bay, became obnoxious to a Government agent who had the authority to grant licenses to the traders. On applying for a license, as usual, the trader was refused, on the alleged ground, that he had on some former occasion, violated the laws of trade and intercourse with the Indians. The trader therefore hired two Indians and their canoes, and started for a distant agency, intending there to obtain his license, and return for his goods. After proceeding some miles, the trader was overtaken by another canoe, strongly manned and armed, having on board the United States Indian interpreter, and eight or nine Indians. The interpreter stopped the trader, and ordered him to go on board of the armed canoe, together with his Indian comrades. This he refused to do, when he and his companions were seized, and forcibly carried back to the place whence they started a few hours previously. They were all landed on a beach near the Agency House, and the trader and Indians ordered into the building. The trader of course refused to obey, and went his way unmolested, but the poor, innocent Indians fared much worse. They were marched as prisoners to the garrison, accompanied by the interpreter, with a polite note from the agent, requesting the commanding officer *to give each a dozen lashes*, and confine them in the guard-house until further orders. This request was promptly complied with, before the civil authority could interpose to prevent it. I need hardly say, that great excitement prevailed, and much indignation was manifested at this cruel and arbitrary exercise of unlawful authority. As soon as a writ of *habeas corpus* could be obtained, the poor maltreated Indians were released.* But unable to comprehend why they were thus punished, they fled as soon

*Those poor injured red men must have felt very much as RED JACKET did when returning with a group of lawyers from a court of justice, where one of his Seneca brothers had just been sentenced to imprisonment for life, after the old chief had eloquently and stoutly plead that the accused might be tried and punished by Indian laws and usages—seeing the emblematical representation of Liberty and Justice emblazoned in large figures and characters on the sign of a printing office, the old chieftain stopped, and pointing to the figure of Liberty, asked in broken English—"*What—him—call?*" He was answered, "LIBERTY." "Ugh!" was the significant and truly aboriginal response. Then pointing to the other figure, he inquired—"*What—him—call?*" He was answered, JUSTICE—to which, with a kindling eye, he instantly replied, by asking—"*Where—him—live—now?*". L. C. D.

as they were set at liberty, and were not seen at the place of their suffering for a long time afterwards. Civil authority being then fully established, the persons who so grossly violated law, and outraged every feeling of humanity, were immediately arrested, and required to give bail for their appearance to answer the complaint at the next term of the court; but before the time for trial, the guilty parties were very willing to settle the matter by making reparation, and paying the Indians handsome smart money.

A more recent affair of a similar character, occurred at Green Bay, when two citizens were arrested by the sentinel in open day, and marched by the guard to the fort, a distance of half a mile, charged with having *dared* to land on the fort side of Fox River, without permission from the commanding officer. In this instance, the military was obliged to succumb to the civil authority. The officer by whose orders the parties were arrested, was prosecuted for the outrage, and considered himself fortunate to escape with a fine.

Many other instances of usurpation of authority, although not on record, are fresh in the recollection of the early settlers of Wisconsin,—such as demolishing houses, firing into vessels or boats attempting to pass the fort without stopping to report to the commandant As late as 1827, your speaker and the Hon. James D. Doty, then Judge of the District, were on our return from Mackinaw, where the Judge had held his court; we were in a bark canoe, manned by Frenchmen and Indians, and entering Fox River, we arrived opposite Fort Howard about eight o'clock in the morning, and while steadily pursuing our way up the river to our homes, we were hailed by the sentinel, who was stationed on the wharf, and ordered ashore. This command we at first disregarded, and ordered our men to go on; but they became alarmed, when the sentinel deliberately presented and cocked his musket, at the same time threatening to fire into us if we did not immediately go ashore. We permitted the men to do so, and were met at the wharf by the officer of the day, of whom we in-

quired when war had been declared? He rather sheepishly replied, that it was a standing order of the post that no boat or vessel should be permitted to pass without reporting.

These incidents in the early history of our State are not alluded to for the purpose of injuring the feelings of any of the actors in them, if any are still living; but to show the privations and hardships experienced by the early settlers; and to exhibit in their true forms, the inefficiency of the protection afforded by the General Government, and the proneness of military men, when exercising the supreme authority, to become tyrannical and oppressive.

I have remarked that during the period of eight years prior to 1824, the country was principally subject to military rule. It was not, however, entirely so, as there was a species of civil authority exercised in parts of the country where there were white inhabitants, and which, in many respects, was quite unique and amusing. I will allude to one or two cases that occurred in that part of the State where I have long resided, and with which I have become acquainted. All who have any knowledge of the early settlement of the northern part of the State, have heard of the venerable Judge Reaume, who resided for many years at Green Bay, and died near there over thirty years ago. A relic * of this venerable functionary is preserved among the collections of your Society. Where the Judge came from, is not very well known, and whence he derived his authority is a matter likewise involved in uncertainty; but it is a well established fact, that he exercised the functions of a Judge or Justice for a long period. When he first assumed the robes of office, he probably received his authority from some commanding officer or governor. His judicial career commenced before the war of 1812, and probably continued until near the time of his decease. This exercise of authority seems to have been tacitly acquiesced in by all. It has never been as-

* His scarlet coat or court dress, faced with white silk, and bedecked with spangled buttons, in which he appeared in all public occasions. L. C. D.

certained that the Judge received a renewal of his first appointment from any governor in Michigan or elsewhere; but he could not be termed an usurper, as there appears to have existed no opposition to his judicial acts, but on the contrary, a quiet submission to his authority, and a ready acquiescence in his quaint and odd decisions.

Many amusing anecdotes are told of the Judge, and of the nature of his judgments. One, which was related to me by a friend now deceased, who on the occasion was chosen defendant, will serve to illustrate the primitive judicial decisions in Wisconsin. My friend was sued by a Frenchman on an account, and summoned to appear before Judge Reaume. The summons was returnable at 2 o'clock, P. M., but the defendant forgot the hour. Four o'clock arrived, when he bethought himself of his remissness. He immediately repaired to the Hall of Justice, first taking the precaution, however, to slip into his over-coat pocket a bottle of good old whiskey. On entering the presence-chamber, he found the cause decided against him—the plaintiff exultant in his success—the Judge rigid and dignified. The defendant had defied his authority and disobeyed his mandate. In vain did my friend attempt to thaw the ice of the Judge's cold reserve, and obtain a re-hearing. Failing in all these efforts, the defendant rose from his seat, and approaching the door of an inner apartment, invited the Judge to follow. This he did reluctantly. When safely out of sight of the other party, the defendant slowly drew from his pocket the aforesaid black bottle, and placed it on the table, where were already glasses and water. The stern features of the Judge suddenly relaxed. It was an easy matter to prevail upon him to taste the tempting beverage; it was indeed so good, that he repeated the dose, and like many other great men before him, he lost his resentment in his love for good liquor. The Judge and the defendant soon re-entered the Justice Hall, and the plaintiff, who was still present, was required to appear, when he was informed that the court had decided to grant a re-hearing of the case. This was accordingly done, and after a brief examination,

the former judgment was reversed, and entered against the plaintiff. The latter remonstrated in vain, stoutly contending that the Judge had already decided the cause in his favor. All was cut short by the Judge declaring, that "*his first decision was only that the plaintiff should win for to lose!*" I am not positive whether it was on this or some other occasion that the Judge further ordered, that the losing party should work three days on his farm, *and the constable pay the costs!* Upon the whole, the administration of justice by the venerable Judge was mild and lenient. No cruel or oppressive punishments were inflicted, and in the whole course of his career, it is not alleged that he ever exercised that prerogative of judicial power so abhorrent to the feelings of modern reformers and and philanthropists, the infliction of the death penalty.

I will relate one other early judicial decision, which came within my own knowledge. It was made by an old pioneer settler, a Frenchman, who in character and manners was a perfect gentleman, but was better acquainted with the principles of honesty and fair dealing, than with the subtleties and technicalities of the law. Most of you are doubtless aware, that according to the laws of the United States for the government of the land and naval service, it is provided that "no person who has been enlisted as a soldier, shall be liable to arrest or imprisonment for any debt contracted by him during the term of his enlistment." At all military posts, soldiers were in the habit of contracting debts with citizen traders who would give them credit. A large proportion of these debts were lost, for in addition to his inability to pay, the soldier was often aided by his officers in cheating his creditors. There was some excuse for this on the part of the officers, as their men were often found intoxicated in the shops and groceries, and not unfrequently sold their clothing and military accoutrements to obtain liquor*. The officers would, therefore, aid the soldier to

*Their thirst for rum led them sometimes even to attempt to steal from or plunder the Indians to obtain it. It is stated in the Detroit Gazette, Feb. 15, 1822, that not long previously one soldier was killed at Green Bay and another at the same time wounded, by an Indian woman, in order to save her keg of whiskey which they were endeavoring to wrest from her. L. C. D.

evade the payment of his debts, by granting him leave of absence for the few closing days of his term of service, so that if arrested for debt before he left the post, he could still avail himself of his enlistment as a bar to collection.

It happened that on the occasion alluded to, a non-commissioned officer had contracted a considerable debt with a trader, which he refused to pay. Some days before the expiration of his term of service, he applied to his officer for a furlough for his unexpired time, which was granted; and shielded by this, with his regular discharge, he left the garrison, defied his creditors, and was about to leave the country forever. In those days, it was lawful to arrest dishonest debtors, and imprison them until they paid their debts, or were otherwise discharged. The creditor applied to my old friend, who was a Justice, for a warrant; it was granted, and the soldier was arrested, and brought before the magistrate. The accused readily admitted the justness of the debt, but plead the law of the United States, which protected him as a soldier from arrest. After patiently hearing his defence, the Justice proceeded to give judgment in favor of the plaintiff for his debt and costs. The plaintiff immediately demanded execution against the body of the defendant. This too was granted. The soldier remonstrated with the Justice, saying he was a soldier of the United States' army, and as such was exempted by law from arrest for debt, and concluded by assuring the Justice that "he did not understand him." The phlegmatic Justice, who did not speak very plain English, thus emphatically explained his meaning--"*You-do-go-to-de-jail, and-stay-there-until-you-pay-de-debt, and-you-will-understand-me-very-well!*" The result was that the defendant rather than go to the place named, pulled out his purse, paid his debt, and went on his way, though probably not rejoicing. The upright old magistrate could not understand the reasoning, that while an honest citizen paid his just debts, Uncle Sam's hard cases should go scot free.

It was not till 1824, that the civil code and civil authority could be considered fairly established in this part of the North

West. At the session of 1823–'24, Congress passed a law for organizing an additional judicial district in the then territory of Michigan, comprising the counties of Mackinaw, Brown and Crawford, and the Hon. James D. Doty was appointed judge, the duties of which office he continued to discharge until 1832. The establishment of regularly organized courts may be considered a new era in our history, for it was then for the first time, that the citizen regarded himself as really under the protecting arm of the law, and in the full enjoyment of his liberty and property. Yet it is a fact worthy of note, that this innovation on the primitive rights of the old settlers, was viewed by them with great jealousy. They looked upon it as a violation of their *Magna Charta*—a serious infringement on their long established customs; and they heartily wished the court, and (perhaps with better reason) the lawyers too, anywhere but amongst themselves.

The advance and improvement of the country was slow but sure. For a few years its history was monotonous, exhibiting but little of interest or importance—occasionally presenting an Indian murder, or rumors of wars or hostile designs. Thus it continued until about 1827, when the region of country bordering on the Mississippi and Wisconsin rivers, known as the Lead Mines, began to attract attention. In a short time this whole district was over-run, and swarmed with enterprising western explorers. The occupation of the country by the whites, as might have been foreseen, led to the Indian wars that followed. At first the difficulties were confined to occasional out-breaks, and single acts of violence. But all who knew the Indian character, were well convinced that a general rising of the tribes would soon follow the forcible possession taken by the white adventurers. The title of the Indians to that part of the country had not yet been extinguished*; and the land was owned, or claimed by the Sauks,

* Perhaps it would be safer to say, that the Indians did not acknowledge it. At St. Louis, in 1804, five Indians representing themselves as the chiefs and head men of the united Sauks and Foxes, concluded a treaty with Gov. Wm. H. Harrison, ceding to the United States nearly the whole of the present State of Wisconsin, lying south of the Wisconsin River, and west of the Fox River; also a great portion of

Foxes, Pottawattamies, among the most numerous and unfriendly tribes of the North-West. The General Government foresaw the consequences likely to ensue, but either from supineness, or perhaps owing to the small and inefficient military force of the country, no adequate measures were adopted to prevent an open rupture. The Black Hawk war of 1832 ensued, which spread alarm and consternation throughout the extended and sparsely populated settlements. The history of this war, and its speedy termination, are events of too recent date to require more than a passing notice. With all its evils and calamities, this unhappy contest was not without its corresponding benefits and advantages. It brought prominently into notice large portions of our State hitherto unexplored, made known its natural resources, and proved the precursor to the rapid settlement of the country; and, moreover, called the attention of the Government to the North-West, and led to the speedy extinguishment of the Indian title to the soil.

In short, from the year 1832, we may date the commencement of our prosperity, and from that period until 1836, when Wisconsin was organized as a Territory, her prosperity and improvement continued with a steady space. The short space which elapsed between her Territorial organization and her admission as a member of the Confederacy—twelve years, was characterized by rapid and almost incredible changes, and this not only in the increase of population, but in the development of her many natural advan-

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Northern Illinois, and considerable portions of the States of Iowa and Missouri. The consideration for this large tract of country, embracing, it is said, more than fifty-one millions of acres, was exceedingly small—goods in hand to the amount of $2,254 50, and a yearly annuity of $1000, of which $600 was for the Sauks, and $400 for the Foxes, to be paid in goods valued at first cost. This treaty was ratified and confirmed by a subsequent treaty, in 1816, when Govs. CLARK and EDWARDS, and Col. CHOUTEAU were the commissioners, and BLACK HAWK was one of the signers. But BLACK HAWK subsequently denied the validity of the treaty of 1804, when at least three of the five chiefs who signed it figured prominently in behalf of their tribes at several treaties held afterwards; and it should be added, that BLACK HAWK alleged that he was ignorant of what he was doing when he signed the confirmatory treaty of 1816. We must say, that we believe BLACK HAWK to have been too shrewd and cautious to act ignorantly in a matter of so great importance, and particularly if, as he subsequently represented, his people had been over-reached by the whites, at the prior treaty of 1804; and we cannot believe, that men so honorable as the commissioners would have deceived BLACK HAWK and his people.—See Indian Treaties; SMITH'S Wisconsin, 1—227, 228, 408; BLACK HAWK'S Autobiography: DRAKE'S Black Hawk; DAWSON'S Memoirs of HARRISON; Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls. 1—98. L. C. D.

tages, the cultivation of the soil, the diffusion of knowledge, and the introduction of the arts and sciences, until we now see her vie with her sister states, with every prospect of speedily becoming one among the richest and most populous in the Union.

A comparison of the present condition of our State with its condition thirty years ago, will prove interesting, and fill the mind with wonder and admiration. Let me first revert to the appearance of the country. In 1824, when I became a resident of Wisconsin, there were but two small white settlements within the present limits of the State, and they situated nearly at its extreme points—namely, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien.* The former, besides the garrison of United States' troops, had a population of whites and those of mixed blood amounting to about six hundred; while the latter was still more limited in point of numbers. Wisconsin now contains about 600,000 people. The country was then one unbroken forest, or boundless waste of prairie, possessing, it is true, the beauties of nature in their most enchanting forms, but uncultivated and unadorned by the hand of man. Now how changed the scene! The silent forests and boundless wastes have been converted into cities, towns and settlements, and throughout its whole extent, the country now presents a picture of prosperity and improvement rarely equalled, and never surpassed, on this Continent. At that time, no roads or public highways, save the navigable waters, or the blind Indian trail, traversed the country. The traveler had no choice in his mode of transit from place to place; no public means of conveyance from which he might select the most expeditious or agreeable. His only alternative was, to travel on foot through the forest, or pursue his voyage in the

* If we except the ancient settlement at La Pointe, on Lake Superior—which was, indeed, so far separated from Green Bay and Prairie du Chien as to have no intercourse whatever with them, and its associations and connections must have been confined almost exclusively with Mackinaw. It would seem that Father MENARD visited La Pointe as early as 1760. A French post was maintained there in 1726, as may be seen by reference to the 1st vol. Colls. Wis. Hist. Soc., p. 22. It is remarked in OWEN'S Geological Survey, that La Pointe was originally selected by the adventurous traders of the North-West Fur Company, as the most eligible site for a depot and trading-post in the North-West Territory; and was, for a long time, their principal rendezvous, and the centre of their extensive and wide-spread operations. L. C. D.

frail bark canoe. What a change has since transpired! Now the iron horse traverses the land in all directions; the noble steamer plows through the streams and lakes; and a journey that then occupied from six to ten days of toilsome labor, hazard and fatigue, is now performed in safety and comfort within as many hours.

At that period the United States' mails were conveyed, during the season of navigation, by the irregular and tardy conveyance of sail vessels, and the inhabitants of the country were oftentimes for weeks or months without intelligence of what was passing in other parts of the world, from which they were completely isolated. During the winter, the mail was carried on a man's back, through the trackless wilderness, between Green Bay and Chicago, a distance of about two hundred miles, once a month. This privilege was purchased, partly by voluntary contributions of the citizens, and an allowance from the U. S. Quarter Master's Department, and the military post fund at Fort Howard. The Government at Washington found it would not pay to establish a mail route, or defray the expenses of carrying the mail, and decreed, no doubt wisely, that no expenditure could be made by the Post Office Department for that purpose, exceeding the nett proceeds of the mail matter. In those days, the arrival of the mail was looked forward to with anxiety and impatience, and if for any cause, the arrival was delayed beyond its usual time, the carrier was supposed to have fallen a victim to starvation, or been detained by Indians, the only inhabitants of the country through which he had to pass. Now there are but few settlements in our State where the daily or tri-weekly mail does not penetrate.

Then the whole commerce of the country was carried on by means of a few sail vessels, of less than one hundred tons burthen. The first steamer ploughed the waters of Lake Michigan in 1822.*

*It was a year earlier. The pioneer steamer *Walk-in-the-Water*, made her first trip to Mackinaw in the summer of 1819, transporting supplies to the troops stationed there, and made two trips there in 1820; on the 31st of July, 1821, she left Detroit for Mackinaw and Green Bay, with 200 passengers and a large cargo—among the passengers were the Rev. Eleazer Williams, then making his first trip to Green Bay, and Maj. Charles Larrabee, the father of Hon. Charles H. Larrabee, of Horicon. It

For several succeeding years, one trip was made annually, and very rarely a second one; vessels upward bound were generally freighted, but seldom returned with a cargo. Our lakes and rivers are now covered with steam and sail vessels of the largest class and finest construction, freighted with valuable cargoes, and people from every clime. Then the inhabitants of the country, the Government troops, and to some extent, the Indians, were solely dependent upon adjoining States for the necessaries of life, and the means of subsistence. Nearly all kinds of provisions were then brought from Ohio, or other Western States, for little beyond the necessary supplies of vegetables was raised in the country. At the present period, Wisconsin not only sends her surplus produce from her teeming granaries to supply the deficiencies of sister States, but annually exports millions in value to remote parts of the Old World, to feed the starving poor, and provide for the wants of the wealthy.

Wisconsin formed, at that period, in name but scarcely in affinity, a part of the Territory of Michigan. The laws then in force were crude and ill-devised, some of which were really disgraceful to those who enacted them—such, for instance, as *public whipping, and selling the offender into servitude* for a period not exceeding three months, simply for the commission of mere petty offences. These laws were enacted by a Legislative Board, consisting of the Governor and Judges of the Territory, who received their appointment from the General Government, and were in no way amena-

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was the boast of the Detroit Gazette, that the *Walk-in-the-Water* made this trip, of about 1200 miles sailing, and returned to Detroit in thirteen days. She was unfortunately wrecked on the beach near Buffalo in November following. The new steamer *Superior* took her place the next season, and made one trip to Mackinaw, and another to Saut de Ste. Marie, during the summer of 1822. These dates and facts we derive from a valuable file of the Detroit Gazette, presented to our Historical Society by Hon. JAMES D. DOTY. It is stated in the pamphlet work of JAMES L. BARTON of Buffalo, on the Lake Commerce, that "in 1826 or 1827, the majestic waters of Lake Michigan were first ploughed by steam, [erroneous, as we see, as to being the first.]—a boat having that year made an excursion with a pleasure party to Green Bay. These pleasure excursions were annually made, by two or three boats, until the year 1832." In this year, four steamboats were chartered to transport Gen. SCOTT'S troops and supplies, and made their first appearance at Chicago; but, in 1832, no steamboat visited Green Bay. In 1833, two steamboat trips were made to Chicago, and one to Green Bay; and in 1834 two trips were made to Green Bay, and three to Chicago. Such was the advent of steamers upon Lake Michigan. L. C. D.

ble to the people who were to be governed by these enactments. Many amusing anecdotes were told of the manner in which laws were sometimes passed by this sage body. It happened that the members of the Legislative Board were not always on the most friendly terms with each other. A law which one would approve, another would oppose from the very spirit of opposition. A gentleman of the bar, for instance, might wish to get a law passed to meet some particular emergency; and it required not a little management to get the legal number of signatures to give it force. An examination of the old statutes enacted by this body, will show that several of them which passed at the same sitting, bear only the requisite number, but not the same names. But what a change thirty years have wrought! The whipping-post and selling white men into servitude are now unknown; and with a more enlightened people, better laws have followed.

Such was Wisconsin of the past, and such is she at present. But her future destiny—what is that to be? She possesses a fertile soil—an extended territory—inland seas on the North and East, and a noble navigable river on the West; watered by pure and everlasting fountains, lakes and streams, affording water power illimitable and unsurpassed—covered with immense forests of pine and other valuable timber—enriched with inexhaustible mines of copper, lead and iron; and above all other earthly blessings, possessing a climate as salubrious as any on the Continent. With all these advantages, is it unreasonable to predict, that Wisconsin is destined to become among the richest and most populous States in this vast Republic?

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To-day is the seventh anniversary of the organization of this Society. I was prepared to find that it had greatly increased within the past two years in its collections of books, pamphlets, newspaper files, manuscripts, narratives, and its means of usefulness. But until my present visit, I had no correct conception of its rapid progress and prosperity. It has now become creditable to the State, and richly deserves the countenance and patronage

of all our citizens, and the fostering care of the State government. To all I most heartily commend it, not doubting but that, in this enlightened age, and among a people so generally intelligent, it will meet the encouragement, and receive the favor, which so useful an institution so justly merits.

I must beg, in conclusion, to return my grateful acknowledgments to the Society, and more particularly to the members of the Executive Committee, for the honor they have done me by inviting me to deliver their Annual Address. I must regard this as a courtesy extended to the old pioneers, by selecting one of their number for so honorable a position. I cannot but feel, that many better qualified for the task could have been selected. I have, however, done the best I could under the circumstances, and could wish that the offering were more worthy of the occasion. Without stopping to apologize for its imperfections, or to express my deep regret that time is not permitted me for revision or correction, permit me to tender you all the anxious wish of my heart, that many a returning anniversary will continue to exhibit the same unabated interest, prosperity and usefulness that have thus far characterized the brief yet brilliant career of the STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN!

APPENDIX No. 6.

EARLY TIMES AND EVENTS IN WISCONSIN.

BY HON. JAMES H. LOCKWOOD, OF PRAIRIE DU CHIEN.

At the request of the WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, through their Corresponding Secretary, I shall attempt to give some reminiscences of the early history of Wisconsin, and more especially of the western portion of it. I feel much distrust in my ability to do justice to the subject, as writing for the public eye has never been, thus far in life, any part of my employment or ambition; and yet, in my unpretending way, I feel willing to contribute my reminiscences of early times for the archives of a Society which I regard as having commenced, with commendable zeal, a noble and important work. Very likely I may appear egotistical in many instances, and too prolix in others; but the discriminating reader can make all due allowances, and the future historian can sift the wheat from the chaff.

I was born in the town of Peru, Clinton county, N Y., Dec. 7th, 1793—and as the sequel will show, I have lived in the woods the most of my days. My father was a farmer, to which occupation I was raised until past the age of sixteen years. When I was between two and three years old, my father's house in Peru took fire, and almost every thing he possessed of a moveable character, was consumed. He sold his farm, and about this period removed to the town of Jay, in the adjoining county of Essex, where he owned or obtained land. Here he made improvements, and had good buildings, an orchard, and every thing comfortable about

him, when, about 1803, he got the Ohio fever. He sold his farm at a great sacrifice; but before he collected the money for it, he met a gentleman who had just returned from Ohio, who stated that though lands were cheap, and they could raise large crops of grain and flocks of cattle with little labor, yet many of the settlers were obliged to go twenty or thirty miles to mill, and there was no market for their fine cattle and rich harvests, and that a farmer with a comfortable home was better off in the cold and unproductive region of Northern New York, than in the fertile plains of Ohio without a market. These considerations dissuaded my father from removing to Ohio, and, in March, 1805, he settled in Champlain, Clinton county, N. Y., where he purchased a farm, with a log dwelling and forty acres of improvement.

Living thus on the frontiers, and removing from place to place, my educational advantages were very limited. But after moving to Champlain, the nearest school was at the village of Chazy, two and a half miles distant, whither I went pretty regularly for two or three winters. In that day and in a new country, to be able to read, write, and cypher as far as the Rule of Three, was considered sufficient qualifications to teach a common school. I was ambitious to obtain a good education, and relaxed no efforts to be punctual in my attendance, although the distance was great, and traveling through the deep snow was often very laborious. I read with avidity every book that chance threw in my way, or which I could obtain by borrowing in the neighborhood.

In the summer of 1808, I boarded at Champlain Village, and attended the school taught by the late Dr. William Beaumont, who was then a student of medicine. Under his tuition I greatly improved myself in grammar, geography, &c., but at that early day I never saw a school atlas. Opportunities for attending better schools increased, and I continued alternately on the farm and at school until I was between sixteen and seventeen years of age, when I engaged in the study of the law. I, however, concluded, that from deficient early education and my native diffidence, I

should never make a great lawyer, and my ambition protesting against a second or third rate position, I abandoned the law as I then supposed, forever, and sought and obtained a situation as a merchant's clerk.

The merchant who employed me, became the sutler to the Light Artillery Regiment, then commanded by Col. Wm. Fenwick, and formed a part of Gen. Izard's army. This force commenced its march from Plattsburgh to the West, in August, 1814; and my employer having some business to transact in Plattsburgh, before his departure, sent me on to attend to the sutling business, and I continued with the regiment until the campaign on the Niagara was over, and the troops retired into winter-quarters near Buffalo. In November my employer arrived, and taking offense at some of his acts, I demanded a settlement, and left him. I then engaged myself to a man named Fuller, sutler for Maj. Ball's two companies of dragoons, then cantoned near Avon, N. Y., on the Genesee river, where I remained doing little or nothing during the winter, as the dragoons, for some reason, were not paid off.

In April, 1815, I received a letter from the late Lewis Rouse* of Green Bay, a townsman of mine, dated at Buffalo, stating that he had obtained the sutling of the Consolidated Rifle Regiment, and desired my assistance. Having no need of my services, I left Mr. Fuller, and repaired to Buffalo, and the stage which conveyed me carried flying colors announcing the news of peace.

Those of the troops enlisted for the war, were now discharged, and those enlisted for five years retained; of the latter was the Rifle Regiment, then understood to have been ordered to Detroit. As I had conducted Mr. Rouse's business principally, he wished

* Judge Rouse was a native of Rouse's Point, on Lake Champlain, and settled at Green Bay about 1824. He was Judge of the North-west Judicial District while Wisconsin yet formed a part of Michigan Territory. He was a man of prominence in his day, and possessed many kind and gentlemanly qualities. He died suddenly at his residence, in Manitowoc, April 19th, 1855, at the age of 63 years. His sudden death was probably caused by apoplexy, as he was of plethoric habit, and weighed over three hundred pounds.

L. C. D.

me to go with him, and desiring to see the country, I accepted his invitation. The troops having left Buffalo about the first of June, we sailed from that place on the 15th of that month, in the schooner *Lady of the Lake*, said to have been the best vessel then on the Lakes, and arrived at Detroit on or about the 10th of July. Here we found, that the regiment had been ordered to Mackinaw.

Detroit was then an old French village, with the houses mostly covered with bark. Waiting here a few days for a vessel on which to proceed to Mackinaw, we engaged passage about the 15th of July, on a crazy old schooner commanded by Capt. PEARSON, bound for Drummond's Island, with pork and hard bread for the British troops then stationed at that place. On board the vessel as a passenger was RAMSAY CROOKS, since so distinguished among the Rocky Mountain traders, then on his way to Mackinaw, to receive the property of the South-West Fur Company, which had been recently purchased by JOHN JACOB ASTOR of New York.* We found this old crazy vessel without any convenience of table, furniture or provisions. Mr. CROOKS had come passenger on her from Buffalo, and the captain had promised him that he would lay in ample supplies at Detroit, but just as we had got under way from the latter port, Mr. CROOKS went into the cabin and as-

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* In 1783, several of the principal merchants of Montreal entered into a partnership to prosecute the fur trade, and, in 1787, united with a rival company, and thus arose the famous *North-West Company*, which, for many years, held lordly sway over the immense region in Canada and beyond the Great Western Lakes. Several years later a new association of British merchants formed the *Mackinaw Company*, having their chief factory or depot at Mackinaw; and their field of operations was south of their great rivals—sending forth their light perogues and bark canoes, by Green Bay, the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers to the Mississippi, and thence down that stream to all its tributaries. In 1809, Mr. ASTOR organized the *American Fur Company*—he alone constituting the company; and, in 1811, in connection with certain partners of the *North-West Company*, and others, he bought out the *Mackinaw Company*, and merged that and his *American Fur Company* into a new association, called the *South-West Company* By this arrangement Mr. ASTOR became proprietor of one-half of all the interests which the *Mackinaw Company* had in the Indian country within the United States; and it was understood, that the whole, at the expiration of five years, was to pass into his hands, on condition that the *American*, or *South-West Company* would not trade within the British dominions. The war of 1812 suspended the association; and after the war it was entirely dissolved—Congress having passed a law prohibiting British fur traders from prosecuting their enterprises within the territories of the United States. Thus we find Mr. CROOKS, in 1815, closing up the affairs of the *South-West Company*, preliminary to enlarged individual enterprise on the part of Mr. ASTOR. L. C. D.

certained that the captain had failed to fulfill his engagement; and immediately he took the skiff, went ashore, and purchased dishes, knives, forks, spoons, and provisions, and we proceeded on our voyage. We were becalmed about ten days on the St. Clair River and Flats, during which we went on shore and bought a sheep, which helped along with the rusty pork and hard bread. At that time, I had seen very little of hardships, and I suffered much from such fare as hard bread and rusty pork.

We were almost a month from Detroit to Drummond's Island, where we found a trader named Lacroix, with a boat bound to Mackinaw, and with him we engaged our passage. No provisions could be had at Drummond's Island, so we were obliged to depend on the *voyageurs'* kettle of corn soup, a new kind of fare to me; and, I believe, I ate but a few mouthfuls from Drummond's Island to Mackinaw. We were two days reaching Mackinaw, where we arrived on the morning of the 15th of August. Once there and recruited, we had a new source of anxiety, in daily expecting the arrival of the paymaster until the close of navigation; and then I had to content myself, as well as I could, until the ensuing spring of 1816. At the request of some of the inhabitants, I concluded to open a school, as it would keep me from idleness; if my scholars did not learn much English, I concluded I should stand a chance of acquiring some French—thus acting out the Yankee character of adapting one's self to circumstances. And thus I spent the winter.

During that winter of 1815–'16, Congress passed an act excluding foreigners from participating in the Indian trade within the limits of the United States or its Territories. This was then supposed to have been done through the influence of Mr. Astor, and upon the purchase of the property of the *South West Company*, the American Fur Company re-appeared under the auspices of Mr. Astor—the head quarters of which were at Mackinaw.

Although Congress had passed a law excluding foreigners from the Indian country, it was found that the trade could not

be carried on without their aid, as most of the clerks, interpreters and boatmen were foreigners; and, in the summer of 1816, the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States issued orders to the Indian Agents on this frontier to license foreigners as interpreters and boatmen, on their giving bond with large penalties for their good conduct in the Indian country. Thus the British traders, who wanted to get into the Indian country, had only to employ an American, to whom the goods were invoiced, and the license taken in his name, and the trader went as interpreter until they were beyond the Indian agencies, when the trader assumed the control of his property, and carried on his business as usual.

During the summer of 1816, it was projected to establish a United States fort at Green Bay; and, in July of that year, Col. John Miller, then Colonel of the 3d regiment U. S. Infantry, was ordered on that service, and soon chartering three vessels, embarked three or four companies of rifle-men and infantry with some artillery. Among the vessels was the *Washington*, the largest of the fleet, commanded by Capt. Dobbins, on board of which vessel was the Commandant. I had that year engaged myself as a clerk to some traders, to take charge of an outfit or trading establishment near the head of the St. Peters River, and the Colonel apprehending difficulty from the Indians in landing at Green Bay, proposed to take the goods of several boats in the vessel, and tow the boats, and use them, if necessary, in landing, and then return them to their owners.

Accordingly Augustin Grignon, myself and a French clerk by the name of Chappin embarked on board the Washington, Mr. Grignon and Chappin, acting in some measure as pilots. During the night of the second or third day out from Mackinaw, the other two vessels became separated from the Washington, and arriving in the vicinity of what is now called Washington Island and Harbor, and learning from Mr. Grignon that there was a good harbor, Col. Miller ordered the Washington to put in there to

wait for her consorts. We remained there nearly two days, during which time the officers and passengers rambled over the Island, and finally, in honor of our vessel, supposed to be the first one that had entered the harbor, we gave its name to Washington Island and Harbor, which they have ever since retained. Finding the other vessels had got into Green Bay ahead of us, and had found a harbor at Vermillion Island, and were waiting for us, we proceeded up the Bay, and arrived at Green Bay settlement about two days after, when the troops landed without the anticipated opposition from the Indians.

This was in the month of July, 1816. Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were then the only settlements in what is now the state of Wisconsin, if we except SOLOMON JUNEAU'S trading house at Milwaukee;* and they could not well be called settlements according to the American idea of settling and improving a country.

Green Bay was a kind of traders' depot for the trade of that Bay, the Fox and upper part of Wisconsin Rivers, which were considered dependents of it.

There then resided at Green Bay as a trader JOHN LAWE, and four or five at the GRIGNONS. AUGUSTIN GRIGNON resided and traded at the Little Kaukalin. Those traders who pretended to make Green Bay their home, resided generally but a small portion of the year there, as most of them wintered in the Indian country, and generally spent two or three months of the summer at Mackinaw. The traders of Green Bay mostly married, after the Indian manner, women of the Menomonee tribe, there being no white women in the country. I saw at this time but one woman in the settlement that pretended to be white, and she had

* So far as Mr. JUNEAU'S name is concerned, this needs a slight correction. Traders were at Milwaukee as early as 1762; and, about 1816, JACQUES VEAUX, who had been preceded by one LAFROMBOISE and J. B. BEAUBIEN, commenced wintering there as a trader, and it was not till 1818, that SOLOMON JUNEAU went there, erected a permanent dwelling, and on the 14th of September in that year became the first actual settler of the place. See Hon. M. L. MARTIN'S Historical Address before the Wis. Hist. Society, and vol. 1, p. 35, 134, of the Society's Collections. In a former note, reference was had to the remote Wisconsin settlement, such as it was, at La Pointe, Lake Superior. L. C. D.

accidentally been brought there at an early day, but her history, however, I do not now recollect. There were at Green Bay some forty or fifty Canadians of French extraction who pretended to cultivate the soil; but they were generally old worn out *voyageurs* or boatmen, who having become unfit for the hardships of the Indian trade, had taken wives generally of the Menomonee tribe, and settled down on a piece of land. As the land did not cost anything, all they had to do was, to take up a piece not claimed by any other person, and fence and cultivate it. But they had generally been so long in the Indian trade that they had, to a great extent, lost the little knowledge they had acquired of farming in Canada, so that they were poor cultivators of the soil, although they raised considerable wheat, barley, peas, &c. Green Bay was at that time a part of the territory of Indiana, of which the seat of government was at Vincennes, which was also the county town of the county to which Green Bay was attached—between four and five hundred miles distant by the tedious and circuitous route of that day.

There was an old Frenchman at Green Bay of the name of CHARLES REAUME, who could read and write a little, that acted as Justice of the Peace. He had been commissioned under George III, when Great Britain held jurisdiction over the country, and after it was given up to the American Government and attached to Indiana, he had been commissioned by Governor HARRISON,* and being thus doubly armed with commissions, he acted under either, as he found most convenient. The laws under which he acted were those of Paris † and the customs of the Indian traders of Green Bay. He was very arbitrary in his decisions.

The county seat was so distant and difficult of access, that it a

* Before Judge LOCKWOOD'S narrative came to hand, Col. EBENEZER CHILDS, who knew Judge REAUME well, informed the writer of this note, that REAUME received his commission as Justice from Gov. HARRISON, of Indiana Territory, which was probably not long after the organization of that Territory in 1801, from which till 1813, Gen. HARRISON continued uninterruptedly its Governor. L. C. D.

† The code *Coutume de Paris*, the law of France, which governed Canada, and all the territory of the North West while under the French dominion. L. C. D.

person felt himself aggrieved, he preferred suffering injustice to going to the expense of an appeal; so that, practically, Reaume's court was the Supreme Court of the country. He took care not to decide against any of the traders who were able to bear the expense of an appeal; in fact the traders made use of him to hold their men in subjection, but never submitted to him any difficulty between themselves. These were left to the arbitration of other traders. It was said of him, that a bottle of spirits was the best witness that could be introduced into his court, and that after the decision of a case, the losing party producing the above witness, has been granted a new trial or rehearing, and a reversal of the former decision obtained. For misdemeanor he sentenced the culprit to labor a certain number of days on his farm, or cut and split a certain number of rails for him. I have read the narrative of James W. Biddle, of Pittsburgh, whom I knew at the time, and the anecdotes related by him of Judge Reaume were current at that day, together with many others that would not look well in print.

During my stay at Green Bay waiting the arrival of my employers, one of their "engagees" or boatmen had left their employ and engaged himself to an American concerned in sutling for the troops, and I went to Judge Reaume, stating the case to him, asked him what the law was on that subject, and what could be done. He answered me in his broken English: "*I'll—make—de—man—go—back—to—his—duty.*" "But," I again asked, "what is the law on the subject?" He answered, "*de—law—is—I'll—make—de—man—go—back—to—his—duty.*" I reiterated my inquiry, "Judge Reaume, is there no law on the subject?" He replied, with a feeling of conscious dignity, "*We—are—accustomed—to—make—de—men—go—back—to—their—bourgeois.*" Finding Judge Reaume had no law except his own precedents and the customs of Green Bay, and not believing that American citizens would submit to, and obey the process of his old jack-knife, or the customs of the Green Bay Indian traders,

I concluded to leave the matter until the arrival of my employers, and let them proceed before Judge Reaume, if they thought proper. *

The Indian trade carried on at that day for the Mississippi and Missouri and their tributaries, was from Mackinaw. Until 1816, goods came mostly from Montreal, in batteaux or canoes, mostly by the Mackinaw, or its successor, the South West Company, or by some private traders. But early in 1815, Mr. Astor purchased out the interest of the South West Company at Mackinaw and its dependences, and in August, of that year, Ramsay Crooks, as already mentioned, went to Mackinaw as agent for Mr. Astor, to complete the arrangements. In the spring 1816, the goods of the American Fur Company were imported to New York, and thence brought by way of the Lakes to Mackinaw. During

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*Of Judge Reaume, we have learned some additional facts from Hon. Solomon Juneau, and with reference to his death and burial, from P. G. Origuon, through Hon. H. S. Baird, and also from Col. E. Childs. He was born about the year 1752, at La Prairie, nearly opposite of Montreal, of a prominent and respectable family. As mentioned in a note to the 1st vol. of the Wis. Hist. Soc. Colls., we early find him at Detroit, and in the service of the British Indian department, as a captain, and was among the prisoners taken by the gallant Col. George Rogers Clark at the capture of Vincennes, in February, 1779, and taking the oath of neutrality, was permitted to return to Detroit. In 1790, he settled at Green Bay, and appears to have been, in a small way, and a part of the time, engaged in the Indian trade. His first commission of Justice of the Peace he probably derived from the British authorities at Detroit, before the surrender of that post to the American government in 1796, and he subsequently received a similar commission from Gov. Harrison of the Indiana Territory. In 1816 and '17, he made his home with John Lawe at Green Bay; and, in 1818, he was appointed by Gov. Cass of Michigan Territory, one of the Associate Justices of the court for Brown county, and the same year, he removed to Little Kaukalin, about ten miles above Green Bay, and there sold liquor to the Indians, not unfrequently drinking freely with them, and sharing in their frays, as well as in blackened eyes and bruises. There he died alone, in the spring of 1822, for he was found dead in his cabin. He was about seventy years of age. His friends at Green Bay had his remains conveyed there, and buried in the old Catholic burial place, which was in the present plat of Astor; but the bodies interred there were subsequently removed to the present burying ground. No tablet marks his grave. He was never married.

In this volume and its predecessor, several anecdotes illustrating Judge Reaume's primitive mode of administering justice, have been given; to which we add the following, from the interesting work of Mrs. Kinzie: "There was an old Frenchman at 'the Bay,' named Reaume, excessively ignorant and grasping, although otherwise tolerably good-natured. This man was appointed Justice of the Peace. Two men once appeared before him, the one as plaintiff, the other as defendant. The Justice listened patiently to the complaint of the one, and the defence of the other; then rising, with dignity, he pronounced his decision: 'You are both wrong. You, Bois-vert,' to the plaintiff, 'you bring me one load of hay; and you, Crely,' to the defendant, 'you bring me one load of wood; and now the matter is settled.' It does not appear that any exceptions were taken to this verdict." L. C. D.

that spring, several Montreal traders arriving at Mackinaw with Indian goods, probably not aware of the law of Congress prohibiting British subjects from trading within the American territories, now took advantage of the order of the Secretary of the Treasury, and sent their goods into the Indian country, under the nominal direction of a hired American clerk, to whom the goods were invoiced, and who took the license in his name, and gave proper bonds with security to the traders who owned them, who went along, ostensibly as interpreters, until the boat passed all the American forts and agencies, when they assumed the ownership, and proceeded as usual in their business—these clerks' bonds were considerad as a mere formality to evade the law, and were worth so much brown paper, and no more.

In the spring of 1817, the American Fur Company brought a large number of American clerks from Montreal and the United States, some of whom made good Indian traders and are yet in the country, but nearly one half of them were found not qualified for the business, and in the following spring many of them were discharged from Mackinaw, which was then the grand depot of the Indian trade.

The American Fur Company, as had been the practice of the Mackinaw and South-West companies, made their outfits to Lake Superior, to the Mississippi, the head of St. Peters, and the Missouri. The boats for the Mississippi and Missouri trade passed through the north end of Lake Michigan from Mackinaw, thence through Green Bay to the settlement of that name; thence up the Fox River to the Little Kaukalin, where they made a portage of about three-fourths of a mile. Augustin Grignon had a trading house at this point, and kept teams to transport the goods and furs, (the men taking the boats empty up or down the rapids, as the case might be) for which he charged about twenty cents per 100 pounds. The boats then proceeded to Grand Chute, where the men made another portage of the goods or furs, and passed the boat over the Grand Chute empty. Thence they proceeded

to the rapids at the lower end of Winnebago Lake, where they usually made half loads over the rapids into the lake. Thence they proceeded upward to where the Fox river enters the lake, thence up Fox river through Puckawa Lake, and Lac de Boeuf, or Buffalo Lake, and some smaller lakes to the Portage of Wisconsin, where a man by the name of Roy resided, who kept teams and hauled goods, furs and boats across the Portage of one and one fourth miles from the Fox to the Wisconsin river, for which he charged forty cents per 100 pounds, and ten dollars for each boat.

The boats then went down the Wisconsin to its mouth, and thence up the Mississippi about three miles to Prairie du Chien; the traders of the Lower Mississippi and Missouri never going down without a short stop at Prairie du Chien, where they generally spent some days in conviviality, dinners, dancing, &c. Tradition says that many years since, when there were many wintering traders in both the Upper and Lower Mississippi, it was the custom of every trader visiting Prairie du Chien, to have in store a keg of eight or nine gallons of good wine for convivial purposes when they should again meet in the spring, on which occasions they would have great dinner parties, and, as is the English custom, drink largely. But when I came into the country, there were but few of the old traders remaining, and the storing of wine at Prairie du Chien had become almost obsolete, although the traders were then well supplied with wine, and that of the best kind, of which they made very free use. It was then thought that a clerk in charge of an outfit must have his keg of wine, but after the American Fur Company got fairly initiated into the trade, they abolished the custom of furnishing their clerks with this luxury at at the expense of the outfit. As I have already said, the Indian trade of the Mississippi and Missouri and their tributaries was carried on from Mackinaw as the grand depot of the trade of the North-West.

The traders and their clerks were then the aristocracy of the country; and to a Yankee at first sight, presented a singular state

of society. To see gentlemen selecting wives of the nut-brown natives, and raising children of mixed blood, the traders and clerks living in as much luxury as the resources of the country would admit, and the *engagees* or boatmen living upon soup made of hulled corn with barely tallow enough to season it, devoid of salt, unless they purchased it themselves at a high price—all this to an American was a novel mode of living, and appeared to be hard fare; but to a person acquainted with the habits of life of the Canadian peasantry, it would not look so much out of the way, as they live mostly on pea soup, seasoned with a piece of pork boiled down to grease; seldom eating pork except in the form of grease that seasons their soup. With this soup, and a piece of coarse bread, their meals were made; hence the change from pea soup to corn is not so great, or the fare much worse than that which they had been accustomed to, as the corn is more substantial than peas, not being so flatulent. These men engaged in Canada generally for five years for Mackinaw and its dependencies, transferable like cattle to any one who wanted them, at generally about 500 livres a year, or in our currency, about $83 33; furnished with a yearly equipment or outfit of two cotton shirts, one three point or triangular blanket, a portage collar, and one pair of beef shoes; being obliged, in the Indian country, to purchase their moccasins, tobacco, pipes, and other necessaries, at the price the trader saw fit to charge for them. Generally at the end of five years, these poor *voyageurs* were in debt from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars, and could not leave the country until they had paid their indebtedness; and the policy of the traders was, to keep as many of them in the country as they could; and to this end they allowed and encouraged their *engagees* to get in debt during the five years, which of necessity required them to remain.

These new hands were by the old *voyageurs* called in derision, *mangeurs de lard—pork-eaters*—as on leaving Montreal, and on the route to Mackinaw, they were fed on pork, hard bread, and pea-soup, while the old *voyageurs* in the Indian country ate corn-

soup, and such other food as could conveniently be procured.* These *mangeurs de lard* were brought at considerable expense and trouble from Montreal and other parts of Canada, frequently deserting after they had received some advance in money and their equipment. Hence it was the object of the traders to keep as many of the old *voyageurs* in the country as they could, and they generally permitted the *mangeurs de lard* to get largely in debt, as they could not leave the country and get back into Canada, except by the return boats or canoes which brought the goods, and they would not take them back if they were in debt anywhere in the country, which could be easily ascertained from the traders at Mackinaw. But if a man was prudent enough to save his wages, he could obtain passage, as he was no longer wanted in the country.

The engagements of the men at Montreal were made in the strongest language; they bound themselves not to leave the duties assigned them by their employers or assigns either by day or night, under the penalty of forfeiting their wages; to take charge of and safely keep the property put into their trust, and to give notice of any portending evil against their employers or their interests that should come to their knowledge. It was the practice of the traders, when anything was stolen from the goods during the voyage, whether on the boat or on shore, to charge the boat's crew with a good round price for it, and if anything not indispensable was accidentally left on shore at the encampment, they did not return for it, but charged it to the crew, as it was understood to be their duty, not the employer's, to see that every thing was on board the boat. These people in the Indian country became inured to great hardships and privations, and prided themselves upon the distance they could travel per day, and the small quantity of provisions they could subsist on while traveling, and the number of days they could go without food. They are very easily governed by

* The experienced *voyageurs* are called *hivernans* or *winterers*, according to SNELLING'S work on the North-West. L. C. D.

a person who understands something of their nature and disposition, but their burgeois or employer must be what they consider a gentleman, or superior to themselves, as they never feel much respect for a man who has, from an *engagee*, risen to the rank of a clerk.

The traders in this country, at the time I came into it, were a singular compound; they were honest so far as they gave their word of honor to be relied upon; and, in their business transactions between themselves, seldom gave or took notes for balances or assumptions. It rarely happened that one of them was found who did not fulfill his promises; but when trading in the Indian country, any advantage that could be taken of each other in a transaction, was not only considered lawful—such as trading each other's credit—but an indication of tact and cleverness in business. Two traders having spent the winter in the same neighborhood, and thus taken every advantage they could of each other, would meet in the spring at Prairie du Chien, and amicably settle all difficulties over a glass of wine.

There was not, at the time I came to Prairie du Chien, any Indian corn raised there. The traders for the Upper Mississippi, had to send down, for their corn which they used, to the Sauks and the Foxes at Rock Island, and trade with them for it. It is believed that the first field of corn raised at Prairie du Chien was by Thomas McNair, an American, who had married a French girl and settled down to farming.

The farmers of Prairie du Chien appeared to be a more thrifty and industrious people than those of Green Bay; they raised a large quantity of small grain, such as wheat, barley, oats, peas, and also some potatoes and onions. Every two or three farmers united and had a horse flouring-mill—the stones being cut from the granite rock found in the country. There they ground their wheat,and sifted the flour by hand. The surplus flour was sold to the Indian traders for goods, or exchanged with the Indians for venison, ducks, and geese, or dressed deer-skins, as there was no mon-

ey in circulation in the country. Any purchase made was payable in goods from the traders or flour from the inhabitants.

The manner in which the traders dealt with the farmers was this; to let the farmer set his price on anything that he had to sell, without grumbling or saying anything about its being high, as it was payable in goods; the trader charging his price for the goods—so each party got all he asked, and neither had cause for complaint, but of course the trader was not the looser by the transaction. Mr. Michael Brisbois related to me a transaction which took place between himself and a farmer by the name of Pierre Lariviere. This Lariviere was ambitious to pass with his neighbors for the best farmer in the country, and went to Mr. Brisbois to see what he was paying for flour, which I think was then six dollars per 100 lbs; but Lariviere desirous of the opportunity of boasting to his neighbors that he had gotten more for his flour than they did, expressed a wish that Mr. Brisbois would pay him more than the market value for his flour, which Mr. Brisbois told him him he could not do "Oh," said Mr. Lariviere, "you can make it up by charging more for the goods with which you pay me;" and so they closed the bargain, not to Mr. Brisbois loss. The prices compared somewhat like this: When flour was worth $8,00 per 100 lbs., hyson or young hyson tea was worth $8,00 per pound; if flour was worth only $6,00, tea would remain the same price, when the farmer got $9,00 per bushel for onions, and $1,00 per dozen for eggs, he paid the above price for tea. The women of Prairie du Chien, mostly daughters of the Indian traders, had been raised in the habit of drinking a great deal of tea in the Indian country, where other beverage for children could not be procured, and it thus became from long habit with them almost a necessary of life, and they would make any sacrifice to obtain their favorite beverage. When eggs were worth $1,00 per dozen, rosin soap was worth $1,00 per pound, and calico that at this date, would be sold at Prairie du Chien from 20 to 25 cts. per yard, was then sold at $2,00 per yard; clay pipes at

40 cts. each, and common tobacco at about $2,00 per pound. So much flour was made at Prairie du Chien at this time, that in 1820 Joseph Rolette contracted with the Government for supplying the two companies of troops at Fort Crawford with it, they preferring the coarse flour of the Prairie which was sweet, to the fine flour transported in keel-boats in the long voyage from Pittsburgh, which would be sour on its arrival.

Prairie du Chien is generally spoken of as an old settled town. It is true that the Indians inhabited it many years since; and about the year 1737 the French established a trading post there, and built a stockade around their buildings to protect them from the Indians, and from that day until a few years since it continued to be a trading and military post, and occasionally a worn out *voyageur* got married, and settled down on a piece of land. But what advantages were these old trading posts to the settlement and developement of the country—such as Detroit, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, St. Louis and St. Charles? All these places remained stationary for many years, until the Americans emigrated to them, and took hold of them with their enterprise, when they at once improved, and most of them became places of business and importance.

Indian traders, as a class, possess no enterprise, at least none that is of any advantage to the settlement and improvement of a country. They are enterprising in going into the unexplored Indian country to traffic, and collect furs and peltries; but I have never seen a man who made money in the Indian trade, apply it to the ordinary improvements that foster and encourage the growth of a country—they have made money in a certain routine of business, with which they are acquainted, and fear to invest it in some other business with which they are not familiar. Such has been the case with Prairie du Chien, so long noted as a trading post and garrison.

The land about Prairie du Chien was not purchased from the Indians; and none surveyed, except the private claims on the

Prairie, for many years after the Government took possession of it as a military post. There were not, until 1835, any Americans that emigrated to the Prairie for settlement; and even then, as the country about was not in market, very few came.

In the winter of 1818-'19, Illinois was admitted as a State into the Union, and all that part of the country formerly belonging to the territories of Indiana and Illinois was attached to Michigan, then under the governorship of Gen. Lewis Cass. In the spring of 1819, he set off the county of Brown, including all the country East of a North and South line running through the Portage of Wisconsin to the Illinois line; and at the same time, set off the county of Crawford, including all the country West and South of theaforesaid line to the Missouri line, including what is now the State of Iowa and Territory of Minnesota.

Governor Cass sent blank commissions for the different officers of the counties, to be filled up by the inhabitants. These had been sent by Lieut. Col. Leavenworth, then on his way, with the Fifth Regiment of U. S. Infantry, to occupy Forts Crawford and Armstrong, and to build a fort at the mouth of St. Peters. Nicholas Boilvin, Esq., was appointed to administer the oath to the officers of Crawford county. Two companies of the regiment were sent to Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, under command of Brevet Major Mastin, and two companies to Fort Crawford under Major Muhlenberg. Shortly after receiving the blank commissions, the principal inhabitants assembled at the house of Nicholas Boilvin, Esq., and then the difficulty was to find persons sufficiently acquainted with the business to fill the offices and perform the duties. Finally John W. Johnson, the U. S. factor, was selected as the Chief Justice of the County Court. I was solicited to take the office of Associate Justice, or Judge of Probate, but being then young, and appearing much younger than I really was, and knowing very little about the proceedings of courts, and thinking that I had neither the practice nor dignity to hold a judicial office, and that I should probably make myself ridiculous,

I declined either of the judgeships, but accepted the office of Justice of the Peace. I had not then decided to make Prairie du Chien my future home, having hitherto spent my winters near the head of St. Peter's river, in the Indian trade; but in the fall of 1819 I took up my permanent residence at Prairie du Chien.

John W. Johnson was a man of good sense and judgment, but had from quite a young man held the appointment of U. S. factor, and resided in the Indian county where he could obtain but little knowledge of the proceedings of courts or the ordinary transactions of civilized life. The commissions of Associate Justices were filled up with the names of Michael Brisbois* and Francis Bouthillier, both of whom from boyhood had been in the Indian country and had very little opportunity of witnessing proceedings at courts. Wilfred Owens was appointed Judge of Probate, and Nicholas Boilvin and John W. Johnson and myself Justices of the Peace; John S. Findley clerk of the Court; John P. Gates Register of Probate, which also included the recording of deeds, and Thomas McNair was appointed Sheriff. It should be remembered, that all these officers had to enter upon the duties of their several offices without forms to refer to or precedents of proceedings, and it can astonish no person that the records of that day are without much form. Such was the organization of the county of Crawford, and I think that the materials in Brown were not much better, although several Americans by that time had settled at Green Bay.

At the session of Congress of 1819—'20, an act was passed to take testimony relative to the private land claims at Sault St. Marys, Mackinaw, Green Bay and Prairie du Chien, that were reserved to subjects of the British government under Jay's Treaty; and in the fall of 1820, commissioners were dispatched to the different places to take testimony. A Mr. Lee came to Prairie du Chien. The most of those claims at Prairie du Chien were

* Instead of Mr. Brisbois Hon. M. L. Martin, in the appendix to his Address before the Historical Society, gives the name of Nicholas Boilvin. L. C. D

found to come under Jay's Treaty, but there were several that wanted a year or more of coming under it. These facts being reported to Congress, they at a subsequent session passed an act giving to every settler who was in possession of land at the date of the declaration of war in 1812 against Great Britain, and who had continued to submit to the laws of the U. S., the lands he claimed. It is a matter of history, that the British took Mackinaw and subjected its dependencies to their government, including all the afore named places, and the most part of these claimants were ignorant Canadians and supposed themselves British subjects, not aware that if they did not within a year choose, as stipulated in the treaty, to continue British subjects, they became American citizens; and when the British government took military possession of the country during the war of 1812—'15, the military officers in command considered them as British subjects, and ordered them to do military duty as militia. They were a conquered people, and feeling tha tthey owed no allegiance to the United States, took up arms in obedience to the orders of the British officers. There were some among them intelligent enough to know their position, but had they claimed to be American citizens and refused to take up arms, surrounded as they were by hostile Indians, they would not have been safe—especially as the British officers did not believe in a British subject expatriating himself, and of course there was no law of the United States in the conquered country to submit to. Notwithstanding all these circumstances being known to the officers of the army stationed at Sault St. Marys under Major CUTLER, they got up a remonstrance to the Government, representing these people as traitors; in consequence of which the patents were delayed, to the great annoyance and sometimes to the great injury of the claimants.

Sometime in the year of 1820, * WILFRED OWENS of Prairie du Chien, then connected in business with the late Gov. MCNAIR, of

* It was in 1819. CONSTANT A. ANDREWS, who appears to have been from Pennsylvania, and was interested in the Carver claim, wrote from Prairie du Chien, Feb. 1 1819, to Rev. Dr. SAMUEL PETERS:—"I am now building a saw-mill in company with BATELLS, on Yellow River, under a permission ob-

Missouri, furnished the capital, and associated with two other men by the name of ANDREWS and DIXON, built a saw-mill on Black River, and commenced sawing lumber; but before they had done much business the mill was burned, supposed to have been set on fire by the Winnebagoes, who had then lately taken possession of that country, and claimed it as their own. The mill was not rebuilt, owing to the declared hostility of the Winnebagoes to it.

In the year 1820–'21, the county authorities of Crawford erected a jail in the old village of Prairie du Chien, in the rear of village lot No. 17 of that village, made of hewn oak logs of about one foot square; the house was about 25 by 16 feet, and divided by the same kind of logs into a debtors' and criminals' apartments*.

There is a tract of land nearly opposite the old village of Prairie du Chien in Iowa, which was granted by the Spanish Lieut. Governor of Louisiana to one BAZIL GIRARD, and running through it, was a small stream or brook usually called Girard's Creek; but, in 1823, the commandant of Fort Crawford had a party of men detailed to cultivate a public garden on the old farm of Girard, on said creek, and MARTIN SCOTT, then a Lieutenant of the fifth infantry, and stationed at Fort Crawford, was directed to superintend the party. Fond of shooting, and a great shot generally, he took his dogs and gun every morning, got into his little hunting canoe, and spent the day in shooting wood-

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tained from the commanding officer. * * * For my own part, I apprehend no difficulty, if you obtain permission from the Secretary of War, and can make them [the Indians] some presents." On the 10th Nov. 1819, Mr ANDREWS writes to Dr. PETERS, from "Falls Black River:" On the 2d day of November I set a saw-mill a running, not much inferior to any in the United States. * * The mill is about thirty or forty miles east of Lake Pepin. The Sioux very willingly gave us permission to come here. There were seven chiefs in council—LEFOY not there; the seven gave us five years; LEFOY came back after, and gave it forever. I am very much pleased with my situation. I was obliged, on account of iron, to go to the Prairie once, but was overjoyed on my arrival back, and now regret to leave sight of the mill." * * * Here I am happy to live—here I am willing to die. See Am. State Papers Public Lands, IV. p. 22. L. C. D.

* At this old log jail, a sergeant of the first regiment of U. S. Infantry was hung, in 1828, for shooting Lieut. MCKINZIE of the same regiment; and in 1833 or '34, a soldier of that regiment was executed there for shooting Sergeant COFFIN in the new Fort Crawford. The old jail was burnt in 1834. J. H. L.

cocks which were plenty in the marshes about there, and returning in the evening would boast of the number that had bled that day. After a while he gave the creek the name of *Bloody Run*, which name it still bears. The name generally suggests to strangers the idea of some bloody battle having been fought there, and I have been frequently questioned as to the tradition relative to it, and a few years since the editor of our village paper had somewhere picked up the same romantic idea, and published a long traditionary account of a bloody battle pretended to have been fought there years ago. But the creek is indebted for its name to the hunting exploits of Major MARTIN SCOTT, when a lieutenant, and stationed at Fort Crawford*.

On the 16th of September, 1816, I arrived at Prairie du Chien, a traders' village of between twenty-five and thirty houses, situated on the banks of the Mississippi, on what, in high water, is an island. The houses were built by planting posts upright in the ground with grooves in them, so that the sides could be filled in with split timber or round poles, and then plastered over with clay, and white-washed with a white earth found in the vicinity, and then covered with bark, or clap-boards riven from oak.

This village, now called the old village of Prairie du Chien, was designated by LYONS as the main village, as it was so at the time he surveyed the private land claims of Prairie du Chien.—Tradition says the place took its name from an Indian Chief of the Fox tribe by the name of CHIEN, or *Dog*, who had a village somewhere on the Prairie near where Fort Crawford now stands.—CHIEN or *Dog* is a favorite name among the Indians of the North-West.

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* SCOTT, at this date, was a young man, and had been but a few years in the army. He was a native of Bennington, Vermont, and was educated at West Point. In his youth, he was famous among the sharp-shooters of the Green Mountains, never shooting game in the body, but, at whatever height or distance, always striking the head. He would drive a nail into a board part way with a hammer, and then, taking the farthest distance at which his eye could distinctly see it, drive it home with his unerring bullet. He served with distinction in the Mexican war under Gen. SCOTT, and at nearly the close of that brilliant campaign, Brevet Lieut. Col. MARTIN SCOTT was killed at the sanguinary battle of Molino del Rey, Sept. 8th, 1847. He had seen much hard service, and always conducted himself with great skill, caution and intrepidity, and was respected and beloved for his integrity of character, and for his great kindness and benevolence of heart. L. C. D.

There were on the Prairie about forty farms cultivated along under the bluffs where the soil was first rate, and enclosed in one common field, and the boundaries generally between them marked by a road that afforded them ingress and egress to their fields; the plantations running from the bluffs to the Mississippi, or to the slough of St. Freole, and from three to five arpents wide. The owners did not generally live immediately on their farms, but clustered together in little villages near their front, and were much the same description of inhabitants as those of Green Bay, except that there were a number of families of French extraction, entirely unmixed with the natives, who came from the French villages of Illinois. The farmers' wives instead of being of the Indian tribes about, were generally of the mixed blood.—They were living in Arcadian simplicity, spending a great part of their time in fishing, hunting, horse racing or trotting, or in dancing and drinking. They had little or no ambition for progress and improvement, or in any way bettering their condition, provided their necessities were supplied, and they could often collect together and dance and frolic. With these wants gratified, they were perfectly satisfied to continue in the same routine and habits of their forefathers before them. They had no aristocracy among them except the traders, who were regarded as a privileged class.

It was said, that about 1809 or 1810, a trader, an Irishman by birth, of the name of CAMPBELL, was appointed by the U. S. government sub-Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, and by the Governor of the Territory of Illinois a Justice of the Peace. The currency of Prairie du Chien was at that time flour, and CAMPBELL charged for celebrating the rites of matrimony 100 pounds of flour, and for dissolving it 200 pounds, alleging that when people wanted to get unmarried, they would willingly give double what they would originally to form the matrimonial connection.

In speaking of the courts of justice of the country, and of their county seats, Mr BRISBOIS related to me, that sometime previous to the war of 1812, he and Mr. CAMPBELL had a dispute about a heifer that was worth at the time perhaps eight dollars; and as

each believed it to be his property, they applied to the lawyer at Cahokia to assist them in finding out who was the real owner.—The mode of traveling in those days was in a canoe, manned with six or eight men to paddle, and taking with them some flour, tea and sugar for the burgeois; and some hulled corn and deer tallow, enough to season the soup for the men, depending upon shooting game by the way, or buying wild fowl or venison from the Indians. The parties litigant were obliged to take their witnesses with them, paying them for their time and expenses, from their departure until their return home. The parties were also obliged to take a bundle of beaver skins, and dispose of them at St. Louis to pay the expenses of lawyers, &c; and the lawyers, as usual, were disposed to oblige the parties by putting over the case from time to time, and the parties continued the suit in this manner until it had cost them about fifteen hundred dollars each, when they took it out of court and settled it. But which retained the heifer, if I ever heard, I do not now recollect.

The *coutume de Paris* so far prevailed in this country generally, that a part of the ceremony of marriage was the entering into a contract in writing, generally giving, if no issue, the property to the survivor; and if they desired to be divorced, they went together before the magistrate and made known their wishes, and he, in their presence, tore up the marriage contract, and according to the custom of the country, they were then divorced. I was once present at Judge Abbott's at Mackinaw, when a couple presented themselves before him, and were divorced in this manner. When the laws of Michigan were first introduced at Prairie du Chien, it was with difficulty that the Justice of the Peace could pursuade them that a written contract was not necessary, and some of them believed that because the contract of marriage gave the property to the survivor, that they were not obliged to pay the debts which the deceased owed at the time of his death.

There was an instance of this at Prairie du Chien. A man by the name of Jean Marie Quen (de Lamouche), who had been

married by contract, died without issue, leaving a widow, some personal property and a good farm, but was indebted to JOSEPH ROLETTE about $300, which his widow refused to pay, alleging that the contract of marriage gave her all the property; nor could she be convinced to the contrary, until I had brought a suit against her and obtained a judgment.

When I arrived at Prairie du Chien, there were four companies of riflemen under command of Brevet Major MORGAN, building the old fort, which was constructed by placing the walls of the quarters and store-houses on the lines, the highest outside, and the slope of the roof descending within the fort; with block-houses at two corners, and large pickets at the others, so as entirely to enclose the fort. JOHN W. JOHNSON, a gentleman from Maryland, was U. S. Factor, with a certain Mr. BELT as assistant and book keeper, and JOHN P. GATES as interpreter. Col. ALEXANDER MCNAIR, late Governor of Missouri, had the sutling of the fort, and his nephew, THOMAS MCNAIR, and JOHN L. FINDLEY, were the clerks in his employ, and had charge of the business.

There were then of the old traders residing at Prairie du Chien JOSEPH ROLETTE, MICHAEL BRISBOIS, FRANCIS BOUTHILLIER and JEAN BAPTISTE FARIBAULT, all Canadians of French extraction, except FRANCIS BOUTHILLIER who was from France, and NICHOLAS BOILVIN who was Indian agent, and held the commission of Justice of the Peace under the government of Illinois Territory, whence he came.

At this time at Prairie du Chien the events of the war of 1812 in that quarter, were fresh in the minds of every one. I learned that in the spring or summer of 1814, the U. S. Government sent boats, made bullet proof, under a Captain YEISER, who was in command of the boats, and a company of U. S. troops, under Lieut. PERKINS, to take and retain possession of Prairie du Chien. PERKINS built a stockade on a large mound, on which Col. DOUSMAN's house now stands, and Capt. YEISER remained on board the

boats, where most of the amunition and provisions were stored, as their was no room for them within the stockade.

Soon after the breaking out of the war, when the American officers in garrison at Mackinaw, and the citizens of that place were yet ignorant of the commencement of hostilities, but apprehensive that war had been declared, some traders were despatched to the old British post and settlement of St. Josephs, on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan, for intelligence. As none of the traders returned, remaining absent so much longer than was deemed necessary, it naturally enough excited the suspicions of the commanding officer and the principal citizens of Mackinaw. Under the circumstances, a council was held, at which it was determined that immediate information must be had from St. Josephs, and the question then was, who could go there and not be suspected of being a spy. After looking around and finding none qualified to go, the late MICHAEL DOUSMAN, of Mackinaw, said that he had an outfit in Lake Superior that ought, by that time, to be at St. Josephs, and he thought that he could go there and look after his property without being suspected. Accordingly he volunteered his services, and late in the afternoon he left Mackinaw for St. Josephs in a canoe. About dark, at Goose Island, fifteen miles from Mackinaw, he met the British troops on their way to that place, who took him prisoner, but released him on his parole that he would go back to Mackinaw, and not give the garrison any information of what he had seen, but collect the citizens together at the old still-house on the southern side of the island, where a guard would be immediately sent to protect them from the Indians. This promise Mr. DOUSMAN faithfully performed, and was probably the cause of saving many an innocent family from being brutally murdered by the savages. The British arrived, planted their cannon during the night, and in the morning sent in to the commanding officer a copy of the declaration of war, with a demand for him to surrender, which he complied with.

The traders in the British interest, resorting to Mackinaw as the British head-quarters of the North-West, learning of the Ameri-

can occupation of Prairie du Chien in 1814, and anticipating, that so long as this force should remain there, they would be cut off from the trade of Prairie du Chien, its dependencies, and the Sioux country, at once set on foot an expedition for the re-capture of that place. The British officers and traders accordingly fitted out an expedition under the command of Col. McKay, of the Indian department, an old trader; and under him were, a sergeant of artillery with a brass six pounder, and three or four volunteer companies of the Canadian *voyageurs*, commanded by traders and officered by their clerks, all dressed in red coats, with probably one hundred Indians, officered by half-breeds. * Having made a secret march they arrived on the Prairie without being expected, and made the best display of red coats and Indians that they could. They made a formidable show, and the Americans not knowing of what materials they were composed, and supposing they were all British regulars, appeared to have been panic-struck. The sergeant had brought his field piece so well to bear that he hit one of the boats, I believe the one Yeiser was in. During this time the troops and Indians had made a move towards the fort, but keeping out of gun shot. On the boat being hit, Capt. Yeiser had the cable cut, and swung round down the river, ordering the others to do the same, carrying with them the provisions and amunition of the garrison. After the boats had gone, Col. McKay summoned the fort to surrender, and having neither provisions nor amunition they had no other alternative, and accordingly surrendered. The British took and kept possession of Prairie du Chien until peace, in 1815, thus opening the Indian trade to the traders at Mackinaw. The inhabitants of Prairie du Chien being British subjects, were ordered into service by the British government to do duty in the garrison during the war. The British sergeant of artillery for hitting the keel-boat, was promoted by his government.

Of the persons spoken of as resident traders of Prairie du Chien,

* There were at least a thousand Indians under Col. McKay, as stated in the accounts of the time, and not less than three pieces of light artillery. L. C. D.

Joseph Rolette, in connexion with the Indian trade, carried on farming, after the fashion of the country, pretty extensively. Michael Brisbois, besides being a trader, carried on the business of baking, and farming to some extent, receiving of the inhabitants 100 pounds of flour and giving in return tickets for fifty loaves of bread, and these tickets made a convenient change to buy trifles of the Indians with. None of the inhabitants pretended to make their own bread, but depended entirely upon the bake-house. Jean Baptiste Farribault did something in the line of Indian trade, and carried on a small farm, but soon after left the Prairie to reside on the St. Peters River. *

Among the other inhabitants of notoriety at that time, was a Mrs. Menard, of mixed African and white blood. She came from some one of the French villages below, and was then married to Charles Menard, a Canadian of French extraction. She had been married twice previously, first to a man by the name of Du Chouquette, by whom she had two sons, one of whom was in the employ of Mr. Astor in that unfortunate expedition of his sent in 1810 by sea and across the continent to the mouth of the Columbia River, now Oregon Territory. Her next husband was named Gagnier, by whom she had three sons and three daughters. After Gagnier's death, she married Charles Menard, by whom she had three sons and two daughters. She was generally called by the inhabitants Aunt Mary Ann, and was a person of consequence among them, being midwife, and the only person pretending to a knowledge of the healing art. Until a fort was erected at Prairie du Chien, and a surgeon arrived there with the troops, she was sent for by the sick, and attended them as regularly as a physician, and charged fees therefor, giving them, as she expressed it, "device and yarb drink." She was an excellent nurse, and even after there were regular surgeons of the army stationed at Fort Crawford, Mary Ann continued to practice among the in-

* We learn from the Annals of the Minnesota Historical Society, that as early as 1805 Jean Baptiste Faribault encamped opposite Vendota, Minnesota trading with the Indians; and, in 1822, he formed one of the constituent members of the Columbia Fur Company of Minnesota. From the American State Papers, he appears to have removed to the St. Peters, in 1819. L. C. D.

habitants. Whether they employed her because they had more faith in her skill, or because they could pay her with more ease, as she took her pay in the produce of the country, but was not very modest in her charges, I cannot with certainty state; and frequently after the army physician had attended a patient a long time, who perhaps for want of good nursing could not be cured MARY ANN would take the patient home with her, and by the force of good nursing and "yarb drink" restore him to health, so that we frequently joked the physician about MARY ANN's superior skill in the healing art. There are at this time many of her descendants residing at Prairie du Chien, who are generally as industrious and orderly inhabitants as any others.

Mr. CAMPBELL, of whom I have previously made mention as Indian Agent and Justice of the Peace, had passed to his long home before I came to the country, and I found a Canadian of French extraction by the name of NICHOLAS BOILVIN clothed with the dignified office of Sub-Agent and Justice of the Peace. He had about the same amount of education as Judge REAUME of Green Bay, previously spoken of, and about the same idea of justice, and was nearly as arbitrary. His law library consisted of a single volume of old statutes of the North Western Territory, one of Illinois, and one of the Missouri Territory; but in deciding cases he paid no attention to the statute, but decided according to his own idea of right and wrong.*

* Col. BOILVIN'S trio volumes formed probably the first law library in Wisconsin, except perhaps Judge REAUME'S single volume of Blackstone; one of which is now, by the courtesy of Judge LOCKWOOD among the collections of the Wis. Hist. Society. He did not probably often consult them, if we may judge from his off-hand manner of administering justice, as related by Mrs. KINZIE in her *Wau-Bun*

"Col. BOILVIN'S office was just without the walls of the fort at Prairie du Chien, and it was much the fashion among the officers to lounge in there of a morning, to find sport for an idle hour, and to take a glass of brandy and water with the old gentleman, which he called taking a little '*quelque-chose*.' A soldier, named FRY, had been accused of stealing and killing a calf belonging to M. ROLETTE, and the constable, a bricklayer of the name of BELL, had been dispatched to arrest the culprit and bring him to trial. While the gentlemen were making their customary morning visit to the Justice, a noise was heard in the entry, and a knock at the door.

'Come in,' cried the old gentleman, rising and walking toward the door.

Bell—HERE, sir, I have brought FRY to you, as you ordered.

Justice—FRY, you great rascal! What for you kill M. ROLETTE'S calf?

Fry—I did not kill M. ROLETTE'S calf.

Justice (shaking his fist) You lie, you great rascal! BELL, take him to jail. Come, gentlemen, come, *let us take a leelle quelque-chose*."

L. C. D.

Col. Alexander McNair of St. Louis, had, as already mentioned, for his clerks in the sutling business, his nephew Thomas McNair, afterwards captain of the militia, and John L. Findley.—But Thomas McNair shortly afterwards married a daughter of Mr. Curtois, a respectable farmer of French descent, and Findley married a Miss Hurtilleese, a half sister of Mrs. Rolette, and a quarter blood of the Sioux nation. Upon learning these transactions of his clerks, Col. McNair naturally concluded that they were attending more to their own pleasure than to his matters, and sent a man by the name of Wilfred Owens, a Kentuckian, to whom he gave an interest in the business, and discharged McNair and Findley from his employ.

McNair went to farming. Findley went to Mackinaw, and procured, by the assistance of Mr. Rolette, a small assortment of goods, and attempted to trade at Prairie du Chien; but as there was then no money in circulation, except what little came from the few troops stationed at the fort, and goods were then selling very high at Mackinaw, he did not succeed in business, and before the close of the year turned over to Mr. Rolette his stock and assets towards the payment of the purchase, which was made of Messrs. Berthelotte and Rolette.

In the spring of 1817, a Roman Catholic Priest from St. Louis called Pere Priere, visited Prairie du Chien. He was the first that had been there for many years, and perhaps since the settlement, and organized the Roman Cathlic Church, and disturbed some of the domestic arrangements of the inhabitants. He found several women who had left their husbands and were living with other men; these he made by the terror of his church to return and ask pardon of their husbands, and to be taken back by them, which they of course could not refuse.

Brevet General Smythe, the Colonel of the Rifle Regiment, who came to Prairie du Chien to erect Fort Crawford in 1816, had arrived in June, and selected the mound where the stockade had been built, and the ground in front, to include the most thick-

ly inhabited part of the village. The ground thus selected encroached upon the ancient burying ground of the Prairie, so that the inhabitants were obliged to remove their dead to another place.

During the winter of 1816 or early in the spring of 1817, Lieut. Col. Talbot Chambers arrived at Fort Crawford, and assumed the command, and the houses in the village being an obstruction to the garrison, in the spring of 1817, he ordered those houses in front and about the fort to be taken down by their owners, and removed to the lower end of the village, where he pretended to give them lots. When Gen. Smythe first arrived at Prairie du Chien, he arrested Michael Brisbois, then the most prominent citizen of the Prairie, and placed him under a guard of soldiers for several days, charging him with treason, for having taken up arms against the United States. After keeping him in duress for several days, he was sent on board of a boat under a guard to St. Louis, Gen. Smythe refusing to let Mrs. Brisbois send her husband a package of beaver to raise money in St. Louis to pay his expenses. The guard took him to St. Louis and landed him on the levee, where they left him, not having delivered him over to the civil authorities, or instituted any proceedings against him, but left him there without money or means to return home. But Mr. Brisbois was known in St. Louis, at least by reputation, and readily found friends who assisted him to return home. During his absence the commandant, who I believe was Lieut. Col. Hamilton, ordered Mrs. Brisbois and family out of her house, and took possession of it, in which to spread the contractor's flour to dry; and also took possession of Mr. Brisbois' bake house, with about two hundred cords of dry oven wood, which was used by the commissary or contractor, for which aggressions and injuries Mr. Brisbois received no compensation.

Although in a time of peace, and our Government had received the country by treaty stipulation, the officers of the army treated the inhabitants as a conquered people, and the commandants as-

sumed all the authority of governors of a conquered country, arraigning and trying the citizens by courts-martial, and sentencing them to ignominious punishments. This was more particularly the case under the reign of Col. CHAMBERS, who was a brave soldier in the field, but a weak man and not qualified for a commandant, as he was generally governed by some favorite officer or officers, who not being responsible for the outrage committed by their superior, would induce him to do acts to gratify their whims or prejudices.

CHARLES MENARD, the husband of the notable MARY ANN, was arrested, having been charged with selling whiskey to the soldiers. He was brought about five miles from his residence under a guard, tried by a court-martial, whipped, and with a bottle hung to his neck, marched through the streets, with music playing the *Rogue's March* after him. MENARD protested that he had not sold liquor to the soldiers, but that they had asked him for it, and that he refused to let them have any, as he did not keep liquor for sale.

And during Col. CHAMBERS' reign, for some alleged immoral conduct he banished JOSEPH ROLETTE to an island, about seven miles above Prairie du Chien, where he obliged him to pass the winter, but in the spring permitted him to return to the village to attend to his business, as his outfits were coming in from the Indian country.

Mr. BRISBOIS informed me that he had resided in Prairie du Chien about thirty years; * and there was an old Scotchman by the name of JAMES AIRD, † connected with the company by which I was first employed in the Indian trade, who generally wintered

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* MR. BRISBOIS, in 1820, gave evidence before Mr. LEE, the government commissioner, that he had been thirty-nine years in the country, and was then sixty years of age; and this would give the year 1781 as the year of his coming to Prairie du Chien. L. C. D.

† MR. AIRD was from Mackinaw, and was a worthy man and enterprising trader. His field of operations was mainly with the Sioux or Dakotas, in what is now Iowa and Minnesota. On the return of LEWIS and CLARK'S expedition in 1806, they met MR. AIRD with two trading boats above the Big Sioux River, on the Missouri; and in their Journal they speak of him as "a very friendly and liberal gentleman." In 1812, he had a trading post at Mendota. L. C. D.

among the Sioux Indians, and had been a trader about forty years. There was also another man by the name of DUNCAN GRAHAM, who had been engaged in the Indian trade about the same length of time, and was captain in the British Indian Department during the war, from whom I obtained considerable information of the Indian country, and of the earlier days of Prairie du Chien.

Prairie du Chien was, at this time, an important post for Indian trade, and was considered by the Indians as neutral ground, where different tribes, although at war might visit in safety; but if hostile, they had to beware of being caught in the neighborhood, going or returning. Yet I never heard of any hostile movement on the Prairie after they had safely arrived.

The factories which JOHN W. JOHNSON had charge of, were established by an act of Congress previous to the war of 1812, for the humane purpose of preventing the British traders from extortions on the Indians, and of counteracting British influence over them, which they exercised through the traders. But unfortunately they had the contrary effect, and through the bad management of the traders, the Government of the United States was made to appear contemptible in the eyes of the Indians. The idea was then prevalent in the U. S, that the most sleazy and cheap goods were what the Indians wanted, whereas the blankets furnished by the British traders, although of coarse wool, were thick and substantial, and so were the cloths and calicoes, while those furnished by the Americans were greatly inferior. It was many years before Mr. ASTOR, with all his wealth and sagacity, could obtain in England suitable blankets and cloths for the Indian trade, and also the proper guns. There was, at that time, an Indian gun manufactured in England, called the North West gun, of simple, plain and strong construction, and it was understood that the manufacture of blankets, cloths and guns was so much under the influence of the North West Fur Company, that an American could not procure the genuine article, and hence the goods furnished by the factors were all of an inferior article, except

tobacco; and the British traders took especial pains when they happened to have a poor article, to call it American. They had been furnished for many years with their tobacco from Albany, an inferior article, made into carrots of from two to three pounds; and when the American tobacco in plugs, and of a tolerable good quality, was introduced among them, they admitted that it was the best.

When I first came to the country, it was the practice of the old traders and interpreters to call any inferior article of goods American, and to speak to the Indians in a contemptuous manner of the Americans and their goods, and the goods which they brought into the country but too generally warranted this reproach. But after Mr. Astor had purchased out the South West Company and established the American Fur Company, he succeeded in getting suitable kinds of goods for the Indians, except at first the North-West Indian gun. He attempted to introduce an imitation of them, manufactured in Holland, but it did not succeed, as the Indians soon detected the difference.

At that time there were generally collected at Prairie du Chien by the traders and U. S. factors, about three hundred packs of one hundred pounds each of furs and peltries, mostly fine furs. Of the different Indian tribes that visited and traded more or less at Prairie du Chien, there were the Menomonees from Green Bay, who frequently wintered on the Mississippi; the Chippewas, who resided on the head waters of the Chippewa and Black rivers; the Foxes, who had a large village where Cassville now stands, called Penah-i. e. Turkey; the Sauks, who resided about Galena and Dubuque; the Winnebagoes, who resided on the Wisconsin River; the Iowas, who then had a village on the Upper Iowa River; WABASHAW's band of Sioux, who resided on a beautiful Prairie on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, about one hundred and twenty miles above Prairie du Chien, with occasionally a Kickapoo and Pottawattamie.

The Sauks and Foxes brought from Galena a considerable quan-

tity of lead, moulded in the earth, in bars about two feet long, and from six to eight inches wide, and from two to four inches thick, being something of an oval form, and thickest in the middle, and generally thinning to the edge, and weighing from thirty to forty pounds. It was not an uncommon thing to see a Fox Indian arrive at Prairie du Chien with a hand sled, loaded with twenty or thirty wild turkies for sale, as they were very plenty about Cassville, and occasionally there were some killed opposite Prairie du Chien.

About the year 1822, a man by the name of HARDIN PERKINS, from Kentucky, came to Prairie du Chien for the purpose of building a saw-mill in the Indian country, and obtained permission from Major TALIAFERRO, then agent for the Sioux Indians, with the consent of the Indians, to erect a saw-mill on their land on the Chippewa river and tributaries; but PERKINS not having the capital to carry out his project, or sufficient influence to obtain the permission of the Indians to erect this mill, solicited JOSEPH ROLETTE and myself to join him, which we did, and contracted with WABASHAW's band of Sioux, who claimed the Chippewa River country, for the privilege of erecting a mill and cutting timber for it, paying them about $1000 per year in goods, and furnished PERKINS the necessary means for the purpose; and he was to take charge of and conduct the business. He proceeded to Menomonee River, a tributary of the Chippewa, and on a small stream running into the Menomonee, about twenty miles from its mouth, erected a saw mill and had it so near done that he expected to commence sawing in a very few days, when one of those sudden freshets to which hilly countries are subject, came upon him and swept away the dam, mill and appendages, and PERKINS returned to Prairie du Chien with his family and hands, having suffered during his residence there considerable from fear of the Chippewa Indians who resided near, and sometimes visited the mill builders.

Col. SNELLING, who commanded at Fort Snelling, had frequently

since Perkins and his men commenced operations, threatened to send a force and destroy the mill, saying the Indian Agent had no authority to give permission to build mills in the Indian country. The parties being pretty well convinced of the fact, and that Col. Snelling had malice enough to carry out his threat, if for nothing else but to punish Mr. Rolette, with whom he had some difficulty, concluded not to rebuild, until they could be authorized by some better authority, supposing then that the Secretary of War had that power; and Mr. Rolette and myself made up our minds to pocket the loss, and let Perkins off with the loss of the few articles he had furnished and his services, which amounted to about fifteen hundred dollars. It proved a bad speculation to all parties. The annuity we agreed to pay the Indians for the privilege of building the mill and cutting timber, being stopped during the time there was no work on the mill, the Indians insisted upon its payment, and inquired the reason we did not go on with the work. We were obliged to tell them that their Great Father would not allow us to do so. They said they had given us permission, and that the country was theirs, and their Great Father had no right to say anything about it.

In the fall of 1829, returning from St. Louis, I met at Galena Major John Biddle of Detroit, who had then been elected our delegate to Congress from Michigan, and enquired what he could do for me, or the people of Prairie du Chien at Washington. I then related to him the situation in which I and Mr. Rolette were placed with regard to the mill and annuities to the Indians. He told me that when I got home, if I would address him at Washington, stating our case, that he would attend to it. I wrote to him a full statement of the case and difficulties, and Major Biddle obtained for us from the Secretary of War permission to erect mills, &c., provided we contracted with the Indians through the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien.

We renewed our contract with the Indians, through their agents, and in May, 1830, sent a mill-right who was also a partner, a su-

perintendent, carpenter and blacksmith, with laborers, provisions, teams, and tools, to erect a mill on the Chippewa River or its tributaries. The mill-right selected the site of the old dam of PERKINS for his dam, and built the mill on the Menomonee River, and dug a canal across a point of land from the small stream to the mill. The hands we were obliged to employ were mostly Canadians, and we engaged the wife of one of them, a Menomonee half breed, as cook for the hands. Few Americans can manage the Canadian *voyageurs* to advantage. They suppose that they must be treated with the same familiarity as American laborers, and reason them into doing their duty; but this is not the proper treatment. The *voyageur* has been so long accustomed to look upon his employer as his superior, and to be treated by him as his inferior, that so soon as he is treated as American hands expect to be treated by their employer, they at once conceive a contempt for him, and become mutinous. Such was the case with our superintendent, and he proved not to be qualified to superintend any kind of men or business, and all the hands looked upon him with contempt.

Three or four Chippewas came to them and the Menomonee half breed woman, she being the only one that understood the Chippewa language, and told them that if they did not leave there they would kill them all. This was about night-fall, and the superintendent was so much alarmed that at dark he got into a canoe with one man, as much frightened as himself, and went down in the night over the rapids, that were difficult to navigate even in the day time, leaving orders with the men to load the provisions, tools, &c., into the boat, and to start in the morning down the Chippewa River near to its mouth, which they did, driving the oxen by land. The superintendent, whose name was ARMSTRONG, arrived at the Prairie evidently much alarmed, and gave me a terrible account of his escape; and not until he had been at the Prairie some considerable time did he inform me that he had ordered all the men to leave the mill, and that they were probably

on their way down. I was then satisfied that my presence was required there, unless I intended to abandon the mill; and it being in the hot weather of August, I did not feel much inclined to make a voyage in a canoe exposed to the sun, but from the materials we had to deal with, I saw at once that it was necessary.

I had a canoe manned with a half breed Winnebago, who spoke Chippewa, and together with ARMSTRONG and the Frenchman who had come down with him, put out at once, taking in my canoe provisions enough for myself and crew to reach the mill. We had proceeded about forty miles up the Missis-ippi, when early in the morning at a sand bar, in the middle of a channel, and about one fourth of a mile from the shore, I met a canoe with a Menomonee half breed and a large athletic Ohioan by the name of HARTWELL, whom I had never seen before. ARMSTRONG had engaged him as carpenter, and taken him to the mill without my having seen him, or knowing his name. I asked them where they were going, and they said to the Prairie. I said, "no!—you must return with me." I knew that the half breed would obey without difficulty, but HARTWELL said he was going to the Prairie, and I knew in order to take all of them back, I must take these back as I met them. HARTWELL was a strong man and armed with a rifle, but I said to him, "this canoe at least is mine, and does not go to the Prairie; you can take your choice, either to go back, or to remain on this sand-bar."

He concluded to go back, and for fear that they might give me the slip, I got into the canoe with them and we proceeded up the river about ten miles farther, where we met all the Canadians with the half-breed Menomonee woman, when we all put ashore. I told them that they must go back to the mill, which they refused to do. I soon discovered, as I had suspected, that the woman was the leader of the party, and I bribed her to go back. She consented, and the others followed her example She and her husband were in a large canoe, not half finished, which would go hard up stream. From the manner of her consenting so readily

to return, I suspected that she intended as soon as they could lag a little behind, and get some point between me and them, to slip down the stream, which I afterwards learned was really their intention; to prevent which, I told them, as they were weak-handed, and had a heavy canoe, that I would embark with them and help them paddle. I paddled all day, and made a good day's work up stream, and encamped in a channel of the river opposite to Wabashaw's Prairie.

The men had only taken provisions enough to last them to the Prairie, and it was soon seen that my stock would not be sufficient for the additional mouths until we reached the boat. In camp at night one of the men named Francis La Pointe, a native of Prairie du Chien, and well acquainted with the customs of the Indians, told me that it was but a short distance across the country to the Chippewa, where the boat then was; and proposed to go there, take a canoe and meet us with provi-ions, which I requested him to do. He accordingly after breakfast borrowed a gun, took some crackers in his pocket, and started across, while we proceeded up the channel along under the bluffs for about five miles to where the canoes cross the Mississippi to the western side. Just as we were about putting off from the shore, La Pointe came running down the hill hallooing "Indians!" The canoes were all putting out into the river, but I ordered the canoe that I was in to put to shore, and take the man in, confiding, at the time, in his statement.

La Pointe had on, when he started, two cotton shirts, and when he returned one of the shirts was nearly cut from him, and several stabs through the other. He had thrown away all his ammunition and his hat, and stated that after crossing the hill and getting into a ravine of tall grass, that five Chippewa Indians suddenly surrounded him, took away his powder, shot and provisions, cut his hat and shirt all to pieces, called him a dog, and would have taken his gun had he not begged hard to retain it, telling them that it was not his. He told so probable a story of what would

naturally be the conduct of a war party of Indians, that I at first believed him, but we stopped shortly after for dinner, and although the men pretended to be much afraid of the Indians, I discovered something in their conduct that satisfied me, that it was a hoax. They proposed to turn back to Prairie du Chien for fear of the Indians, but I told them that I was never in the habit of turning back through fear, until I saw there was really danger, and that I did not require them to run any risk which I would not myself freely share.

We finally proceeded on quietly until near the mouth of Riveire Au Boeuf or Buffalo River, when ARMSTRONG and the man who came down with him, who were actually in great fear, as they were not in the secret of the plot, discovered an Indian on the bluffs below its mouth, or imagined they did, and gave the alarm of "Chippewa!" But we met some Sioux at the foot of the bluffs, and they said that it could not be Chippewas, as they had the day before been hunting over there and thought it probable that some of their people might still be hunting there. So we proceeded to a point opposite to the mouth of the Chippewa River, and encamped for the night.

So much had been said about danger from the Chippewas, that I began to believe there was something in it, and must confess that the next morning I entered the narrow mouth of the Chippewa, fringed with bushes, with some fear that some Indian might be hid, and fire upon us without giving notice of his presence; but once in, the feeling of fear wore off, and we proceeded on with little to eat until about 10 o'clock, when we came to a Menomonee lodge, where we found a great deal of venison, and a quantity stuck up around the fire cooking, to which we did ample justice. We then proceeded about ten miles up the river, where we found the boat and three Americans who had remained with it. But they refused, as well as the Canadians to go back to the mill under the superintendence of ARMSTRONG; and from all accounts of the men, as well as from what I had seen of him, I was

satisfied that he was not calculated to conduct such a business, and I concluded that the best way to get rid of him, was to purchase him out, even if I had to give more than he was justly entitled. His fear of the Chippewas was such, that he did not wish to return. He owed me about five hundred dollars, which would not be worth much if he left the mill; yet, to get rid of him, I gave him that, and took a quit claim of all his claims upon the mill, and let him have a small canoe in which he descended the river.

My people agreed to go back to the mill, provided I would get the Menomonees to go up the river with us, but I had no interpreter in whom I could confide, as my half breed Winnebago had joined his comrades, the Canadians, against me. So I sent down for the Menomonees at the lodge we had passed, to come and go with us; but presume that the half breed Menomonee woman had instructed them how to act; for although I offered them a high price, they pretended to be afraid of the Chippewas, which I was satisfied was not the case, and declined to go, unless another band who were hunting on the Chippewa, above the mouth of the Menomonee River, would go with them. So I sent an Indian for them, and proceeded on with my boat, and encamped on a sand-bar opposite the Menomonee River, and waited for the Indians until about noon the next day, when they arrived, but did not want to go into the Menomonee, expressing their fears of the Chippewas. I offered them a keg of powder, a bar of lead, and promised, when they next came to Prairie du Chien, to give them a keg of whiskey; but they still declined going, reiterating their apprehensions, which I was satisfied were feigned for the occasion, and that they were but playing their part as instructed by the half breed woman. Believing such to be the case, I ordered the men to put the things in the boat, telling them that I was not afraid of the Chippewas, and should go to the mill. Upon this, some of the Canadians showed a disposition to mutiny, but I had made up my mind to go, and knock down the leader with a club, and force them to accompany me. How I should have succeeded

I do not know, but at that moment the Indians finding that I was determined to go without them, said they would go, and we proceeded up the Menomonee River about nine miles, where we encamped.

The Winnebago and Menomonee half breeds unloaded one of the canoes and said there was a lake near there, and that they would go and shoot elk; but in about an hour they returned, apparently much alarmed, and said they saw tracks of Indians around the lake. But the Menomonees who had agreed to go with us fearing to loose their promised pay if we went back, said that the tracks were not Chippewas but Menomonees, as some of their people had been there that day hunting. The next day we proceeded on up the river without any thing of note until we reached the mill, except occasionally seeing a Chippewa in imagination.

There was among the carpenters of my party a discharged soldier of the name of HOLMES, who was a better mill wright than ARMSTRONG, and upon whom, as I afterwards learned, ARMSTRONG had depended to build the mill. I then made a bargain with ISAAC SAUNDERS, one of the carpenters Armstrong had taken up, giving him an interest in the mill to superintend it, and engaged HOLMES by the day to build the mill. There had been very little work done during the summer, and they did not get the mill ready to commence sawing until March, 1831; and by the 1st of June following, had sawed about 100,000 feet of lumber. It was impossible at that time at Prairie du Chien to get any other hands than Canadians, except occasionally a discharged soldier; and among the Americans that were at the mill, there was not one who knew how to construct a raft.

The Canadian manner of rafting had been to lay two floats of timber about ten inches square, and raft the boards on them, and they rafted our lumber in that way; but when they had completed the raft, they found there was not water enough to float it, the water being very low that spring. As many of the men's time

would be out in May, I went up with another set of hands to supply the places of those that would come away with the raft. But on arriving there, I found the water very low, and the Canadians declared that the lumber could not be rafted out of the river. It appeared that we would have to wait for a rise of water; and having a double set of hands, I concluded to build another mill, on a stream about one mile from the other. I set the hands to work getting out timber for the dam, mill, &c.

The Canadians who had first gone there, and went back with me against their will, and whose times were about expiring, were still disposed to be mutinous, and declared their intention of not waiting for a rise of water to get the timber out, and of leaving as soon as their time should expire. I told them that they could not leave until they took down the lumber; that I would pay them for their time, and that they could not get permission to go unless they took it by force, and that, I did not think, would be very safe for them to attempt while I was there, and if they cut a pine tree to make a canoe of, I would have them prosecuted and imprisoned—and, as a Canadian is much afraid of a jail, they concluded to continue their work.

During the time I was contriving how this lumber was to be got to the mouth of the Menomonee, and talking with Holmes one day about it, he told me he had somewhere seen lumber rafted over rapids by laying one sawed board or slab lapping about half its length upon another, after the manner of shingling, and thus repeat and combine until the raft or crib should be formed; and that it would hang together in passing over any rapids. Upon this hint I caused a crib to be made, but the men said it would drown any one who would be fool-hardy enough to take it over the rapids. I waited till the following Sunday, when the men would be idle, and then told two of the hands that if they would take that crib to the mouth of the Menomonee, I would pay them one dollar each. They did so without accident, and returned by land before night, and reported that the lumber could be taken

down in that way without any difficulty. The men now went to work and rafted it; got it nearly all to the mouth of the river, when about the 1st of June, it commenced raining, and continued most of the time very hard for a fortnight. The stream on which our dam was, rose in about twelve hours something like twelve feet, and the Menomonee River about the same, carrying away the dam, and sweeping the loose made cribs of lumber from their moorings, and scattered the lumber over the bottoms of the Menomonee and Chippewa Rivers. About fifty thousand feet of this lumber was afterwards recovered in a damaged state, at a great expense, and taken to St. Louis and sold at a reduced price. Such were some of the difficulties attending the early attempts at lumbering in this country. The only hands that could be employed were the Canadian *voyayeurs*; they could row a boat well, or run a raft, but that was about the extent of their knowledge of lumbering. Occasionally you could pick up a discharged soldier that had some knowledge of the business, and these were the materials that pioneer saw-mill proprietors had to use, and manage as best they could.

Shortly after this, Daniel Whitney, of Green Bay, obtained from the Secretary of War a similar permit to that granted to Mr. Rolette and myself, and built a mill upon the Upper Wisconsin.

Of all the foreigners that came to this country, the Canadians of French extraction seemed to have the least idea of the privileges of American citizenship. It appeared almost impossible to instil into their minds any thing of the independence of self-government, and this was not confined entirely to the uneducated, but would apply more or less to the partially educated classes. They do not consider it a privilege to vote for the officers who are to govern them; and consider it only desirable to use the elective franchise in order to gratify some friend who has asked them to vote for himself or his candidate; and when so requested, they are too polite to refuse, unless a previous promise had been made to some other.

I have lived among this people upwards of thirty years, and have taken considerable interest in elections, and frequently asked the people to vote for the candidate that I supported, and recollect but a solitary instance, in all that time, where a man had the independence to refuse my request. It was amusing after the county of Crawford was organized, and an election was to take place for a delegate to Congress from Michigan, to see these people about election time. It so happened that Joseph Rolette and myself influenced about an equal number of voters, and as we generally supported different candidates, these people would meet, and talk among themselves about the election, asking each other who they were going to vote for? The answer invariably was, "*Je va vote pour Mons.* Rolette;" or "*Je va vote pour Mons.* Lockwood;" the names of the opposing candidates never being mentioned, and very seldom known—a rather amusing circumstance.

In the spring of the year 1824, a delegate to Congress was to be elected for Michigan; and Michigan, like all other portions of the Union, had several patriotic men who desired to sacrifice themselves to the service of their country. Among the numerous candidates, Mr. Rolette and I each selected one for our support, and solicited the votes of the Canadians for our respective candidates. Among the voters was a respectable and industrious farmer living in the lower end of Prairie du Chien, by the name of Barrette, whose vote had been solicited both by Mr. Rolette and myself; but Barrette being engaged in getting in his spring crop of grain, and thinking if he went to the election he would offend one or the other of us, which he wished to avoid, concluded it would be wisest to remain at home, and work on his farm. Mr. Rolette's idea of the elective franchise was such, that he believed that every man was bound to vote, and, moreover that he should do it precisely in accordance with his leader's wishes, without exercising any judgment whatever of his own. Mr. Rolette being a Canadian by birth, of French extraction, and although an educated man, considered himself insulted by Bar-

BETTE's not coming to the election and voting for his candidate, and declared that he would be revenged on him.

There was a law at that time in Michigan preventing stud horses from running at large when over eighteen months of age, under a penalty of ten dollars for each offence, "if willingly or wilfully at large." At this time the water was high in the Mississippi, and the old village of Prairie du Chien was an island. One morning shortly after the election, Mr. ROLETTE with his men brought me two horses of the aforesaid description, and hitched them before my door. I was then a Justice of the Peace. ROLETTE entered my house under considerable apparent excitement, saying, he had brought me two horses that were running at large contrary to law. I answered him, that I did not want the horses, nor was I going to take charge of them. Mr. ROLETTE then asked, as they were at large contrary to law, what was to be done? I answered, that I would have nothing to do with the horses, and should not take charge of them; but if he wished to make a complaint against their owners, I was bound to take notice of it. Mr. ROLETTE then concluded to make such complaint against BARRETTE, the owner of one of the horses, and let the other off, as he had no pique to gratify in his case. Process was accordingly issued against BARRETTE, and soon returned served. On the day of trial, a man by the name of PERKINS, heretofore spoken of, seeing that the suit was brought by an apparently wealthy man to oppress a poor one, volunteered his services to assist in defending him, and on calling the case the defendant demanded a jury. The Legislature of Michigan had some two or three years before this reduced the jury before a Justice of the Peace to six, and the year preceding this trial, they had repealed that law, without any saving clause. Under these circumstances, I decided that the repeal of the law, revived the old one of twelve jurors, and accordingly had a jury of that number summoned and sworn. It so happened that there were some Americans on the jury, and as the trial proceeded, the defendant admitted that his horse was at large, but not "willingly or wilfully," and proved that his horse was old, and had been work-

ed down very poor in the spring, and that when he was through with his work and wished to turn him out on the Prairie, to save himself from the penalty of the law, he had taken him to be castrated to the only man on the Prairie that pretended to perform such operations. But he declined doing so, saying that the horse was too poor and weak to live through it, and that he had better turn him out on the Prairie to rest and recruit a few days, as he could do no harm. Under this testimony, the jury brought in a verdict for defendant, stating that BARRETTE's horse was neither "wilfully nor willingly" at large, contrary to law.

After this BARRETTE, by advice of his friend, brought suit against Mr. ROLETTE, before N. BOILVIN, Esq., another Justice of the Peace, for trespass, and swimming his horse across the slough of St. Ferole, and had another jury, who gave BARRETTE five dollars damages and costs, which mortified Mr. ROLETTE very much. He did not care so much about the money, as he did about attempting to punish a Canadian farmer for disobeying his wishes, and to have that farmer beat him.

In the fall of 1818, a severe fight took place on the prairie between Lac Traverse and the head waters of the Mississippi, under something like the following circumstances, as related to me immediately after by some Indians who had participated in the action. I was then at my wintering station near Lac-qui Parle, on the St. Peters. During the summer a Yankton chief, who generally resided near Lac Traverse, called by the French the GRAND SINORE, had met with some Chippewas, with whom he had smoked the pipe of peace, and after the council had broken up, and the Chippewas were wending their way, as they supposed, safely to their homes, when a party of the GRAND SINORE's band followed them and killed some of the men, and took one woman prisoner. Upon this, eleven young Chippewas armed, provisioned, and provided with moccasins, and started for the Sioux country, declaring that they would not return until they had avenged the insult and outrage. They travelled in the Sioux country about a month

without falling in with any Sioux, and were apparently on their way home, when on the prairie between Lac Traverse and the head waters of the Mississippi, they discovered a large camp of Sioux of about five hundred lodges. As they were in the neighborhood of the camp, they were discovered by some Sioux on horseback, who immediately gave notice to the camp. The Chippewas finding that they were discovered, and that their fate was sealed, sent one of their number home to carry tidings of their probable destruction, and the other ten got into a copse of timber and brush on the prairie, and commenced throwing up breast works by digging holes with their knives and hands,* determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible, knowing that there was not the remotest hope for their escape.

In a short time the warriors from the Sioux camp surrounded them, and, it would appear, made the attack without much order or system, and fought something like the militia in the Black Hawk war at the attack near KELLOGG'S, where each one attacked and fought on his own account without orders. To show their bravery, the Sioux would approach the entrenched Chippewas singly, but from the covert and deadly fire of the Chippewas, they were sure to fall. They continued to fight in this way, until about seventy of the Sioux were killed or wounded, when one of the Sioux war chiefs cried out, that the enemy were killing them in detail, and directed a general onset, when they all in a body rushed upon the Chippewas with knives and tomahawks; and, after a severe struggle, overpowered and exterminated them, wounding in the melee many of their own people. The brave Chippewas had exhausted their amunition, and now fell a sacrafice to superior numbers. Thus perished ten as intrepid warriors as ever entered the battle field. The eleventh pursued his way, and carried to his people the news of the probable fate of the others. The Sioux exulted in their mournful victory, which was purchased at the cost of the lives of between seventy and eighty of their warriors.

* This digging holes was a common mode of defence for a weak party.—See Pike's Expeditions, Phila. edition, 1810, p. 19; and BRUNSON'S Sketch of Crawford County, in Vol. 1, Wis. Ag. Trans. L. C. D.

If scalps are taken after the fall of the leaves from the trees, it is usual for the Indians to continue the scalp dance over them until the appearance of the leaves again, when the scalps are buried with considerable ceremony; and if scalps are taken after the putting out of the leaves, they continue to dance until their fall in the autumn.

In the year 1828, General Joseph M. Street was appointed Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, and arrived alone in the fall of that year to assume the duties of his office; and, in the winter, returned to Illinois and brought his family to Prairie du Chien in the spring of the following year, being the first family who settled in Prairie du Chien that made a profession of religion of the Protestant faith of any of the different sects.

In 1830, a man by the name of Coe, who claimed to be a minister of the Presbyterian church, and missionary to the Indians, passed through the country, and remained over Sunday at Prairie du Chien, and made an attempt at preaching; but he was a very illiterate man, and not over stocked with good sense. I must here relate an anecdote of this man. He made several trips to the upper Indian country, and on one occasion took passage on a keel boat, and arrived within about thirty miles of Fort Snelling on Saturday night; and as the boat would start early in the morning, and he would not travel on the Sabbath, he went on shore without provisions, and encamped over Sunday, and on Monday made his way to Fort Snelling, hungry and nearly exhausted. Sometime in the year 1832, a student of divinity, of the Cumberland Presbyterian sect, came here and taught school for about six months, and on Sundays attempted to preach.

In some of the treaties with the Winnebagoes,* provision had

* At the treaty of Fort Armstrong Rock Island, of which Gen. Scott and Gov. R. Reynolds were the commissioners, concluded Sept. 15, 1832, in part consideration for a claim of land, it was stipulated that the General Government should, for a term of twenty-seven years, maintain a school at or near Prairie du Chien for the education and support of such Winnebago children as should be voluntarily sent to it to be conducted by two or more teachers, and at an annual cost not to exceed the sum of three thousand dollars. L. C. D.

been made for an Indian school near Prairie du Chien, and in the year 1833, the Rev. DAVID LOWRY, of the Cumberland Presbyterian denomination, came to the place as superintendent of said Indian school, but it was about a year thereafter before suitable buildings were erected on the Yellow river in Iowa, and Mr. LOWRY remained at Prairie du Chien, and preached on Sundays; and during this time, collected those professing religion of the different denominations into a society. In the fall of 1835, the Rev. ALFRED BRUNSON visited Prairie du Chien, and returned home the same autumn; and in the spring of 1836, he came back with his family, as superintendent of the Methodist Episcopal Mission of the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. He purchased a farm and built a house, the materials for which he brought with him from Meadville, Pa., and continued for several years laboring in his missionary capacity. He several times visited the missions on the Upper Mississippi, and when at the Prairie, preached and formed a Methodist society. In the year 1836, the Rev. Mr. CADDLE, of the Episcopal church, came to the Prairie as a missionary, but was shortly after appointed chaplain to Fort Crawford, in which capacity he continued until 1841, when feeling, as he expressed it, that he was not in his proper place preaching to soldiers, who went to hear him more from curiosity than anything else, he resigned his chaplaincy, and again entered the missionary service in another part of the Territory. Mr. CADDLE, while chaplain of the fort, formed a church of the few communicants of the Prairie, and the officers and ladies of the fort, which he called Trinity, but was obliged for most of the church officers to elect non communicants.

I must not omit to mention another of the early American settlers. In 1833, the quarter master of Fort Crawford advertised in Galena for proposals for a contract to furnish the fort with a year's supply of wood. EZEKIEL TAINTER and a man by the name of REED, got the contract, and came here and supplied the first contract together, at the end of which Mr. REED left the country. Mr. TAINTER remained, and continued for several years to take

the wood contract, together with that for supplying the fort with beef; and at this business, which he well understood, in connection with the cultivation of a farm on the bluff where he cut his wood, he made money quite fast, as he was industrious and saving. He sent for his family, which he had left in the state of New York, and paid off some old scores that he had previously been unable to do, and had some money left for which he had no immediate use. Notwithstanding he knew nothing about merchandizing, he concluded as he expressed it, "that the merchants were coining money, and that he would have a hand in;" and borrowing some means in addition to his own, went to St. Louis and purchased a small stock of goods, which, as might be expected, were not very judiciously selected for the market. During this time his brother GORHAM arrived by his assistance, whom he took into partnership; but knowing as little about mercantile affairs as his brother, the business was not very well conducted. Both had large families to support, and it appears that they kept no account of expenses, or of what each took from the store. If one wanted an article, the other took something else to balance it. They continued business for about two years, when they took an account of stock, and found a deficiency of about three thousand dollars, for which they could not account; and as goods to this amount had been taken from the store without keeping any account of them, it did not at first occur to their minds that their families had consumed them. This satisfied Mr. TAINTER that money was not so easily gained by merchandizing as he had supposed, and he returned to farming, and is now a resident and worthy citizen of the county.

In the year 1842, the Rev. Mr. STEPHENS, of the Presbyterian church, who had been on a missionary service somewhere in the Indian country, came as a missionary of that denomination, formed a church, and continued here two or three years. There being too few members of his church to supply the means of support with the stipend he received from the Missionary Society, he left

for some other part of the Territory, since which time the Methodists have supplied the place regularly with preachers, and occasionally a transient clergyman of some other denomination visits us and preaches. Rev. Alfred Brunson since his residence at Prairie du Chien, has probably taken more interest than any other person in it, to develop the resources of the country, having at different times visited most parts of Western and Northern Wisconsin, and has written and published several articles on the subject, well calculated to attract attention to this part of the country.

Of the old inhabitants found at the Prairie on my arrival here, John W. Johnson the factor, and Chief Justice of the county court, was in 1832, relieved of his duties as factor, by the winding up of the factory system of Indian trade, when he removed to St. Louis, where he died a few years since. Francis Bouthillier, one of the Associate Justices of the county court, moved to Galena, near which place he died in 1833 or '34.

Wilfred Owens ended his days in 1821 by cutting his throat in a fit of mental derangement;* and John L. Findley, the first clerk of the court, went, in 1821, in company with a Frenchman by the name of Depouse, and a Canadian named Barrette, up the Mississippi in a canoe on some business. On their arrival at Lac Pepin, near the mouth of the Chippewa, they met with a war party of Chippewas looking for Sioux Indians, and the whites being probably overcharged with whiskey, of which they were all exceedingly fond, a quarrel ensued, as was afterwards learned from the Chippewas. Barrette, who had been lumbering on the Black River the previous winter, recognized in one of the Indians of the war party, one whom he believed had formerly stolen his horse; and being of rather a pugnacious disposition, and proba-

* The following notice of Mr. Owens' death, we find in the Detroit Gazette, Oct. 5th, 1821: "Died at Prairie du Chien, on the 23d of August last, Mr. Wilfred Owens, merchant. He committed suicide by cutting an artery of his arm, and his throat, in the presence of two of his friends, and was supposed to be insane. Mr. Owens was Judge of Probate, and Associate Justice, in the county of Crawford, and a very respectable member of society." L. C. D.

bly surcharged with whiskey, imprudently charged the Indian with the theft. Upon which a quarrel ensued, which ended in the Indians murdering the whole party, and plundering them of their goods, provisions, &c.

John P. Gates, the first Register of the Probate, on the closing of the factory, went to Carondelet, Missouri, where he was drowned a few years since. Thomas McNair, the first Sheriff of the county, moved down to Fever river near Galena, about 1830, and, as I learned, died a few years since in some part of Illinois. Nicholas Boilvin died on a keel boat on his way to St. Louis, about the summer of 1824. Joseph Roleite* died at Prairie du Chien in 1841.

While our county court was still in existence, a district court

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* Mrs. Kinzie relates in her *Wau-Bun* the following capital story of M. Rolette. The scene was on Lake Winnebago, where M. Rolette was engaged with a trading-boat, when he met another boat on which were his employees, directly from Prairie du Chien. "Of course, after an absence of some weeks from home, the meeting on those lonely waters, and the exchanging of news was an occasion of great excitement. The boats were stopped—earnest greetings interchanged—question followed question.

"*Eh! bien*"—enquired M. Rolette, "have they finished the new house?"

"*Oui, Monsieur.*"

"*Et la cheminee fume-t-elle?*" (Does the chimney smoke?)

"*Non, Monsieur*"

"And the harvest—how is that?"

"Very fine, indeed"

"Is the mill at work?"

"Yes, plenty of water."

"How is Whip?" (His favorite horse.)

"Oh! Whip is first rate"

Everything, in short, about the store, the farm, the business of various descriptions being satisfactorily gone over, there was no occasion for farther delay. It was time to proceed.

"*Eh! bien—adieu! bon voyage!*"

"*Arrachez—mes gens!*" (Go ahead, men!)

Then suddenly—"*Arretez—arretez!*" (Stop! stop!)

"*Comment se portent Madame Rolette et les enfants?*" (How are Mrs. Rolette and the children?)

Mrs. Kinzie also gives us another glimpse of M. Rolette's character. The Indians, she says called him Ah-kay-zaut-e-tah, or *Five More*—because, as they said, let them offer what number of skins they might in bartering for an article, his terms were invariably "five more."

"Upon one occasion," continues Mrs. Kinzie, "a lady remarked to him, 'Oh, M. Rolette, I would not be engaged in the Indian trade; it seems to me a system of cheating the poor Indians.'

'Let me tell you, madame,' replied he with great *naïveté*, 'it is not so easy a thing to cheat the Indians as you imagine. I have tried it these twenty years, and have never succeeded!'"

L. C. D.

was established, in 1823,* comprising the counties of Mackinaw, Brown and Crawford, and an additional Judge appointed, in the person of JAMES DUANE DOTY, a young lawyer of Detroit, then only about twenty-three years of age. He had come to Prairie du Chien in the fall of 1823, for the purpose of making it his residence, and remained until after the following May term of his court. Soon after arriving at Prairie du Chien, and finding our mail matter came up on keel-boats, or by military express sent occasionally for the special purpose, to Clarksville, Missouri, a village about one hundred miles above St Louis, and the then nearest post office, Judge DOTY made application to the Post Office Department for the establishment of a post office at Prairie du Chien, which was granted, and he was appointed post-master, with the privilege of expending the proceeds of the office for carrying the mail.* The receipts for postage, together with contributions from the principal inhabitants, and officers of the garrison, enabled him to send JEAN B. SOYER, an old *voyageur*, one trip to Clarksville during the winter, for which he was paid thirty dollars. When Judge DOTY arrived to enter upon his duties as Judge, he brought me a commission as clerk of his court for Crawford county, which I declined to accept.

As there were then no attornies here, and Judge DOTY learning that I had at one time studied law, and had relinquished the profession for mercantile pursuits, suggested that I had better resume the practice of the law, and kindly tendered me the use of his

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* It is stated in Mr BAIRD's Address, that it was at the 1823-'24 session of Congress, that the new judicial district was established. It was done at the previous session, when an act was passed to provide for the appointment of "an additional Judge for the Territory of Michigan," and jurisdiction was given to the courts held by him over the counties of Mackinaw, Brown and Crawford, which included all of Michigan not in the Peninsula, the new State of Wisconsin, and the country north of St. Croix River and east of the Mississippi to latitude 43—now under the government of Minnesota. In the winter or spring of 1823 JAMES D. DOTY was appointed by President MONROE, the additional Judge. At the session of 1823-'24, Congress changed the tenure of office of the Judges of Michigan from "good behavior" to the term of four years, and Judge DOTY'S re-appointment was announced in *Niles's Register* of Feb. 28, 1824. The first term of Judge DOTY'S court was held at Mackinaw, in July, 1823. Seeing a discrepancy in dates in regard to this matter between Mr. BAIRD and Judge LOCKWOOD, Judge DOTY was referred to, to set the matter right, who has furnished the facts in this note.

L. C. D.

library and any instructions I might require, in order to refresh my studies. Not being extensively engaged in business at this time, I availed myself of Judge Doty's suggestions, library and instructions, and studied hard all the following winter and spring; and, although I had obtained considerable knowledge of law, I was entirely ignorant of the practice of courts, except what I learned from old English authors on that subject. I commenced the practice of the profession, and attended the courts of Brown and Mackinaw, and found no attornies in Brown; but at Mackinaw found a man by the name of Rex Robinson, who had studied law in the State of New York, but had abandoned it, and come to Mackinaw to try his luck in the Indian Trade; and a man by the name of Lee, who hailed from Ohio, and claimed to be a lawyer, but whose greatest qualification was his impudence; and Henry S. Baird, then quite a young man, just commencing the practice, and whom I considered the best lawyer among us.

Until the year 1824, it was believed that a steamboat could not come up to Prairie du Chien over the Des Moines and Rock River rapids. But in the spring of that year, David G. Bates, who had for several years been engaged in running keel boats on the Upper Mississippi, the water then being at a good stage in the river, brought to Prairie du Chien a very small boat called the *Putnam*. She was one of the smallest class of boats that run on the Ohio in a low stage of water. Capt. Bates proceeded to Fort Snelling with his boat. In June following, boats of a much larger class came over the rapids, and went to Fort Snelling with supplies for the troops. Since then the river from St. Louis to Fort Snelling has been navigated by steamboats, increasing every year in size and convenience.

During the winter of 1823–4, Judge Doty concluded to change his residence from Prairie du Chien to Green Bay, and resigned his office of post-master, and recommended me for the vacancy; and I was appointed, with the same power and authority that he had. I applied during the summer of 1824, and got a post-office

established at Galena, and Ezekiel Lockwood appointed post-master; also an office at Rock Island with Lee Davenport post-master; the proceeds of both offices to be applied by me to defraying the expenses of conveying the mail from Prairie du Chien, via Galena and Rock Island, to Clarksville, Mo. The increased fund by this new arrangment, enabled me to send the mail twice during the winter to Clarksville, and thus the postal arrangements remained until the close of 1825, when a post route was extended from Springfield, Ill., to Galena; and on the first of January, 1826, John D. Winters, the contractor, arrived at Galena with the first mail sent through by this arrangement, the office at Prairie du Chien continuing to send to Galena for her mail at her own expense, until the fall of 1832, when Doct. Addison Philleo, who had obtained the contract to Prairie du Chien, sent through the mail.

In the summer of 1825, a grand council or treaty was held at Prairie du Chien with the different tribes of Indians. Gov. Cass of Michigan, and Gen. Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs for Missouri and dependencies, were appointed commissioners on the part of the United States. The Indian tribes represented were the Sioux, Sauks, Foxes, Chippewas, Winnebagoes, Menomonees, and Iowas. Some of the Indians from up the Missouri were expected, but did not come. The professed object of this treaty was to make a general and lasting peace between these tribes, and also to settle the boundaries between them respectively. After I understood the object of the treaty, I asked Gov. Cass what good he thought would result from it. He shrugged up his shoulders, and smiling said, that they would have it so at Washington. They made the treaty of perpetual peace, and settled the boundaries between the different tribes, which resulted in the U. States sending a corps of surveyors, and surveying the boundaries at great expense, and perhaps keeping the Indians at peace until they were ready to go to war again.

In the winter of 1825–'26, the wise men at Washington took it

into their heads to remove the troops from Fort Crawford to Fort Snelling, and abandon the former. This measure was then supposed to have been brought about on the representation of Col. Snelling of Fort Snelling, who disliked Prairie du Chien for difficulties he had with some of the principal inhabitants. During the winter there were confined in the guard house of Fort Crawford two Winnebago Indians for some of their supposed dishonest acts; but what they were charged with, I do not now recollect. At that time, as already mentioned, our mails from St Louis, the East and South, came via Springfield to Galena, and the postmaster at Prairie du Chien sent to Galena for the mails of that place and Fort Snelling. An order would frequently arrive by steamb at countermanding a previous order for the abandonment of the fort, before the arrival of first order by mail, and this matter continued during the summer of 1826, and until October, when a positive order arrived directing the commandant of Fort Crawford to abandon the fort, and proceed with the troops to Fort Snelling; and if he could not procure transportation, to leave the provisions, ammunition and fort in charge of some citizen.

But a few days previous to this order, there had been an alarming report circulated, that the Winnebagoes were going to attack Fort Crawford, and the commandant set to work repairing the old fort, and making additional defences. During this time the positive order arrived, and the precipitancy with which the fort was abandoned during the alarm—was communicated to the Indians through the half-breeds residing at or visiting the place, which naturally caused the Winnebagoes to believe that the troops had fled through fear of them. The commandant took with him to Fort Snelling the two Winnebagoes confined in Fort Crawford, leaving behind some provisions, and all the damaged arms, with a brass swivel and a few wall pieces, in charge of John Marsh, the then Sub-Agent at this place.

The Winnebagoes, in the fall of 1826, obtained from the traders their usual credit for goods, and went to their hunting grounds;

but early in the winter a report became current among the traders, that the Winnebagoes had heard a rumor that the Americans and English were going to war in the spring; and hence they were holding councils to decide upon the course they should adopt, hunting barely enough to obtain what they wanted to subsist upon in the mean time.

Mr. M Brisbois said to me several times during the winter, that he feared some outrages from the Winnebagoes in the spring, as from all he could gather they were bent on war, which I ought to have believed, as Mr. Brisbois had been among them engaged in trade over forty years. But I thought it impossible that the Winnebagoes, surrounded as they were by Americans, and troops in the country, should for a moment seriously entertain such an idea. I supposed it a false alarm, and gave myself very little uneasiness about it; but in the spring, when they returned from their hunts, I found that they paid much worse than usual, although they were not celebrated for much punctuality or honesty in paying their debts. It was a general custom with the traders, when an Indian paid his debts in the spring pretty well, on his leaving, to let him have a little ammunition, either as a present, or on credit. A Winnebago by the name of Wah wah peck ah, had taken a credit from me, and paid me but a small part of it in the spring; and when I reproached him, he was disposed to be impudent about it; and when his party were about going, he applied to me as usual for ammunition for the summer, and insisted upon having some, but I told him if he had behaved well, and paid me his credit better, that I would have given him some, but that he had behaved so bad that I would not give him any, and he went away in a surly mood.

A man by the name of Methode, I think, a half breed of some of the tribes of the North, had arrived here, sometime in the summer of 1826, with his wife, and, I think, five children; and, sometime in March of 1827, he went with his family up the Yellow or Painted Rock Creek, about twelve miles above

the Prairie, on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River, to make sugar. The sugar season being over, and he not returning, and hearing nothing from him, a party of his friends went to look for him, and found his camp consumed, and himself, wife and children burned nearly to cinders, and she at the time *enceinte*. They were so crisped and cindered that it was impossible to determine whether they had been murdered and then burned, or whether their camp had accidentally caught on fire and consumed them. It was generally believed that the Winnebagoes had murdered and burnt them, and RED BIRD was suspected to have been concerned in it; but I am more inclined to think, that if murdered by Indians, it was done by some Fox war party searching for Sioux.

In the spring of this year, 1827, while a Chippewa chief called HOLE-IN-THE-DAY, with a part of his band, visited Fort Snelling on business with the Government, and while under the guns of the fort, a Sioux warrior shot one of the Chippewas. The Sioux was arrested by the troops, and confined in the guard-house. The Chippewas requested Col. SNELLING to deliver the Sioux to them, to be dealt with after their manner; to which he agreed, provided they would give him a chance to run for his life. To this they acceded. The Sioux was sent outside of the fort, where the Chippewas were armed with tomahawks and war clubs. He was to be allowed a fair start, and at a signal started, and one of the swiftest of the Chippewas armed with a club and tomahawk after him, to overtake and kill him if he could, which he soon effected, as the Sioux did not run fast, and when overtaken made no resistance. The Winnebagoes hearing a rumor of this, got the news among them that the two Winnebagoes confined there had been executed.

During the summer of 1826, I built the first framed house that was erected in Prairie du Chien. I sent men to the Black River, and got the timber for the frame and the shingles, and had the plank and boards sawed by hand, and brought them down to the Prairie. But then I had no carpenter or joiner, there being none at Prairie du Chien. I went on board of a keel-boat that had

landed, and enquired if there was a carpenter and joiner on board, on which a ragged, dirty looking man said that he professed to be such, and having before seen quite as unprepossessing fellows turn out much better than appearances indicated, I agreed with him at $1 50 per day and board. I built on the site near Fort Crawford, now occupied by what is called the commanding officer's house. My house was of the following description: a cellar-kitchen, 30 by 26 feet, with a frame on it of the same size, two stories high, with a wing 16 by 20, on the south side, one story, which I used for a retail store. There was a hall through the south end of the two story part, the whole length of the house, with stairs from the cellar-kitchen up into the hall, and stairs from the hall to the upper story. The north end of the house was divided—the front part about 14 by 16 feet, into a parlor or sitting room; a chimney in the centre of the north end, and a bed-room in the back part about 14 feet square; a door leading from the hall to the bed room, and one to the sitting-room, and a door by the side of the chimney from the bed-room to the sitting room, and a door from the hall into the wing or store. This house I afterwards sold to the Government, with the land on which the fort now stands. It was good enough for General Taylor and family while he commanded here; but as soon as General Brooke was in command, he got an appropriation from Congress to repair the house, and had it all torn down except a part of the cellar wall, and built the one which is there at present, at a cost of about $7,000.

During the spring of 1827, the reports about the Winnebagoes bore rather a threatening aspect; but, as I said before, situated as they were I did not believe they would commit any depredations. Under this belief, and having urgent business in New York to purchase my goods, I started for that city on the 25th of June; it then took about six months to go and return. Mine was the only purely American family at the Prairie, after the garrison left. There was Thomas McNair, who had married a French girl of the Prairie, and John Marsh, the Sub Indian Agent, who had no family, and there were besides three or four Americans who had been

discharged from the army. Without apprehension of danger from the Indians, I left my family, which consisted of Mrs. Lockwood, and her brother, a young man of between sixteen and seventeen years of age, who was clerk in charge of the store, and a servant girl belonging to one of the tribes of New York civilized Indians settled near Green Bay.

I started to go by way of Green Bay and the Lakes for New York, in a boat up the Wisconsin, and down the Fox River to green Bay; thence in a vessel to Buffalo, and down the canal to Albany, and thence by steamboat to New York City. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the first day's journey up the Wisconsin, I came to an island where were sitting three Winnebagoes smoking, the oldest called Wau-wau-peck-ah, who had a credit of me the fall previous, and had paid but little of it in the spring; the other two were young men not known to me by name. They had some venison hanging on a pole, and we stopped to purchase it. As I stepped on shore, I discovered an appearance of cold reserve unusual in Indians in such meetings, and as I went up to them, I said '*bon jour*,' the usual French salutation, which they generally understood; but Wau-wau-peck-ah said that he would not say '*bon jour*,' to me. Upon which I took hold of his hand and shook it, asking him why he would not say *bon jour* to me? He enquired what the news was. I told him I had no news. He told me that the Winnebagoes confined at Fort Snelling had been killed. I assured him that it was not true, that I had seen a person lately from that fort, who told me of the death of the Sioux, but that the Winnebagoes were alive. He then gave me to understand that if such was the case, it was well; but if the Winnebagoes were killed, they would avenge it. I succeeded in purchasing the venison, giving them some powder in exchange, and as I was about to step on board of my boat, Wau-wau-peck-ah wanted some whiskey, knowing that we always carried some for our men. I directed one of the men to give them each a drink, which Wau-wau-peck-ah refused, and taking up his cup that he had by him, he showed by signs that he wanted it filled; and be-

lieving that the Indians were seeking some pretense for a quarrel as an excuse for doing mischief, I thought it most prudent under the circumstances to comply.

There were among the boats' crew some old *voyageurs*, well acquainted with Indian manners and customs, who, from the conduct of these Indians, became alarmed. We, however, embarked, watching the Indians, each of whom stood on the bank with his gun in his hand. As it was late in the day, we proceeded a few miles up the river and encamped for the night. As soon as the boat left the island, the three Indians each got into his hunting canoe, and the two young Indians came up on either side opposite the bow of the boat, and continued thus up the river until we encamped, while WAH WAH-PECK-AH kept four or five rods behind the boat. They encamped with us, and commenced running and playing with the men on the sand beach; and after a little, the young Indians proposed to go hunting deer by candle light, and asked me to give them some candles to hunt with, which I did, with some ammunition, and they promised to return with venison in the morning. After they had gone, WAH WAH PECK AH proposed also to go hunting, and begged some candles and ammunition, but remained in camp over night. Morning came, but the young Indians did not return, and I saw no more of them. In the morning, after WAH WAH PECK AH had begged something more, he started, pretending to go down the river, and went, as we supposed; but about an hour afterward, as we were passing on the right of the upper end of the island on which we had encamped, I saw WAH-WAH PECK AH coming up on the left. He looked very surly, and we exchanged no words, but we were all satisfied that he was seeking some good opportunity to shoot me, and from the singular conduct of the Indians, I and my men were considerably alarmed. But about 9 o'clock in the morning, meeting a band of Indians from the Portage of Wisconsin, who appeared to be glad to see me, and said they were going to Prairie du Chien, my fears with those of men were somewhat allayed. I wrote with my pencil a hasty

i ne to my wife, which the Indians promised to deliver, but they never did, as they did not go there.

This day, the 26th of June, we proceeded up the Wisconsin without seeing any Indians until we came near Prairie du Baie, when an Indian, alone in a hunting canoe, came out of some nook and approached us. He was sullen, and we could get no talk out of him. We landed on Prairie du Baie, and he stopped also; and, a few moments thereafter, a canoe of Menomonees arrived from Prairie du Chien, bringing a brief note from JOHN MARSH, saying the Winnebagoes had murdered a man of mixed French and negro blood, named RIJESTE GAGNIER, and SOLOMON LIPCAP, and for me, for God's sake, to return. I immediately got into the canoe with the Menomonees, and directed my men to proceed to the Portage, and if I did not overtake them, to go on to Green Bay. I proceeded down the river with the Menomonees, and when we had descended to the neighborhood where we had fallen in with the Indians the day before, we met WAH-WAH-PECK-AH coming up in his hunting canoe alone, having with him his two guns. He enquired if I was going to the Prairie? I told him I was. He then told me that the whiskey at the Prairie was shut up, but did not tell me of the murders, and asked me that should he come to the Prairie, whether I would let him have some whiskey? I told him I certainly would, if he brought some furs, not wishing then to make any explanation, or to enter into any argument with him.

About this time, we heard back of an island, and on the southern shore of the Wisconsin, the Winnebagoes singing their war songs and dancing, with which I was familiar; and so well satisfied was I that WAH-WAH-PECK-AH was only seeking a favorable opportunity to shoot me, that if I had had a gun where he met us, I believe that I should have shot him. After talking with him, the Menomonees moved down the river, and arrived at the mouth of the Wisconsin about dark, without seeing any more Winnebagoes. It was so dark that the Menomonees thought that we had better stop until morning, and we accordingly crawled into

the bushes without a fire, and fought musquitoes all night, and the next morning, the 27th, proceeded to the Prairie. I went to my house and found it vacant, and went to the old village where I found my family, and most of the inhabitants of the Prairie, assembled at the house of JEAN BRUNET, who kept a tavern. Mr. BRUNET had a quantity of square timber about him, and the people proposed building breast-works with it.

I learned on my arrival at the Prairie, that on the preceding day, the 26th, RED BIRD, (who, when dressed, always wore a *red coat*, and called himself English,) went to my house, with two other Indians, and entering the cellar kitchen, loaded their guns in the presence of the servant girl, and went up through the hall into Mrs. LOCKWOOD's bed-room, where she was sitting alone. The moment the Indians entered her room, she believed they came to kill her, and immediately passed into and through the parlor, and crossed the hall into the store to her brother, where she found DUNCAN GRAHAM, who had been in the country about forty years as a trader, and was known by all the Indians as an Englishman. He had been a captain in the British Indian Department during the war of 1812, and a part of the time was commandant at Prairie du Chien. The Indians followed Mrs. LOCKWOOD into the store, and Mr. GRAHAM by some means induced them to leave the house.

They then proceeded to McNAIR's Coulee, about two miles from the village, at the lower end of Prairie du Chien, where lived RIJESTE GAGNIER, son of the noted MARY ANN, heretofore mentioned; his wife was a mixed blood of French and Sioux extraction, with two children; and living with him was an old discharged American soldier by the name of SOLOMON LIPCAP. The Winnebagoes commenced a quarrel with GAGNIER, and finally shot him, I believe in the house. LIPCAP, at work hoeing in the garden near the house, they also shot. During the confusion, Mrs. GAGNIER seized a gun, got out at the back window with her boy about three years old on her back, and proceeded to the vil-

lage with the startling news. The cowardly Indians followed her a part of the way, but dared not attack her. On her arrival at the village, a party went to the scene of murder, and found and brought away the dead, and the daughter of Mr. GAGNIER, about one year old, whom the mother in her fright had forgotten. The Indians had scalped her, and inflicted a severe wound in her neck, and left her for dead, and had thrown her under the bed, but was found to be still alive. She got well, and arriving at womanhood got married, and has raised a family of children; she is yet alive, and her eldest daughter was but recently married.

The people had decided not to occupy the old fort, as a report had been circulated, that the Indians had said they intended to burn it if the inhabitants should take refuge there. During the day of the 27th, the people occupied themselves in making some breast-works of the timber about Mr. BRUNET'S tavern, getting the swivel and wall pieces from the fort, and the condemned muskets and repairing them, and concluded they would defend themselves, each commanding, none obeying, but every one giving his opinion freely.

About sunset one of the two keel-boats arrived that had a few days previously gone to Fort Snelling with supplies for the garrison, having on board a dead Indian, two dead men of the crew, and four wounded. The dead and wounded of the crew were inhabitants of Prairie du Chien, who had shipped on the up-bound trip. They reported that they had been attacked the evening before, about sunset, by the Winnebago Indians,* near the mouth of the Bad Ax River, and the boat received about five hundred shots, judging from the marks on its bow and sides. The Indians

* EX-GOV. REYNOLDS, of Illinois, in his recent interesting volume of his *Life and Times*, thus states the immediate cause of this attack, and which, if true, exhibits the boatmen and *voyageurs* in no enviable light: That somewhere above Prairie du Chien on their upward trip, they stopped at a large camp of Winnebago Indians, gave them liquor freely and got them drunk, when they forced six or seven squaws, stupefied with liquor, on board the boats, for *corrupt and brutal purposes*, and kept them during their voyage to Fort Snelling, and on their return. When the Winnebago Indians became sober, and fully conscious of the injury done them, they mustered all their forces, amounting to several hundred, and attacked the foremost of the descending boats in which their squaws were confined. L. C. D.

were mostly on an island on the west of the channel, near to which the boat had to pass, and the wind blowing strong from the east, drifted the boat towards the shore, where the Indians were, as the steering-oar had been abandoned by the steersman. During this time, two of the Indians succeeded in getting on board of the boat. One of them mounted the roof, and fired in from the fore part; but he was soon shot, and fell off into the river. The other Indian took the steering-oar, and endeavored to steer the boat to the island. He was also shot, and brought down in the boat where he fell. During all this time the Indians kept up a hot fire. The boat was fast drifting towards a sand-bar near the shore, and they would all have been murdered had it not been for the brave, resolute conduct of an old soldier on board, called SAUCY JACK, (his surname I do not remember,) who, during the hottest of the fire, jumped over at the bow, and pushed the boat off, and where he must have stood, the boat was literally covered with ball marks, so that his escape seemed a miracle.* They also reported that early the day before the attack, they were lashed to the other boat drifting, and that they had grounded on a sand-bar and separated, since which time they had not seen or heard any thing of the other boat, and thought probably that it had fallen into the hands of the Indians.

This created an additional alarm among the inhabitants. The same evening my boat returned, the men becoming too much alarmed to proceed. That night sentinels were posted by the inhabitants within the breast works, who saw, in imagination, a great many Indians prowling about in the darkness; and in the morning there was a great variety of opinion, as to what was best to be done for the safety of the place, and appearances betokened a great deal of uneasiness in the minds of all classes.

* GOV. REYNOLDS adds, that SAUCY JACK, as he was called, was a sailor by profession on the lakes and ocean, and had been in many battles with the British during the war of 1812-'15; he was large and strong, and possessed the courage of an African lion, and seizing a piece of the setting pole of the boat which was about four feet long, and had on the end a piece of iron, which made it a more weighty and formidable weapon, he used it with great effect when the Indians attempted to board the boat, knocking them back into the river as fast as they approached. Such an instance of signal heroism is enough to render any man famous, and we should be glad to learn more of SAUCY JACK'S history. L. C. D.

On the morning of the 28th, I slept rather late, owing to the fatigue of the preceding day. My brother-in-law awakened me, and told me the people had got into some difficulty, and that they wished me to come out, and see if I could not settle it. I went out on the gallery, and enquired what the difficulty was; and heard the various plans and projects of defence proposed by different persons. Some objected to staying in the village, and protecting the property of the villagers, while theirs, outside the village, was equally exposed to the pillage of the Indians. Others were for remaining and fortifying where they were, and others still urged the repairing of the old fort. As the eminence on which my house stood overlooked the most of the Prairie, some were for concentrating our people there, and fortifying it. After hearing these different projects, I addressed them something as follows: "As to your fortifying my house, you can do so, if it is thought best, but I do not wish you to go there to protect it; I have abandoned it, and if the Indians burn it, so be it; but there is one thing, if we intend to protect ourselves from the Indians, we must keep together, and some one must command."

Some one then nominated me as commander, but I said, "No, I would not attempt to command you, but here is Thomas McNair, who holds from the governor a commission of captain over the militia of this place, and has a right to command; if you will agree to obey him implicitly, I will set the example of obedience to his orders, and will, in that case, furnish you with powder and lead as long as you want to shoot, (I being the only person having those articles in the place;) but unless you agree to obey McNair, I will put my family and goods into my boats and go down the river, as I will not risk myself with a mob, under no control."—Upon this they immediately agreed to acknowledge Mr. McNair as commander, and I was satisfied that he would take advice upon all measures undertaken. Joseph Brisbois was lieutenant, and Jean Brunet was ensign, both duly commissioned by the governor. Captain McNair ordered a move of all the families, goods,

with the old guns, to the fort, and it was near sunset before we had all got moved there.

About that time we discovered the skiff of the other keel-boat coming around the point of an island near Yellow River, about three miles distant; but we could not discover whether they were white men or Indians in the canoe, and of course it created an alarm, but in a few moments thereafter, the keel-boat hove in sight, and the alarm ceased. It soon arrived, reporting that they had received a few shots in passing the places where the other boat had been attacked, but had received no injury. On this boat JOSEPH SNELLING, son of Col. SNELLING, returned to Prairie du Chien. JOSEPH SNELLING and myself acted as supernumeraries under Captain McNAIR. The government of Fort Crawford was conducted by a council of the Captain and those who acted under him. It was immediately resolved to repair the old fort as well as possible for defence, and the fort and block-house were put in as good order as circumstances and materials would admit. Dirt was thrown up two or three feet high around the bottom logs of the fort, which were rotten and dry, and would easily ignite. JOSEPH SNELLING was put in command of one of the block-houses, and JEAN BRUNET of the other, with a few picked men in each, who were trained to the use of the swivel and wall pieces that were found and mounted therein; and a number of barrels were placed around the quarters filled with water, with orders in case of an attack to cover the roof of the buildings with blankets, &c., and to keep them wet. All the blacksmiths were put in requisition to repair the condemned muskets found in the fort, and, mustering our force, we found of men and women about ninety that could handle a musket in case of an attack.

The next day after taking possession of the fort, J. B. LOYER, an old *voyageur*, was engaged to cross the Mississippi and go back through the country, now the State of Iowa, to inform Col. SNELLING, commanding Fort Snelling, of our situation. For this service LOYER was promised fifty dollars, and furnished with a horse

to ride and provisions, and DUNCAN GRAHAM was engaged to accompany him, for which he was to receive twenty dollars, provisions and a horse to ride; and for these payments, I became personally responsible.

Governor CASS, who had come to Butte des Morts, on the Fox river, to hold a treaty with the Winnebagoes, learning from rumor that there was dissatisfaction among them, started in his canoe, and arrived at Prairie du Chien on the morning of the fourth of July. He ordered the company of militia into the service of the United States, and appointed me quarter-master and commissary, with the request that I would use my own funds for the supply of the department, and that he would see it refunded; and, furthermore, assumed the debt for ammunition and provisions already advanced, and also the expenses of the express to Fort Snelling, and directed me to issue to the troops a keel-boat load of flour, that I previously receipted for to one of the agents of the contractors for Fort Snelling, who feared to go farther with it.

After these arrangements had been made, Gov. CASS proceeded in his canoe to Galena, and raised a volunteer company under the late Col. ABNER FIELDS as captain, and assigned him the command of Fort Crawford. Lieutenant MARTIN THOMAS of the U. S. ordinance department, and then stationed at the arsenal near St. Louis, who happened to be at Galena, came up and mustered the two companies of the militia into the service of the United States; and contracted with PHINEAS BLACK, of the village of Louisiana, in Missouri, whom he found at Galena, for a quantity of pork which was sent up by the boat that brought the volunteer company. Gov. CASS proceeded from Galena to St. Louis to confer with General ATKINSON, then in command of Jefferson Barracks, and of the western military department. This resulted in Gen. ATKINSON's moving up the Mississippi with the disposable force under his command at Jefferson Barracks. During this time, Col. SNELLING came down the Mississippi, with two companies of the

fifth regiment of U. S. Infantry, and assumed the command of Fort Crawford, and soon after discharged the Galena volunteer company, as they could not well be brought under military discipline. But the Prairie du Chien company was retained in service until some time in the month of August, for which service, through the fault of some one, they never received any pay.

During this time General Atkinson arrived with the troops from Jefferson Barracks, having on his way up dispatched a volunteer force under General Dodge from Galena, to proceed by land to the Portage of Wisconsin. When General Atkinson with great difficulty, owing to the low state of the water in the Wisconsin, arrived at the Portage, he met old grey-headed Day-kau-ray with his band, who finding himself surrounded by the volunteers in the rear, and General Atkinson's force of regulars in front, and a company of volunteers from Green Bay, concluded to disclaim any unfriendly feelings towards the United States, and disavowed any connection with the murders on the Mississippi. Gen. Atkinson, on these assurances of Day-kau-ray, returned, but ordered the occupation of Fort Crawford by two companies of troops. Notwithstanding these murders of our citizens and movements of troops, the wise men at Washington, with about as much judgment as they generally decide upon Indian affairs, decided that this was not an Indian war.

After the people had taken possession of the fort, and before the arrival of General Cass, Indians were seen in the village, and a guard was sent out to take them and bring them to the fort. They made no resistance, but surrendered themselves, and were brought to the guard-house. One proved to be the famous Red Bird, who headed the party that murdered Gagnier and Lipcap; another was Wah-wah-peck-ah, the Indian I had met up the Wisconsin river, and whose conduct had so much alarmed me and my men; the other was a young Indian whose name I do not recollect. There being no charge of crime against Wah-wah-peck-ah and the young Indian, after the United States troops were sta-

tioned at Fort Crawford, they were discharged; and Red Bird was retained in the guard-house, where he died before he was tried for the murder of Gagnier and Lipcap.

The first Sunday-school established in the place was by my first wife, Mrs. Julianna Lockwood. Mrs. Lockwood was raised among the Presbyterians or Congregationalists of New England, and early imbibed the strong prejudices of those people against the Roman Catholics, but afterwards, having lived in Canada two or three years, and having become intimately acquainted with several ladies of that faith, who were apparently good pious people, she concluded that there were good and bad among all sects or denominations calling themselves Christians, and her early prejudices in a great measure wore off. We were married in the summer of the year 1824, and came to Prairie du Chien in the autumn. There was not at that time any church or meeting to attend on Sunday. Even the Roman Catholics had a priest visit them only occasionally, and Mrs. Lockwood having been accustomed to see the children collected in Sunday-schools, and seeing a large number playing about the streets on the sabbath, concluded it would be doing them a good service to gather them into a Sunday-school, and proposed to Miss Crawford, a young lady raised in the place, who spoke English and French fluently, and who had a good common education, to assist her. To this she agreed at once, and they influenced Dr. Edwin James,* surgeon of the U. S. army, then stationed at Fort Crawford, and John H. Kinzie, Esq., formerly of Chicago, then quite a young man, in the employment of the American Fur Company at Prairie du Chien, to assist them. They collected the children, and commenced their school in the spring of 1825, and continued it until the winter following, but not without opposition. As this measure did not originate with Mr. Rolette, he felt bound to oppose it. He took what he thought would be the most effectual mode of

* Dr. James accompanied Maj. Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1819-'20, of which he wrote a Narrative, published in 1823, in three volumes; and, in 1830, appeared Tanner's Indian Narrative, of which he was the editor. L. C. D.

suppressing it, by going to the mothers of the children who attended the school, and representing to them that it was the design to make Protestants of the children. To counteract Mr. ROLETTE, they introduced and taught the children the Roman Catholic catechism, finding nothing to their minds very objectionable in it; and, as I said before, they continued their school until winter, during which time Dr. JAMES was ordered to some other post. In the spring of 1826, my wife and myself went to New York; Miss CRAWFORD accompanied us as far as Mackinaw, where she remained until she was married. Mr. KINZIE went also to Mackinaw, during which time he received an appointment in the Indian department, under Gov. CASS, and went to Detroit to reside. The Sunday-school was not again resumed, nor was one again attempted in the place until about 1830, when the members of the different religious denominations united in forming the Union Sunday-School. This continued a few years, until the Methodists becoming by far the most numerous class, assumed the management of it, since which time they have claimed it as a Methodist Sunday-School.

When the fifth regiment of U. S. Infantry came into the country in 1819, and established their head-quarters at the mouth of the St. Peter's River, they brought with them a man by the name of JOHN MARSH, a graduate of some eastern college, as teacher of the post school at head-quarters. He appeared to have a great fondness for the Sioux Indians, and was endowed with the faculty of acquiring languages with great facility; he soon learned the Sioux language, so that he spoke it with as great ease as they did themselves. Getting tired of teaching an army school, he came down to Prairie du Chien in 1826, and went over to Green Bay, and either went to Detroit, or somewhere met Gov. CASS, who was much interested in getting Indian information, traditions, anecdotes, tales, &c. He employed MARSH by the month for that purpose, and procured for him the appointment of Sub-Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, and appointed him Justice of the Peace for the county of Crawford.

Some of his decisions were almost equal to those of Judge Reaume of Green Bay. He was in the practice of taking notes for collection, and issuing process on them. Some person sent him a note to collect from Green Bay against Benjamin Roy. Now there were two men in the country of that name, one resided at the Portage of Wisconsin, and the other was in the employ of the American Fur Company at Prairie du Chien. Neither of them could write his name. The note was signed with a mark, and witnessed by a man who wrote his name, and the witness had gone into the Black River country to winter. Marsh believing that the Roy that was here was the man, issued process and had him brought before him, but he denied any knowledge of the note; but Marsh, satisfied that he was the person who gave it, rendered judgment against him for the amount, and said he would examine the witness when he came down in the spring. Col. Dousman hearing of this decision, went to Marsh and told him that if he proceeded any farther in the case, he would report him to Gov. Cass. That ended the proceeding.

In 1830, a party of Sauks and Foxes killed some Sioux, on or about the head-waters of Red Cedar River, in the now State of Iowa; and, the same season, a band of Fox Indians, who resided about where Dubuque now is, had occasion to visit Prairie du Chien on business with the Agent, whom they had previously informed that they would arrive on a certain day. An Indian called the Kettle was their chief. It was generally believd that John Marsh gave the Sioux information of the coming of the Foxes, and of the time they were expected; and on the morning of the day appointed for the arrival of the Foxes at Prairie du Chien, a small war party of young Sioux made their appearance here, and joined by a few of the Menomonee young men, proceeded down the Mississippi to the lower end of the Prairie du Pierreaux, some twelve or fifteen miles below Prairie du Chien, where a narrow channel of the Mississippi runs close to that end of the prairie, fringed with small trees, bushes and grass. They knew the custom of the Indians in going up stream to avail themselves

of all such side channels, as there was less current in them than in the broad river; and secreting themselves among the bushes, trees and grass, awaited their unsuspecting victims. When the Foxes came within point blank shot, they all fired upon them, killing their chief KETTLE and several others. The Foxes finding their chief killed, returned down the river to carry the news of their misfortunes to the tribe, while the Sioux and Menomonees returned home with the tidings of their victory, and to dance over it. They passed through Prairie du Chien, and remained a short time here, but for some unaccountable reason, no notice whatever was taken of it.

The signs of several war parties of the Foxes were reported to have been seen on the opposite side of the river during the year; but they effected nothing until sometime, I think, in June, 1831, when a considerable number of Menomonees had collected at Prairie du Chien, and encamped on an island near the eastern shore of the Mississippi, about one-fourth of a mile from the old Fort Crawford. They had obtained whiskey enough for all to get socially drunk upon—and it is rare to find a Menomonee who will not get drunk when he has a chance; and they had carried their revels far into the night, until men, women and children were beastly drunk. About two hours before day, a Fox war party, that had been watching their movements, fell upon them in that helpless state, and killed about thirty of them. By this time, some of the more sober of them were aroused, and commenced firing upon the Foxes, who fled down the river, pursued a short distance by the Menomonees.

THOMAS P. BRUNETT, the Sub Indian Agent, was sleeping with me in my store, and it being very warm weather, we had made a bed of blankets on the counter, when about two hours before daylight, we were awakened by the cries of a Menomonee woman at the store door. We let her in, when she told us of the disaster to the Menomonees. Mr. BURNETT took my horse and went to inform General STREET, the Indian Agent, who lived about four

miles above this, and who arrived about day-light, and gave the first information to the fort. Although there had been a great firing of guns and hallooing among the Indians, the sentinels had reported nothing of it to the officers; but on hearing of the affair, the commandant immediately dispatched a company of men in boats after the Foxes, but they did not overtake them. The Government demanded of the Sauks to deliver up the perpetrators of this deed. The Foxes fled to the Sauks, and their chief, KETTLE, being dead, they remained among and amalgamated with them, and have not since continued a separate nation or tribe. I have always believed this to be the origin of the Black Hawk war.—There were, I suppose, other causes of discontent, but I believe that this transaction was the immediate cause of the movements of Black Hawk.

In 1830, the present Fort Crawford was commenced, and, in 1831, it was occupied with a part of the troops, leaving the sick in the old hospital, and the surgeon in the old fort. The fort, I think, was finished in 1832. In 1833, the authorities of Crawford county concluded to build a court house and jail, and commenced raising funds by increasing the taxes; and, in 1836, constructed a stone building of sufficient size to have on the ground floor a room each for criminals and debtors, and two rooms for the jailer, with a court room and two jury rooms on the second floor. The taxable inhabitants then in the county were confined to the Prarie. We were then attached to Michigan Territory, and so well were our county affairs managed, that the taxes were not raised more than five mills on a dollar to pay for this improvement; and this was the first court house erected in Wisconsin.

Sometime in 1827 or '28, the Chief Justice of the county and one of the Associate Justices having removed away, I presume application was made to Governor CASS—I do not know how it was, as I was absent from the last of July, 1827, to the summer of 1829; and JOSEPH ROLETTÉ was appointed Chief Justice, and JEAN BRUNET Associate Justice. When THOMAS P. BURNETT ar-

rived here, in 1830, he found the court so different from what he had been accustomed to, that he at once decided that he could not practice before one organized as ours then was, and made representations of their proceedings to the Governor, reporting some decisions, and sending a petition requesting their removal, and the appointment of General Joseph M. Street* as Chief Justice, and myself and Hercules L. Dousman as Associates. These removals and appointments were accordingly made. Mr. Michael Brisbois, the other Associate Judge, became blind in 1829, and, I believe, died in 1837, and by his son, at his request, was buried on a prominent bluff back of Prairie du Chien.

Joseph Rolette, of whom I have so often spoken, was a Canadian by birth, of French extraction, and an educated man. He told me he was educated for the Roman Catholic church, but not liking the profession, he quit it and served a regular apprenticeship to mercantile business, and, about the year 1804, came to Prairie du Chien in business connection with Mr. Cameron,† an old Indian trader who usually resided at Lac-qui-Parle on the St. Peter's River. Mr. Rolette superintended the business at the Prairie, and kept the books of the concern; wintering occasionally at, and in the vicinity of Lake Pepin, and returning to Prairie du Chien early in the spring, to take advantage of the spring trade of the Indians visiting here. Mr. Rolette was an active merchant and trader, and I suppose would be called a clever merchant; that is, he was active in taking every advantage of his neighbor for making money, without regard to the morality of the transaction. Although he was active in business, and

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* Gen. Street migrated from Richmond, Va., in the winter of 1805-'06, to Frankfort, Ky., where he soon engaged in the publication of the *Western World*, and for several years took a conspicuous part in the gladiatorial field of Kentucky politics. Appointed, in 1828, to the Indian Agency at Prairie du Chien, he was there during the Black Hawk war, and that captured chief was surrendered to him by One-Eyed-Day-Kau-ray and party; and he died on the Des Moines River, Iowa, while Agent for the Sauks and Foxes, May 5th, 1840, at about the age of sixty years. L. C. D.

† From the Annals of the Minnesota Historical Society, we learn that Cameron had his trading post towards the sources of the Minnesota; that he was a shrewd and daring Scotchman, and died in 1811; and the spot where he was buried, on the Upper Minnesota, is known to this day as *Cameron's Grave*. Murdoch Cameron left behind him a name of much celebrity in the North-West. L. C. D.

used every exertion to make money, it was not with the miserly disposition of hoarding it, for he was equally liberal in scattering it. Among many bad qualities as a citizen, Mr. Rolette yet possessed many redeeming traits. He was hospitable and generous, and liberal to the poor, and where a man had met with loss by accident, he was generally one of the first to afford relief; and, for an Indian trader, he had considerable enterprise for the prosperity and improvement of the country. I believe that he introduced the first swine into the country, but am not sure that such is the fact; I know that he introduced the first sheep, and that he was much imposed on in the purchase. He bargained with an American below this on the Mississippi, to deliver him a certain number of ewes at the Prairie. The man brought the number of sheep, and told him they were according to contract, and Mr. Rolette knowing very little about sheep, counted them and directed his man to take them to his farm, and paid for them agreeably to contract, and after a while some one examined them, and found that instead of ewes they were nearly all wethers.

About 1840, a man by the name of Manhan, who was a tanner and currier, came to this place, and proposed to set up his business here, but not having the necessary means, Mr. Rolette advanced them to him; but it turned out a poor adventure. I must here relate an anecdote of Rolette. His ambition was always to be ahead of me in everything. I think that some time in 1823, I mentioned to some person that I thought a distillery would do well at the Prairie, and that I would introduce some rye; and if I could induce the French to raise it on the front of their farms that were sandy, I would build a distillery, but wished to get the rye growing first. Mr. Rolette hearing of my suggestion, concluded at once that he would build a distillery; and in going to Mackinaw, he fell in with a man by the name of Curtis, who had been a captain in the army, and had been cashiered by court-martial, and being without means of support, was ready for almost anything. He persuaded Mr. Rolette, that he was a

scientific man, and could do almost anything, and especially was well acquainted with distilling. Mr. Rolette engaged him, and brought him to the Prairie, in 1824; but as the distillery was not yet built, Mr. Rolette employed him as a teacher in his family, for which he was very well qualified. During this time Mr. Rolette ordered and received the coppers and other apparatus for his distillery. For some reason, the building of the distillery was delayed until the spring of 1828, when a man by the name of Giapon, a Canadian by birth, clerk of our circuit court, and fond of a joke, told Mr. Rolette one day, that I would make him build a distillery; that I had only to say that I was going to build one, and he would be certain to immediately do so. It was not true that I had ever said so to Giapon, but Mr. Rolette soon after sent his coppers and other apparatus to St. Louis, and nothing more was heard of the distillery.

It was so well understood that Mr. Rolette would oppose any measure that he did not introduce, that when I wished to carry out any object without opposition, that I considered for the public good, I would get some person to go to Mr. Rolette and tell him that I was going to introduce such a measure, and I would soon after hear that Mr. Rolette was going to do the same thing. I would of course second him and we would get along without any difficulty. Mr. Rolette was evidently the first man of this little village when he came to the country, and some may say that in representing his foibles, I have maliciously taken advantage of him, as he cannot now answer for himself. As we were for several years opposing candidates for the rank and consideration of the first man of our little village, and were rival Indian traders, I have introduced our respective names only when necessary to elucidate the events in the history of the region of Prairie du Chien.

Col. Hercules L. Dousman came to the Prairie in the autumn of 1827, in the employ of the American Fur Company, and has ever since steadily pursued what he appeared to have most taste

for, the accumulation of wealth, until at this time he is considered very wealthy.

In speaking of the early settlers, and their marriage connections, I should perhaps explain a little. In the absence of religious instructions, and it becoming so common to see the Indians use so little ceremony about marriage, the idea of a verbal matrimonial contract became familiar to the early French settlers, and they generally believed that such a contract of marriage was valid without any other ceremony. Many of the women, married in this way, believed, in their simplicity and ignorance, that they were as lawfully the wives of the men they lived with, as though they had been married with all the ceremony and solemnity possible. A woman of Prairie du Chien, respectable in her class, told me that she was attending a ball in the place, and that a trader, who resided on the Lower Mississippi, had his canoe loaded to leave as soon as the ball was over, proposed to marry her; and as he was a trader and ranked above her, she was pleased with the offer, and as his canoe was in waiting, he would not delay for further ceremony. She stepped from the ball-room on board his canoe, and went with him down the Mississippi, and they lived together three or four years, and she had two children by him. She assured me that she then believed herself as much the wife of this man as if she had been married with all the ceremony of the most civilized communities, and was not convinced to the contrary, until he unfeelingly abandoned her, and married another; and from her manner of relating it, I believed her sincere.

In 1816, at the time of my advent to Wisconsin, the Menomonees inhabited the country about Green Bay, and their women occasionally married Winnebagoes, but not often. The Menomonees are a quiet and peaceful race, well disposed, and have always, since their acquaintance, been friendly to the whites. Tomah, the acting chief of the nation, was highly spoken of by all the traders as a great and good man. It was related to me by some of the traders at that period, I believe it was Judge Lawe, that at

the time of the general combination of the Indians under PONTIAC, in 1763, for the destruction of all the English in the western country, the Menomonees under their chief TOMAH, went to the officer in command of the British fort at Green Bay, consisting of about twenty men, and informed him of the plot for their destruction, in common with other garrisons, but if he would abandon the fort, and he and his men surrender up their arms, that he, TOMAH, and his people would conduct them safely to Montreal. The officers and men yielded up their arms to TOMAH, except Sergeant NOBLES, who declared that he would never surrender his gun to an Indian, and was finally allowed to retain it All were safely conveyed in canoes to Montreal; and Sergeant NOBLES, for his fearless conduct, though he could not be promoted, having a family, he was favored with a discharge, and engaging in his trade of a shoemaker, eventually became wealthy. But as I see no special mention made of it in Lieutenant GORRELL'S Journal of those times, published in the first volume of Collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society, I conclude there must be some mistake about it.*

The principal villages of the Winnebagoes were at the lower and upper end of the lake of that name, with an occasional lodge along the Fox river. At the season that traders generally passed the Portage of Wisconsin, they would find old grey headed DAY-

* This tradition, judging from GORRELL'S Journal and PARKMAN'S History of the Conspiracy of PONTIAC, cannot be regarded as reliable. It is certain that Lieut. GORRELL and his men made no surrender of themselves or arms, and that the Menomonees and others, conducted them to the village of L'Arbre Croche, in the region of Mackinaw, whence the Menomonees returned to Green Bay. But this tradition serves to confirm us in the belief, that TOMAH or CARRON was much older than represented by the inscription on his tomb-stone, and that he was a man of consequence during the border wars of 1755 to 1763. In GORRELL'S Journal, referring to the events of 18th May, 1763, he speaks thus: "The Chiefs [of the Menomonees] were much displeased at CARROY'S getting a present from Mr. GODDARD of a fine suit of embroidered clothes. This CARROY was much thought of by the French." This refers undoubtedly to the noble TOMAH or CARRON; and we hope hereafter to be able to prepare, for some future volume of the Society's Collections, a more extended and detailed account of his life and character than has yet been given. What was recorded of him in our last year's Report and Collections, excited general interest in the history of this brave and generous chief. His nobleness and generosity of character reflect real honor on the Indian race, and on the Menomonees especially; and it should be the pride and pleasure of our Historical Society to spare no pains to search out and garner up every fact extant, illustrative of the career of so truly great and worthy a Wisconsin chieftain. L. C. D.

Kau-ray at the Portage with his band. Their village was a short distance from there up the Wisconsin, and the Winnebagoes had villages up the Manois [?] and on the Baraboo Rivers, and several small ones along down the Wisconsin to near its mouth. They were estimated at that time by the traders best acquainted with them, to be about nine hundred warriors strong. Of the Day-Kau-rays, there were four or five brothers, who were all influential men in the nation, and I knew one sister who had a family of children by a trader named Lecuyer, who had married her after the Indian manner. Tradition says that their father was a French trader, who during the time the French had possession of the country, married a Winnebago woman, the daughter of the principal chief of the nation, by whom he had these sons and daughter; that at the time the country was taken possession of by the English, he abandoned them, and they were raised among the Indians, and being the descendants of a chief on the mother's side, when arrived at manhood they assumed the dignity of their rank by inheritance. They were generally good Indians, and frequently urged their claims to the friendship of the whites, by saying they were themselves half white.*

I suppose that having been so long among the Indians, it will be expected that I should give some account of their manners, customs, religious ceremonies, &c.; but of the Indians who inhabit Wisconsin, I can say very little. The Indians who visit a trading post like Prairie du Chien, are generally seen in their worst state, and I always had such a dislike to the Winnebagoes, that I never sought to learn their language, or much of their customs or ceremonies. The Indians with whom I am most familiar are the Sioux, with whom I spent three winters in their own country, where I saw many Indians who had never seen any

* Mrs. Kinzie conveys the idea, that they boasted of a remote cross of French blood in some former generation; that they possessed remarkably handsome features, and their mother was living as late as 1831, then supposed to be over one hundred years of age. Mrs. Kinzie designates one of the Day-Kau-rays as a "grand old chief"—the same doubtless, mentioned by Judge Lockwood; and another, his very antipodes, was not inappropriately called *Rascal* Day-Kau-ray; and the One-Eyed Day-Kau-ray was distinguished for the part he took in the capture of Black Hawk. L. C. D.

white men, except occasionally a trader. But none of the Sioux have ever resided within the limits of our State, although they were at one time included within the Territory of Wisconsin, when what is now Iowa and Minnesota formed a part of that Territory. Of them I will endeavor to give some account.

And, firstly, of their marriages. When a young Indian desires to marry, he invites his relatives, who are near or in camp, to a feast, and informs them that he wishes a certain girl for his wife. If they are in favor of the match, they immediately collect goods and suitable articles for a present to the relations of the desired one. One gives a gun, another a blanket, and another a kettle or horse, as they may happen to possess at the time. When the collection is completed, some of the relatives carry the presents to the lodge of the father of the young woman; one of them expressing in song the object for which they are intended, and leave the things at the door and retire. If the father is favorably disposed to the match, he invites all his relatives that are near to a feast, and when assembled, if they conclude to give the girl in marriage to the young man, each takes of the articles such as he can return in kind; for instance, if one can return a gun, horse, kettle, blanket or other articles, he takes such an article; and presents in this way are made up by the relatives of the desired bride, generally of the same kind of articles they have received, and taken, together with herself, to the lodge of the young man with singing, &c. After which she returns again to the lodge of her father, where they usually reside, the son-in-law hunting for the father-in-law until about the time the oldest child can walk, after which he generally gets a lodge for himself. A small apartment is petitioned off in the lodge of the father-in-law for the young couple. The young man generally during the day is out hunting, and seldom visits the lodge of his bride until the others have gone to sleep, when he crawls into the lodge. There is no familiarity between the parents of the bride and their son-in-law. If he is ever in their presence, he appears ashamed, and seldom speaks to them. If he wants to communicate to them, it is done through

his wife; and if he happens to be in a trader's house, and either father or mother-in-law enters, he generally retires. Such is Sioux etiquette between these relations.

Of births. As soon as a child is born, the mother goes into the water, and stands in it over her waist, and bathes herself for some considerable length of time. If in winter, she has a hole cut in the ice, through which she enters and bathes.

Deaths and burials. When a person dies, the body is decorated in all of his or her finery, and four forks or crotches are cut and stuck in the ground, upon which a scaffold is made, and the deceased wrapped in a newly painted buffalo skin or new blanket, and laid thereon with some ceremony. If the death takes place at a trader's house in the fall before they go to their hunt, an old woman, a relative of the deceased, is left there to feed and cry over the dead during the absence of the others. She usually goes about dark in the evening with a dish of provisions, and sits down under the scaffold, and commences crying and howling, with loud lamentations, and calling upon the Great Spirit something as follows: *Wah kaw-tong-gaw, oh she mendok* (naming the deceased) with other cries, which mean—Great Spirit, have mercy on the deceased, &c. This doleful noise is very unpleasant, and after continuing it for about an hour, she leaves the dish of food under the scaffold, and returns to the lodge, and the dogs or wolves eat the provisions, when the Indians suppose the dead eat them. The corpse is left in this manner until nothing remains but the bones, when they are collected and carried to their village. At one time at my house in St. Peters, an Indian of some note, who had four grown daughters, had a death in his family, and he named four young men to build the scaffold and put the corpse thereon, and when concluded, he rewarded each with one of his daughters for a wife.

When a death happens in a family, no matter how well they are clothed, the good clothes are stripped off and given away, and the worst old leather rags substituted in their place, besmear-

ing their hair, hands and face with dirt, leaving the hair uncombed to mat with the dirt, gashing their legs and arms, and leaving them to get well without the least attention. Some of them carry their grief so far as to raise the skin of their arms and pierce holes with their knives, and put pegs through. They continue their mourning about a year, although by giving a feast and performing certain ceremonies they can be relieved from their mourning in a much less time.

Religious superstitions, &c. Wawkaw, in their language, signifies a spirit or spiritual. The French have interpreted or rendered it medicine, but the Indians call the Great Spirit or God WAW-KAW TONG-GAW, the latter part signifying *great*. The devil they call WAW-KAW-SHE-COH, the latter part signifying *bad*. It is difficult to get an Indian to talk on the subject of his religious belief, but my interpreter, who was a half breed, informed me that they believe, that the great Good Spirit resides in a beautiful country of good hunting ground, and where there is everything in abundance that an Indian can desire, even a plurality of beautiful wives. But to get there, they must be good Indians in this world, and perform all their duties well as hunters, warriors, &c.; that on the way to this happy land, there is a deep gulf to pass, with a very narrow way to cross it, and that only the good can successfully pass over; that the bad, in attempting to pass, fall off into the gulf, and wander about in a starving condition. They are very particular in performing their religious rites by feasts, sacrifices, &c. The first fruits gathered are set apart for the purpose of a spiritual or holy feast; the first corn or wild rice of the season, the first duck or goose killed when they appear in the spring, are all reserved for the feast; at which those Indians only who are entitled to wear the badge of having slain an enemy, are invited. The women, and those who have never taken the scalp of a foe, no matter how hungry, are never invited to participate. You will see boys of sixteen or eighteen years of age at the feast, while old gray-headed men are excluded with the women,

and looked upon as old women, which is a term of great reproach among them. We cannot then wonder, that the Indian tribes are so constantly at war, as it is the only thing that gives them fame and consequence among themselves. I was told of a tradition of the Sioux, that in ancient times a man could not get a wife until he had killed an enemy. The mother trains her sons to believe that revenge upon their enemies is a cardinal virtue, and this advice and admonition are constantly instilled into their minds.

From early infancy they believe in minor evil spirits, and in ghosts who operate upon, and influence them. While sleeping in a camp of Indians in the night, you will frequently be awakened by the firing of guns, and enquiring the cause, you will be told they are shooting the dead that trouble them. Over-loading their stomachs, as they often do, they are no doubt frequently troubled with the night-mare, and imagine that they are attacked by a ghost, and get up and shoot at their supposed intruder. They have also their doctors and astrologers, who are well paid for their services. When a person is sick, they send for a doctor, who gets his pay in advance. He then commences shaking over the sick his gourd, which has in it some beads to make it rattle, until he finds out what is the matter with his patient, which he generally discovers is, that some beast, fish or bird has got into the body of the patient, which by shaking his rattle, signing, and other necromancy, he causes to depart. Previously to driving out the unwelcome intruder, he cuts its figure or likeness out of birch bark, and places it in front of the door of the lodge, with two young men situated so to fire at it from different directions at a given signal, who generally blow it into pieces. If this operates upon the mind of the patient so that he recovers, it is well; if not, there is some mistake about it—the animal was not killed, or some evil spirit operates against him. So they try it over again, and probably continue to do so for months, until the patient recovers or dies; in which latter case, they have always good reasons to show why the patient did not recover.

They have some few specifics, which they sometimes administer, but their art consists mostly in necromancy. They cure wounds generally sooner than most surgeons, because they suck them, and thus keep them clean from all matter. It is also the business of the doctor to suck clean any old sore that he undertakes to cure, no matter how filthy or disgusting, even venereal disorders and sore eyes; I have seen the doctor pretend by sucking to draw from sore eyes small bits of straw, &c.; and, according to their theory, as in most other complaints, some animal, bird, fish or reptile has inflicted the disease.

The father in-law of my interpreter, was an Indian doctor among the Sioux. I recollect hearing the old man the most part of a day singing and shaking his gourd rattle in his lodge; after which he came into the house, and sat down looking very serious and thoughtful. His son, over thirty years of age, had sore eyes, and he was endeavoring to effect a cure. He said, that nearly thirty years before, when his son was a very small boy, he had fastened a pin to a stick, and was amusing himself one day spearing minnows, and that he thus pricked one with his pin-spear; and that it was strange, that the fish, after so long a time, should come to seek revenge on his son's eyes.

Their sooth-sayer or spiritual man after sweating alone in a small lodge and singing, pretends to foretell events, as when certain friends will arrive, or when the buffalo will come into that neighborhood, or when some other expected event will happen, and should it fail they will explain it by saying, that the little spirit lied to them, an image of which each one of these jugglers carries in his holy or medicine bag. An Indian in a pious fit hangs on a tree a beaver or otter skin, bear or dressed deer skin, for a sacrifice to the Great Spirit, which remains there until destroyed, or until some other Indian passes that way, wants and takes it, leaving a piece of tobacco in place thereof, which he may lawfully do. On the Prairie are often found isolated granite rocks, which, from their isolated and scattered appearance are consider-

ed holy, and every Indian who passes them, either paints them with vermillion, or leaves a piece of tobacco as a tribute to the Great Spirit. Hence the great number of places in this country, where the Sioux were accustomed to pass, that bear the name of Painted Rock.

I have frequently been told by French *voyageurs*, traders, and interpreters, of the ceremonies performed by some juggler, in going into his little holy lodge, to consult with the Great Spirit. After having fasted a while, he strips himself naked, and goes into the lodge alone; and soon after entering, the poles of the lodge commence shaking violently, and those without hear two or three distinct voices within. After this has continued about two or three hours, the juggler comes out of the lodge in a high state of perspiration; during the time of the ceremonies in the lodge, the jingling of bells and other musical instruments is heard, as though they were attached to poles of the tent or lodge, and my informers generally believed that the Indians had communications with the Devil. It so happened, that I never witnessed one of these scenes.

The Sioux have a feast which is calculated, in their estimation, to preserve their women from all illicit connections. It is after this manner: The young Indians, like some young white men, are in the practice of vaunting of having gained some advantage over some frail one of their tribe. When a woman, either married or single, learns that she has been slandered in this way, she selects a spot, clears away the bushes and rubbish, builds a fire, puts the kettle on, makes a circle around it, and near one end of the fire, places a stone painted with vermillion; and when everything is properly prepared, she sends the crier of the camp around to give notice of it. He performs this duty by going through the camp, singing in as loud a voice as he possibly can, that such a woman, announcing her name, will give her feast that day, stating the name or object of the feast, and inviting all to attend. All the women of the camp are usually present on

such occasions; if any one is absent, it is strongly suspected that she dare not come, for fear of being exposed. When assembled on the ground, the hostess of the feast heads the ring formed by the women, and marches around until she reaches the painted stone, which she touches reverently, thereby solemnly protesting her innocence.

Some Indian, the while, stands on some slight elevation, and harangues the young men, telling them if any of these women are unworthy to partake of this feast of the virtuous, to fail not to expose them. The young men pride themselves upon every exposure it is in their power to make; so that a woman who is unworthy dare not be present, unless she happens certainly to know that her guilty paramour is so far away that he cannot be there. If a woman, not worthy to partake of the feast is so bold as to venture there, the Indian who says she is not worthy, goes and takes her by the arm, and leads her out, asking her before the whole assemblage, if she does not remember such a time and place, which he specifies. It is thought that they seldom falsely accuse, as they believe that if they do so, the Great Spirit would be angry, and visit them with some dire calamity.

Their feasts. With Indians, a man who gives feasts is popular and well spoken of, and has plenty of pretended friends, precisely as with the white man who often gives good dinner and other parties. They have their holy or sacred feasts, where the guests know, when they are invited, of what they are to partake; and as they pride themselves upon the quantity they can eat, each carries with him the sized dish which he supposes he can eat full. The master of the feast, not eating himself, serves the others, singing and shaking his gourd-rattle all the time. Nothing of this food must fall to the ground. Each guest's dish is filled, and he must eat it himself, or pay some one else to eat it for him; and frequently in attempting to devour what has been put in their dish, they eat until they vomit it back again into the dish, as nothing is allowed to fall upon the ground, and some one must be

hired to eat it for them. They have been known to gormandize to that extent, that on leaving the feast they have fallen down dead; but even then, the survivors will not admit that it was over-eating that killed them. After the feast is over, the dishes and kettle are carefully wiped out with grape or evergreen boughs. They accustom their sons, when children, to eat a great deal, and frequently stuff them, when very young, with raccoon oil, to expand their stomachs, and often boast of their feats in eating.

The dog feast. The Sioux Indians, and I believe it is true of all others, consider that the greatest compliment they can pay a stranger, is to give him a dog feast. And this intended compliment constitutes the burthen of the speech of the giver of the feast, or the master of ceremonies. The traders are generally invited to these feasts. I have tasted dog meat; it is like pork, only it has a sweeter taste; those who can get over the prejudice against such meat, become very fond of it, but my prejudice was too strong ever to be able to relish it.

I think the Indians understand the art of flattery as well as any people in the world. When I concluded to enter into business for myself, there were several Indians of influence from about the mouth of the St. Peter's River, and of the Gens de Feuille or Leaf Nation from the Little Rapids on the St. Peters, who had wintered in my neighborhood, and came to my house in the spring. I agreed with these Indians to meet me at my wintering house in the fall, with as many of their tribes as they could persuade to come up, that I would have a large cargo of goods, and would fit them out to go across to the head of the Mississippi to hunt. According to agreement, I met them in the fall, with two Mackinaw boat loads of goods, and found on my arrival, about three thousand Indians of the Yankton, Sissiton, Gens de Lac, Gens de Feuille, and other Sioux bands, encamped about it, and they received me with a grand salute, each man having a gun, firing with ball over the boat, so that we could hear the

balls whistle nearer than was agreeable to us. They had prepared several lodges together, so as to make one great lodge of at least twenty feet, across the middle of which they had made a wall of dried buffalo meat,* and had made a dog feast, to which they invited me. The customary speech on such occasions was made, as usual; saying that this feast was designed as the greatest compliment they could pay me, and then added: Your Father must be a great man to send out one so young as you, with so many goods, and we hope you will be very charitable, and furnish us with plenty of clothing to keep ourselves, women and children warm, and with plenty of ammunition with which to hunt, etc. To all which I replied, that unfortunately my father was a poor man, and I was a poor boy, and that I had got these goods on credit to supply their wants, and that unless they hunted well and loaded my boats with furs, I should not be able to pay for these goods, and get more to come back again; but that I would furnish them with clothing to keep them warm, and with arms, traps and ammunition to keep them from starving, and hoped they would hunt well and pay me, so that I could get more goods and continue to trade with them. I took to my house the meat presented, and made them payment in suitable presents of ammunition, etc.†

An Indian thinks it politeness to eat everything that is set before him, and when traders are invited to a feast, what they do not eat, they generally carry home with them in the dish and give it to their men, and send back the dish with a piece of tobacco in it.

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* The manner of drying the buffalo meat is this: They take each side and the belly, and cut and spread them out thin, so that they will thoroughly dry through; when fully extended, this makes a sheet of about the size of a deer skin, and when dried they fold them up as they do their deer skins, and pack them into bundles. J. H. L.

† It is proverbial, with all acquainted with the Indians, that to receive presents from them is by far the most expensive way of obtaining their desirable commodities, as the trader not only has to pay back the full value of the articles, but also something clever in addition for the compliment of the present. It is not uncommon for a Yankton chief to make a present to the trader of all the buffalo robes he brings, and after he has received in return all they are really worth, together with something for the compliment, he remembers a great many little articles, naming them, of which he is in want; and if not gratified, he is offended, or pretends to be so. Though it is, in Indian etiquette, an insult to refuse a present, I have often done so, and advised the Indian that he had better trade them in the usual way. J. H. L.

I have seen generous ladies residing in the neighborhood of the Indian country, when visited by Indians, set food before them and keep renewing the supply, and wondering at the Indians eating so much, whereas they considered themselves bound in politeness to eat all that was set before them.

When Indians become too old and infirm to travel, they build a fire near water, and giving them some provisions and generally a small kettle, leave them to take care of themselves. Many children from exposure and learning them to be great eaters, die in infancy. The practice of leaving the aged to die, applies more particularly to migratory bands on the plains. Indians living about lakes and rivers, where they have canoes, I do not think ever expose them thus, at least I never heard of an instance.

You never see a Sioux Indian, if he is in company, smoke alone. The pipe is lighted and he takes a whiff or two himself, and passes it to his neighbor, always passing it around with the sun. When several are assembled together, you will see a number of pipes going the rounds in the same manner. Their principal subjects of conversation at these times, are their wars, feasts, hunting and their women. A man may have as many wives as he can maintain among the Yanktons ; the more he has, the better he is off, as they can dress and prepare the more buffalo robes for market. If an Indian marries the eldest daughter, he is entitled to take the others, as they come to maturity, for wives. But those who do not live in the buffalo range, content themselves generally with two, and many of them with one. I knew one Yankton chief who had six.

When the Sioux women have their *menses*, they are looked upon as unholy and unclean, and are not allowed to remain in the lodge with the family, but are obliged to build a small lodge outside of the other, and remain alone during the time of its continuance, fed in a dish by one of the family, and not allowed, during the time, to enter the family lodge, or touch anything, except the dish in which their food is handed to them, until the

menstrual discharges cease, and they are washed up. When a maiden arrives at womanhood, and has made her first out-of-door lodge, the public crier goes through the camp or village, and announces the fact in a loud song.

The Sioux have secret societies, something like freemasonry, but they admit women to membership. They meet in a lodge, which is guarded on the outside from prying curiosity, by one of their members. In this lodge they perform their ceremonies. Any person wishing to join them, makes the application through one of the members, and is then on probation for about a year. If they are bad, they must reform. If, at the end of that period, no objection is made, he is generally admitted; and, I was told, that they have signs by which Indians of that fraternity of different bands know each other. Either after or before their meeting, I do not remember which, they assemble and have a holy dance, which is called by the French, *la danse de la grande medecine*, as the French translate all their spiritual or juggling proceedings into medicine. At this dance, among other ceremonies, after dancing and singing awhile, one of their number takes a garnished sac, usually made from the otter, and runs at the different members, making some noise, and they generally fall down or over, pretending that it is the effect of spirits from the bag, and lay prostrate for a moment or so, and then rise again, and join in the dance. This dance is generally continued till late in the night.

The amusements of the men are shooting at a mark, or playing at the game of ball, called by the French, *le jeu de crosse*. This is usually played in the summer on some large prairie,* with a stick about two and a half or three feet long, with a small hoop on one end, crossed with net-work of thongs of leather, making a sort of sac, in which they frequently catch the ball. How they count, or their boundaries, I have forgotten. The women amuse themselves by playing at what is termed the dish play, which is

* Prairie La Crosse took its name from this game being frequently played there. J. H. L.

performed by having the pits or stones of plums marked on one side with hieroglyphics, and put into a dish, shook up, and turned out, and the marked ones turning up, count. They are so fond of gambling at this play, that they will sometimes continue at it for several days without cessation, and until one or the other has lost every thing that she can put up for a stake. Women well clothed, having lost every thing else, have been known to strip off their good clothes, and gamble them away, and put on old rags. The men also frequently play at this game, and to the same excess as the women. The men have also another game, called the shoe-play, which is generally played by two parties of four each. Four moccasins are placed between the parties on the floor, and the side that gets the first winnings, hides a piece of wood in one of the moccasins, by running his hand into each of them, in the presence of the others, when one of the opposite party searches for it; if he finds it in the first moccasin that he examines, he looses a certain number, I think ten; but if he finds it in the second or third, it counts twenty for his side, and if in the fourth, a less number. The game tallies at one hundred. They play at this game sometimes as long as they can raise anything to wager.

Indians generally in a state of nature, have no word or gesture of salutation. Those acquainted with the customs of white people, sometimes make use of the French salutation of *bon jour*, on meeting a white man, but seldom on meeting another Indian. I was struck with the meeting of some Sioux Indians the first year I was in their country. When the attack was made on Prairie du Chien under Col. McKay, a son of the Yankton chief called Le Grand Serviteur, happened to be there with the Agent, N. Boilvin, Esq., and embarked on board the keel-boats under command of Captain Yeiser, and went to St. Louis with him, where he was obliged to remain until the war was over; and, in 1816 had got as far back as Prairie du Chien, and as we were then going into his country, we took him into the boat with us.—When arrived in the neighborhood of Lac-qui-Parle, on a cold morning about the first of December, I was awakened from sleep,

and told that there were some Indians on the shore who had made a fire. We disembarked and breakfasted there, and found that the Indians were four Yanktons, the uncles of the young Indian with us. They had come across the country to meet their nephew, who had been absent two and a half years, and previous to their hearing that he was on his way home, they supposed he was dead. The uncles had made a fire and commenced smoking, when the young Indian walked from the boat to where they were, without saying a word to them, or they to him. The lighted pipe was handed to him, when he smoked; and after it had passed around two or three times, they commenced talking slowly, and the conversation at length became general among them.

In almost every Indian camp, they have what is called the soldier's lodge, where the men of consideration of the village assemble to smoke, and talk over the affairs of the nation. An Indian of consideration arriving from another camp, usually goes to this lodge; but if a young man, and not of sufficient distinction to go there, he stands about among the lodges until some one sees that he is a stranger, and invites him to his lodge. On entering, the pipe is handed to him, and after smoking a few whiffs, something is set before him to eat. After he has eaten awhile, conversation is commenced, but no questions are asked previous to his having smoked and eaten. It was sometime before I could learn so much of Indian politeness as to make no inquiry of an Indian arriving, until after the smoking and eating had been attended to. At first I commenced talking to them before this important preliminary, and always found them sulky and obstinate about entering into conversation.

My interpreter, Frenier, told me that some years previous to the war 1812, that he resided at the same place where we were then wintering, in the employ of Mr. Cameron; that Cameron had credited a band of Indians to go on the head waters of some of the streams that empty into the waters of Mississippi in the direction of the Red River of the North; and, that in the month

of February, an Indian runner came from the hunting ground, and informed Cameron that the Indians were so loaded with furs and peltries, that they could not bring them, and suggested to him to send his men to assist them. He sent Frenier with some ten men, in company with the Indian, to the camp. After they had traveled some three or four days, they were overtaken by one of those sudden snow storms that are so frequent in those vast prairies in that high latitude They are often so sudden, and give so little warning of their approach, that you may set out on a prairie on as beautiful a sun-shiny morning as you ever saw in winter, and before noon be enveloped in one of these storms; the snow so fine and thick that you cannot see a rod before you. On this occasion, as Frenier's party could not see any wood or timber, they concluded their safest plan was to stop where they were. Wrapping themselves snugly in their blankets, they all laid down and let the snow cover them, except the Indian, who, having purchased several blankets from the trader, wrapped himself in them, and staid on top of the snow until the storm was over, which lasted three days, when he discovered that it was not more than one fourth of a mile to a point of wood, whither he repaired and kindled a fire. He then made use of a pole, poking through the deep snow, where he recollected to have seen the men lay down, and found them all alive and uninjured, except one man a little frost bitten on the hip.

In 1816, and for years previous, the Yanktons were in the practice of making up war parties and going into the Spanish territory, for the purpose of stealing choice horses and mules. When on a march from place to place, there are warriors on duty to regulate the march according to rules promulgated before their departure; and, if any one infringes on these rules, he is punished by having his gun broken, his dog or horse killed, his lodge cut, or causing him to suffer a penalty in some manner. The chief, or leader of the party, is not exempt from these regulations. Any act of this kind performed by warriors on duty is not revenged,

as they did it in performance of inflexible regulations; but any affront of an individual in his private capacity, is sure to be revenged sooner or later, and the avenger is always known, as it would not be any satisfaction to him if he could not enjoy the credit of it. An instance came under my observation. It is usual for the trader to take to his post as many guns as there are good hunters, who will probably pay for them. These are generally at first distributed to those for whom he may particularly intend them, before he commences giving out other articles. One year, in distributing the guns, my interpreter overlooked a good hunter, while some other not so good a hunter got the gun. This mortified the good hunter, and that night he killed the horse of every man who had received a gun, and it was known the next morning who had done it, and what was the cause. It is common to revenge an insult or injury by killing the offender's horse or dog, and there are, in this way, a great many horses killed every year among the Sioux. And they not only revenge insults or injuries among themselves, but, as the late Col. Robert Dickson, in conversation with me on the subject, expressed it, "*they revenge upon their enemies the acts of the Almighty;*" for, when a chief or man of distinction dies, they commence singing the war song, and raise a war party to revenge his death upon their natural enemies, as well as to appease the troubled manes of the departed.

It is a prevalent opinion among persons not acquainted with Indian customs and polity, that they, like white people, have a king or great chief over all; but such, so far as I am acquainted, is not the case with any Indians in the North West or South West. The government of their tribes or bands is patriarchal. The chiefs, as with politicians who obtain office, are the greatest slaves among them. They get the honor without independence, not being able to do any act of their own will, without first looking to see if it will be popular. If a chief buys a good gun, and one of his young men takes a fancy to it, and expresses a wish for it, it is given to him; if not, probably the chief's horse would pay the forfeit. These bands are generally thus originated: When a

man has five or six sons and several daughters, taking his family he leaves the large band, forms a new camp or settlement, and acts the patriarch or chief; his sons and daughters marrying, bring their wives and husbands to his band, and frequently a brother-in-law accompanies him and remains. Thus the new band multiplies from natural increase and accessions, until it becomes large and respectable. In case of the death of the father, the eldest son assumes the duties of chief, if old enough; if not, one of the brothers of the deceased assumes the office. The chief uses no authority, but advises, and if popular, his advice is followed; if not, each one judges and acts for himself. The only arbitrary authority exercised among Indians, is by the war chief when on the war path, which, I am told, is then absolute. The warriors, when on duty, never correct their children, except by advice, and if they are obstinate and pugnacious, it is laughed at, and looked upon as a sign of bravery.

There was, when I first visited the country, a band of Indians who had their village on a prairie on the west bank of the Mississippi, where the village of Winona, which means *the eldest daughter*, now stands, about one hundred and twenty miles above Prairie du Chien. The chief was called WA-BA-SHAW; he was a very sensible Indian, and was truly one of nature's noblemen.* Although only chief of his band, he had great

*The name of WA-BA-SHAW, the great Sioux chief, will long live in history. He was induced to join the fortunes of the British in the war of 1812-'15, and fought at the seige of Fort Meigs and elsewhere. When peace took place, the Indians were left by their employers in a wretched condition, and, as a consequence, their spirits were broken. Gen. CASS has preserved a speech of WA-BA-SHAW'S, at Drummond's Island, in 1815, when, Col. MCDOWELL, the British commandant of that post, laid a few presents before him. It is touchingly pathetic and eloquent:

"My father," said he to Col. MCDOWELL, "what is this I see before me? A few knives and blankets. Is this all you promised us at the beginning of the war? Where are those promises you made us at Michilimackinac, and sent to our villages on the Mississippi? You told us you would never let fall the hatchet until the Americans were driven beyond the mountains; that our British father would never make peace without consulting his red children. Has that come to pass? We never knew of this peace. We are now told that it was made by our great father beyond the water, without the knowledge of his war-chiefs; that it is your duty to obey his orders. What is this to us? Will these paltry presents pay for the men we have lost, both in battle and on the road? Will they soothe the feelings of our friends? Will they make good your promises to us? For myself, I am an old man. I have lived long, and always found the means of supporting myself, and I can do so still." L. C. D.

influence with the other chiefs. Above Winona was another large band of Indians, who had their village on the west bank of the Mississippi, where the Presbyterian mission now is, a few miles below St. Paul, whose chief was called Little Crow; a man of good sense, and generally considered a good Indian. There was another small band who had their village at Mendota, which signifies *the meeting of the waters*,* whose chief was called Black Dog. He was not a man of much consequence. There was also another small band who had their village a short distance above, whose chief was Po ne-chon, a man of little note. Where the village of Shakopee now is, was an Indian village, whose chief bore that name, which simply means *six*; he possessed a good intellect, but was not popular among the traders, as he was considered very dishonest. At the Little Rapids was another village, called by the French *Gens de Feuille*, or Leaf People. The name of their chief I do not recollect. There was a village of the Sissitons at the Rocher Blanc; above which, I remember no others. The Sissiton and Yankton bands seldom made any regular villages, as they roved from place to place, encamping temporarily for the purpose of hunting, and that mostly among the buffaloes.

Under the most unfavorable auspices have I written these reminiscences. With ill health, suffering a great part of the time with rheumatism and bad eyesight, bordering almost on blindness, I have not been able to prepare this narrative to my own satisfaction, and, I fear not, to the satisfaction of the Society. I have no doubt omitted many things that might have been interesting, but never having kept a journal or notes of events, I was obliged to depend upon memory; and frequently when writing, and having, by a train of reflection, recalled past events to mind, either my rheumatism or my eyes would admonish me that it was time to cease from my labors, and before I could re-commence, I would probably forget the thread of my narrative. Nor have I

* Some of the tribes of the North West give to Mendota the signification of *large* or *great*. L. C. D.

been able to review what I have written. Learning that the Rev. ALFRED BRUNSON had been invited to write a history of Crawford county, and that he intends to comply with the request, I have purposely omitted saying any thing of the events of the county since he settled therein, believing that he will be able to do the subject more justice than I could, even were I in better health than I am, and had all my faculties about me.

APPENDIX NO. 7.

PERSONAL NARRATIVE

OF COL. JOHN SHAW, OF MARQUETTE COUNTY, WISCONSIN. *

I was born May 30th, 1783, in Johnstown, Montgomery county, N. Y. My father's name was COMFORT SHAW, and my grandfather's was DANIEL SHAW, who resided in Stonington, Conn., and was of Scotch descent; and at Stonington my father was born. Soon after the commencement of the Revolutionary war, fired by the patriotism of the times, my father, unable to obtain the permission of his parents to join the American army, ran away at the age of sixteen, and effected the object so near his heart. He had from early life excelled in playing the spirit-stirring fife, and soon received the appointment of Fife-Major, and served several years in that capacity in the army. He was present, and participated in the memorable battles at Saratoga, and was among the first that scaled the enemy's breast works on the 7th of October, 1777. My father was a man of unusual personal activity, and rendered his country long and faithful service in the war of Independence.

Towards the close of 1780, he was united in marriage, at Johnstown, N. Y, with MISS MARY HOLLINBECK, whose father was JOHN HOLLINBECK, a native of Amsterdam, Holland, and who, when a young man, came to America, and settled at Claverack, on the Hudson. He married a New England wife and raised a large family, only one of whom was a son, named after his father.

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* This was dictated by Col. SHAW, and written down by LYMAN C. DRAPER, in the fore part of September, 1855, and may be relied on substantially correct.

This young JOHN HOLLINBECK early migrated to Johnstown, and settled on a farm about three miles nearly east of the village, and took with him his young sister MARY.

I was the second of eight children, all sons, six of whom grew to years of maturity, and two of my brothers, NATHANIEL, of Calhoun county, and COMFORT, of Pike county, Illinois, both forehanded and respectable farmers, yet survive. When three years of age, I one forenoon accompanied my elder brother DANIEL to the village school in Johnstown. A Mr. THROOP, the adopted father of ENOS T. THROOP, since Governor of New York, was the teacher. I was so terrified with his repulsive appearance, having very long eye-brows and a very unpleasant physiognomy, that I could never after be induced to attend school. What little education, therefore, I became possessed of, was obtained by piecemeal, and in a picked-up way. When I was fourteen years of age, my father died, having been four years incapacitated by consumption for labor; and the two eldest boys, DANIEL and I, had all the work to do in order to support the family.

In the spring of 1808, when twenty-five years of age, I resolved to go to the Western country, as my younger brothers had now grown up, and could more than fill my place in providing the family support. I had thought there was no chance to secure a competency in the old settlements, and I had formed an ardent desire to pass the Rocky Mountains, and bathe on the shores of the Pacific. For a year prior to this period, I had carefully practised the use of the gun, and became very expert with it. I started that spring for Montreal, intending to journey with some party of the North-West Fur Company, and by that means reach the remote West. But concluding this was not very practicable, I went up the St. Lawrence, and along the shore of Lake Ontario to Niagara Falls, which latter I had first visited two years previously. There was only a single log house, nearly a mile from the Falls, on the Canada shore; and at Black Rock I crossed the river, and went to Buffalo, where there were about thirty wooden houses.

From some of the Indians at Buffalo, I purchased a bark canoe and paddles, and made the necessary out-fit, and resolved to push on up Lake Erie, and pursue the Lake route to Green Bay, and employed two young men to accompany me. In consequence of a severe storm, and the rock-bound shores of the Lake, I changed my course; I had my canoe transported across the country on a wagon to Chatauque Lake, when again launching my frail bark, I descended the Lake, its out-let into French creek, and finally entered the Alleghany. Continuing down the river, I stopped at Pittsburgh, Wheeling, Marietta, Limestone, now Maysville, Cincinnati and Louisville, only long enough to rest, and procure needful supplies. Thence I kept on down the Ohio, and crossed the Mississippi on the 10th day of August, 1808, when I turned my course up the Mississippi by land to Cape Girardeau and St. Genevieve; at which latter place, I well remember seeing Henry Dodge, then sheriff of that county, and since so distinguished in the West. Passing up to St. Louis, thence to Florisant, Portage des Sioux, and St. Charles, I then became acquainted with the celebrated Daniel Boone and family, together with nearly all the leading French families of these several Missouri settlements.

Spending the ensuing autumn and winter at St. Louis, New Madrid, and the various settlements in then Upper Louisiana, in viewing the country; I early the next spring procured from Edward Bates (father of the present Hon. Edward Bates, of St. Louis,) an accomplished Marylander, then Secretary of Louisiana Territory, and in the absence of Gov. Merriwether Lewis, acting governor, a license to search for gold and silver anywhere within the limits of that territory, then supposed to extend to the Pacific —still resolving to reach that distant ocean.

I at once fitted myself out for a long journey, and engaged Peter Spear and William Miller to accompany me in this adventure. I fully explained to them the dangers to be encountered, and if successful, I agreed that we should equally share the profits of the enterprise. We started from the extreme western settlement of Cape Girardeau county, on the head of St. Francis

River, where a few families then resided, and then pushed into the great western wilderness. Our route was very nearly upon what, I have since learned, was the 37th degree, or perhaps half a degree south of that parallel. We crossed a branch of White River, which I named the Currents, which it has ever since retained, and then Black River, and afterwards Spring River, which we followed to its source, where we found a very large spring, and hence the name of the stream. We next passed the main fork of White River, and then continued on westwardly until we reached the prairie country, and went beyond all the western head waters of the Mississippi, except the Arkansas and Missouri.

We continued our journey, as I should judge, between eight hundred and a thousand miles from the settlements. On our outward journey, we met with a number of friendly Indian parties of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Creeks or Muscogees, engaged in hunting, who did not venture too great a distance beyond the western verge of the white settlements; but we had no difficulty with them. We encountered vast herds of buffaloes, and occasionally large herds of wild horses. We judged from the buffalo trails, that we passed near the Great Salt Rock; and a long distance beyond, we came in view of the spurs of the great Rocky Mountain chain.

In this remote region, we one day, during the summer, met three men, who proved to be the only survivors of a party of some fifteen trappers who had penetrated high up the Missouri, when in two savage attacks by the Indians, all the others were slain; and these survivors were now directing their course to the Arkansas River, and admonished us to desist our further journey westward. Not heeding these earnest admonitions, we kept on, and the next day discovered a party of a dozen or twenty wild Indians, probably Camanches or Pawnees, chasing and catching wild horses with the lasso, which they used with great dexterity and success. We saw them in time to secrete ourselves, unseen by them, and had a full view of them for three or four hours, in an immense prairie; and though generally perhaps not less than

five miles distant from us, they once came within a mile of us in chasing the wild horses. Those engaged in the chase were, of course, mounted on well trained steeds, while others were in groups on foot, taking care of the restless animals that had been taken.

When these unwelcome Indians disappeared, we took the matter into serious consideration, and as painfully as I regretted to abandon our intended exploration to the Pacific, it seemed madness to attempt any further progress; and so we reluctantly turned our faces to the eastward; and when we got what we deemed pretty safe hunting ground, in what is now eastern Kansas, and western Arkansas and Missouri, we pitched our camp, and went to hunting, mostly for beaver. We then little dreamed that the white settlements would extend to that region for the next five hundred years. Our main camp was near the head waters of one of the northern tributaries of the Arkansas; and having no traps, we procured the beaver musk, and placed it some distance from the shore, which tempted the animals to go and smell it, when we would secrete ourselves and shoot them.

During the autumn of 1809, all of the year 1810, and the winter of 1810–'11, we steadily pursued our hunting; and, in the spring of 1811, we gathered and packed up all of our beaver, otter and bear skins—about fifty beaver and otter, and about three hundred bear skins, and eight hundred gallons of bear's oil; and making canoes or pirogues on one of the head waters of White River, we conveyed our skins and oil to them by the three horses which we had taken with us in all our journeyings. The oil was carried in sacks made of bear skins, one being swung on either side of a horse.—Lashing our boats together, and trading off our horses to friendly Indians, we descended White River to the Mississippi, and thence, stopping briefly at one Turnbull's, an English planter, upon the high bluff where Vicksburg now stands, and at Natchez, we passed down the river, and arrived at New Orleans about the first of May.

Here another disappointment was in store for us; the Embargo,

then in force, put a total check to all exportation, and our cargo of furs, peltries and oil, which found their market in Europe, were a drug in New Orleans. The large quantity of oil, if not soon shipped, as the hot season had commenced, would become rancid, and almost worthless. The result was, that our large cargo, which at former rates would have brought between two and three thousand dollars, we now sold for the mere pittance of thirty-six dollars. No language can depict my great disappointment, first in failing to reach the Pacific, and then all our hopes being frustrated in regard to the proceeds of our two years' hunt. The sickly season now approaching, I proceeded through the Choctaw nation, accompanied by SPEAR, leaving MILLER in New Orleans, and never seeing him afterwards. We passed through the Choctaw and Chickasaw country to Colbert's Ferry on the Tennessee, and thence to Vincennes, and at length to St. Louis.

While lodging about thirty miles north of New Madrid, on the 14th of December, 1811, about 2 o'clock in the morning, occurred a heavy shock of an earthquake. The house, where I was stopping, was partly of wood and partly of brick structure; the brick portion all fell, but I and the family all fortunately escaped unhurt. At the still greater shock,* about 2 o'clock in the morning of the 7th of February, 1812, I was in New Madrid, when nearly two thousand people of all ages, fled in terror from their falling dwellings, in that place and the surrounding country, and directed their course north about thirty miles to Tywappety Hill, on the western bank of the Mississippi, and about seven miles back from the river. This was the first high ground above New Madrid, and here the fugitives formed an encampment. It was proposed that all should kneel, and engage in supplicating God's mercy,

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* Since Col. SHAW dictated this narrative, I have discovered by reference to BRADBURY'S published Journal, kept at the time, and the writer then in the vicinity of New Madrid, that the first shock, and which the writers on that event convey the idea of being the severest, occurred on the morning of the 16th of December; and as Col. SHAW was thirty miles distant from New Madrid, the centre of these convulsions of nature, on this first occurrence, and was there at the February shock, the latter doubtless appeared to him to be the most severe. L. C. D.

and all simultaneously, Catholics and Protestants, knelt and offered solemn prayer to their Creator.

About twelve miles back towards New Madrid, a young woman about seventeen years of age, named Betsey Masters, had been left by her parents and family, her leg having been broken below the knee by the falling of one of the weight-poles of the roof of the cabin; and, though a total stranger, I was the only person who would consent to return and see whether she still survived.—Receiving a description of the locality of the place, I started, and found the poor girl upon a bed, as she had been left, with some water and corn bread within her reach. I cooked up some food for her, and made her condition as comfortable as circumstances would allow, and returned the same day to the grand encampment. Miss Masters eventually recovered.

In abandoning their homes, on this emergency, the people only stopped long enough to get their teams, and hurry in their families and some provisions. It was a matter of doubt among them, whether water or fire would be most likely to burst forth, and cover all the country. The timber land around New Madrid sunk five or six feet, so that the lakes and lagoons, which seemed to have their beds pushed up, discharged their waters over the sunken lands. Through the fissures caused by the earthquake, were forced up vast quantities of a hard, jet black substance, which appeared very smooth, as though worn by friction. It seemed a very different substance from either anthracite or bituminous coal.*

This *hegira*, with all its attendant appalling circumstances, was a most heart-rending scene, and had the effect to constrain the most wicked and profane, earnestly to plead to God in prayer for mercy. In less than three months, most of these people returned to their homes, and though the earthquakes continued occasion-

* The late Hon. Lewis F Linn, a resident of St. Genevieve, and for many years a member of the United States Senate from Missouri, and a man of science, addressed a letter, in 1836, to the chairman of the committee on commerce, in which he speaks of the New Madrid earthquakes, and distinctly mentions water, sand, and *coal* issuing from the vast chasms opened by the convulsions. L. C. D.

ally with less destructive effects, they became so accustomed to the recurring vibrations, that they paid little or no regard to them, not even interrupting or checking their dances, frolics, and vices.

The Upper Mississippi Indians, of all tribes, commenced depredations on the frontiers of Missouri and Illinois, in 1811, and early in 1812. Several persons were killed in different quarters. About thirty miles above the mouth of Salt river, and fully a hundred above the mouth of the Missouri, was Gilbert's Lick, on the western bank of the Mississippi, a place of noted resort for animals and cattle to lick the brackish water; and where a man named SAMUEL GILBERT, from Virginia, had settled two or three years prior to the spring of 1812. In that region, and particularly below him, were a number of other settlers. About the latter part of May, 1812, a party of from twelve to eighteen Upper Mississippi Indians descended the river in canoes, and fell upon the scattered cabins of this upper settlement in the night, and killed a dozen or more people. At the time of this massacre, I was staying at the house of one RIFFLE in that region; and hearing the alarm, I went in company with others in pursuit of the Indians, and saw them at a distance as they were embarking in their canoes, and soon disappeared to our view.

This massacre in the Gilbert's Lick settlement, caused great consternation along the Missouri frontier, and the people, as a matter of precaution, commenced forting. Some seven or eight forts or stockades were erected, to which a portion of the inhabitants resorted, while many others held themselves in readiness to flee there for safety, in case it should be thought necessary. I remember the names of Stout's Fort, Wood's Fort, a small stockade at what is now Clarksville, Fort Howard, and a fort at Howell's Settlement—the latter nearest to Col. DANIEL BOONE; but the people bordering immediately upon the Missouri river, being less exposed to danger, did not so early resort to the erection of stockades.

About this time, probably a little after, while I was engaged with eighteen or twenty men in building a temporary stockade

where Clarksville now stands, on the western bank of the Mississippi, a party of Indians came and killed the entire family of one O'Neil, about three miles above Clarksville, while O'Neil himself was employed with his neighbors in erecting the stockade. In company with O'Neil and others, I hastened to the scene of murder, and found all killed, scalped, and horribly mangled. One of the children, about a year and a half old, was found literally baked in a large pot metal bake kettle or Dutch oven, with a cover on; and, as there were no marks of the knife or tomahawk on the body, the child must have been put in alive to suffer this horrible death; the oil or fat in the bottom of the kettle was nearly two inches deep.

I went to St. Louis in company with Ira Cottle, to see Gov. Clark, and ascertain whether war had been actually declared. This must have been sometime in June, but the news of the declaration of war against Great Britain had not yet reached there. On our return, I was strongly urged by the people to act as a spy or scout on the frontier, as I was possessed of great bodily activity, and it was well known that I had seen much woods experience. I consented to act in this capacity on the frontiers of St. Charles county, never thinking or troubling myself about any pecuniary recompense, and was only anxious to render the distressed people a useful service. I immediately entered alone upon this duty, sometimes mounted, and sometimes on foot, and carefully watching the river, above the settlements, to discover whether any Indians had landed, and sometimes to follow their trails, learn their destination, and report to the settlements.

Upon my advice, several of the weaker stockades were abandoned for twenty or thirty miles around, and concentrated at a place near the mouth of Cuivre or Copper River, at or near the present village of Monroe; and there a large number of us, perhaps some sixty or seventy persons, were some two or three weeks employed in the erection of a fort. We named it in honor of the patriotic governor, Benjamin Howard, and between twenty and thirty families were soon safely lodged in *Fort Howard*.

As the war had now fairly commenced, an act of Congress authorized the raising of six companies of Rangers; three to be raised on the Missouri side of the Mississippi, and the other three on the Illinois side. The Missouri companies were commanded by DANIEL M. BOONE, NATHAN BOONE, and DAVID MUSICK. The commission of NATHAN BOONE was dated in June, 1812, to serve a year, as were doubtless the others.

The Indians, supplied by their British employers with new rifles, seemed bent on exterminating the Americans—always, however, excepting the French and Spaniards, who, from their Indian intermarriages, were regarded as friends and connections. Their constant attacks and murders, led to offensive measures; but I did not serve on RUSSELL and EDWARD'S expedition, in September, 1812, against the Indians in the Peoria region.

During not only the year 1812, but the whole war, I acted as a spy and was in constant service. The Missouri Rangers, by the terms of their enlistment, were to supply themselves with horses, accoutrements, provisions and provender, and they expected to have been mostly stationed, and in service, in the frontier settlements; but finding that they were chiefly required to scour the region beyond the verge of the settlements, they had necessarily to enter into some arrangement to procure their supplies, as they were too far from their homes to provide for their wants from that source. I was solicited by them to furnish these needed supplies, pledging me payment every three months, not doubting that they would promptly receive their own pay from the General Government.

I commenced furnishing these supplies early in the summer of 1812, when the Rangers were ordered to the frontiers; and these three Missouri companies were each to consist of one hundred men, and were nearly full, and all of them I supplied more or less. I furnished, upon an average, more than a hundred and fifty of the Rangers during the whole war. These men could not apply to the Government commissaries, had there been any in the country—and there were none; as from the nature of their

enlistments they were to provide for themselves. They had, in their individual capacity, made repeated efforts to procure supplies upon their own credit, but they met with very indifferent success. The millers and farmers would be running no small risk to dole out their surplus provisions to so many persons, of whose ability and good intentions to remunerate them they could know so little. It seemed necessary that some person should step forward, and act in the capacity of commissary to supply the Rangers, and this I was induced to undertake at their urgent desire. I had become pretty well acquainted throughout the Missouri frontiers, and my anxious solicitude to serve the frontier settlers was also well known, and hence I could command the requisite credit from the millers and stock-raisers of the country.

I employed the necesssary number of assistants to purchase and drive forward beef cattle, and hands to boat or wagon flour and other provisions to the frontier stations where wanted. At the same time, I continued to act as a spy, sometimes going in advance of my teams in places of danger. On more than one occasion, have I thus discovered the Indians in time to retreat, and save my men and teams. I remember in the spring of 1813, being at the head of five teams loaded with supplies, when at the fording of a large stream known as Peruque creek, in the northern part of St. Charles county, I discovered a party of thirteen Indians concealed behind blinds, formed of bent bushes, or broken bushes stuck in the ground for a screen, and retreated in time to save both teams and loading. I then procured a large boat, in which to transport the supplies up the river to the nearest point to Fort Howard, in order to avoid the danger to which we were exposed by the land route. Leaving my horse, I went up with the boat, and met with no obstacle.

Upon arriving at Fort Howard, so many reports came to the ears of my boatmen, that they at first declined returning in the boat down Cuiver River a few miles to the Mississippi; when once into the large stream, they would feel perfectly safe, as they could keep out beyond the reach of danger. Cuiver River was

very crooked, and between twenty and thirty rods in width, and its banks generally low, and sometimes overflowed back a considerable distance. At length, however, the boatmen consented to return, I agreeing to go ahead of them in a canoe, to see that no Indians were ready to intercept them. Taking with me in the canoe one Joseph Claremont, we proceeded, and the large boat was to follow at a respectful distance, until they should hear the report of one or more guns as a signal to retreat. The distance from the landing spot on Cuiver River to its mouth, by its sinuosities, was some eight or nine miles, though not exceeding three by land.

When we had descended about three miles by the river, I discovered three or four Indian canoes on the northern bank of the stream, when we were abreast of them; and knowing Indians were not far off, concluded to push ahead, and did so, but in less than a minute, we heard a noise, and looking back, we got a glimpse of a dozen to twenty Indians rushing down the bank and jumping into their canoes, seizing their paddles, and pursuing after us. In a very short distance, we fortunately turned a sharp wooded angle in the stream to the right, which screened us from the Indians, and there we ran a few rods up a small bayou, and left the canoe, and ran about a mile and a half up the stream, much of the way fully knee deep in water on the overflowed bottom; and fearing the Indians might be near, we remained from about ten o'clock in the forenoon till dark, some of the time in water up to our necks, when some men came from the fort, only a mile distant, and conveyed us over the river, and thence to the garrison that evening. The larger boat and crew also escaped.

I can add nothing particularly to the statements given in the histories of the times, relative to the occurrences at Forts Madison and Mason, in April, 1813. About the 1st of June following, Gov. Howard resigned his governorship, and accepted the appointment of brigadier general in the United States' service, to command the eighth military department, then embracing the territory from the interior of Indiana to the frontier of Mexico,

Gen. HOWARD soon after visited Fort Howard, and upon the urgent solicitation of all the inhabitants that I should be continued in the spy service, as I had repeatedly discovered and given timely notice of the approach of Indian war parties, Gen. HOWARD said, as he had no authority to appoint spies, he would use every exertion in his power to secure ample remuneration for such services as I had rendered, of which he had good evidence from the people and Rangers, and which he desired I might continue; giving me a certificate, pledging himself to use his best exertions to secure for me pay from Congress or the War Department. He also commended my exertions in furnishing supplies for the Rangers.

Shortly after Gen. HOWARD's visit to Fort Howard, a strong apprehension was entertained by the people, that the Upper Mississippi Indians would descend the Mississippi in a body, and it was concluded that it was advisable to erect a fort directly on the bank of the river, to watch and check any such movement of the enemy. About eight or ten miles above the mouth of Quiver River on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, is a large well-known promontory of *grit* or sandstone, hence called Cape au Gris; directly opposite to which, on the western shore, was the place selected for the new fort, which was soon erected, and named Cape au Gris Fort. Capt. DAVID MUSICK was placed in command there; it was less in size than Fort Howard, and some of the neighboring people took shelter there with their families.

Some time during the summer of 1813, I crossed the Mississippi to its eastern shore, two or three miles above Cape au Gris, to see if there were any signs of Indians in that quarter. When about three miles east of the river, I discovered quite a large camp of Indians, somewhere, I thought, from sixty to eighty in number. I immediately retreated without being observed, and hastened to Cape au Gris with the intelligence. It was at once resolved to pursue, and it was only a question of numbers, and a strife for the command. Lieut. JOHN MCNAIR, of the Rangers, a resident of St. Charles county, a nephew of Col. ALEXANDER

McNair, afterwards Governor of Missouri, was permitted to take the command at his own urgent request, and selected twelve men for the service, together with myself for pilot. I strongly urged a larger number, but the Lieutenant was head-strong, and utterly rejected my advice.

There were but a couple of small log canoes or dug outs in which to cross, and it required three trips to convey our small party of fourteen over the river. We immediately pushed forward, I taking the lead as pilot, and soon came in sight of the encampment, in which the Indians still remained. Each party discovered the other about the same moment, we having crossed a rise of ground, which brought us within about forty rods of the Indians; who, when they espied us, seized their arms and rushed towards us. Seeing that they out-numbered us four or five to one, we instantly retraced our steps towards Cape au Gris rock, a distance of some four or five miles. It was a hot chase, the Indians rather gaining upon us, and when we arrived at the water's edge of the river, about mid-day, we turned and fired upon the Indians, who were now within a few rods of us, They were momentarily checked, and, in turn, fired upon us, killing McNair and eleven of the men instantly, while the twelfth Ranger, one Werber, dressed in a yellow hunting shirt, jumped into the river, evidently intending to swim over to the fort, but was soon arrested by a ball, and his lifeless body dragged ashore.

Providentially I was untouched, and quickly turned down the river bank, leaped a small stream at a single bound, and then running along the side of the dripping rock, closely pursued by three Indians, who kept up the exciting race for about a mile and a half—all this in full view of two hundred persons at the fort on the opposite shore, who, from their distance and want of boats, were unable to render the least assistance. I gained so much on the Indians during that mile and a half race, that they abandoned the pursuit—the guns of the Indians and myself being alike empty. Not aware that my pursuers had given over the chase, I kept on as rapidly as I could for two or three miles, when, turning a point on

the river, and seeing nothing of the Indians, I re loaded my gun, and kept on at a slackened pace. In the night, when some twenty miles below Cape au Gris, I made a raft of dry sticks fastened together with grape vines, and crossed to the western bank of the river; and, on the morning of the third day, reached Fort Howard, and the same day was escorted to Cape au Gris Fort, where I was received with unaffected joy.

I now learned that the Indians had horribly mangled the bodies of my unfortunate companions, and left them with every mark of indecency and indignity their inventions could suggest; and they shook the reeking scalps in bravado in sight of the whites on the distant opposite shore. Having secured the guns, clothing and scalps of their victims, and fully indulged themselves in yelling and screaming awhile, like so many demons, seeming conscious of their own safety, as the whites could not at once cross, they at length departed. Fearing to pass the river with only the two small dug-outs, lest they should be ambuscaded, the Rangers did not venture over till the next day; and not then, until they had brought the cannon in the fort to bear on the spot where their slain companions were. The fragments of their mangled bodies were gathered up, conveyed over the river, and buried near the fort.

On the 16th of July, 1813, the Indians attacked Fort Madison; I do not remember the number of troops stationed there, or their commander. The block-house, built especially to command the ravine, was doubtless located west or north-west of the fort, as the ravine circled around the west side and north end of the fort, into the Mississippi. The Indians having carried the block-house, now availed themselves of the shelter of the deep ravine, and attempted to dig a passage into the fort, and continued at it for some time, but finally gave it up. This was the second attack on Fort Madison, in which two whites were killed and one wounded.

On the 15th of August, 1813, Capt. Nathan Boone and a party of spies under his command, while on a scout between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, were attacked in the night by three

times their number, but no lives were lost. About September following, I accompanied General Howard's expedition to Peoria, where a fort was erected; Maj. Nathan Boone, and Maj. Wm. Christy of St. Louis, were along. I made but a short stay, when I returned; after I left, there were some Indian disturbances, and Maj. N. Boone and Capt. Samuel Whitesides scoured the country. Robert Wash, a lawyer, afterwards a Judge, of St. Louis, was an Aid to Gen. Howard. The latter part of October, on the return of the troops, there was some snow, and the men suffered considerably; some having worn out their shoes, killed their horses, and wound strips of the hide around their feet, or made hide shoes.

Early in November, 1813, Fort Madison was evacuated, and the buildings burned, in consequence of the contractor failing to furnish that garrison with provisions, which caused much alarm and apprehension at the forts and settlements below. In consequence of the abandonment of this important position, Fort Johnston was built, opposite the mouth of the middle fork of the Des Moines River, on a high promontory on the eastern bank of the Mississippi; it was erected by the Rangers and regulars, and among the officers were Lieut. Bennet Riley, and W. S. Harney, and Dr. Muir, afterwards of Galena. I was there during its erection. The next spring, for the same reason that Fort Madison had been abandoned, Fort Johnston was also evacuated and destroyed. It was, however, subsequently rebuilt, and called Fort Edwards. Fort Mason, which was probably erected at the out-break early in 1812, was located fifteen or twenty miles above the mouth of Salt River, on the west bank of the Mississippi. This too, was abandoned not far from the 1st of May, 1814, about the same time as Fort Johnston.

The famous battle of the Sink-Hole, near Fort Howard, occurred on the 24th of May, 1814. Some two or three nights previously, I made a narrow escape in riding in the night from Cape au Gris to Fort Howard. When about half a mile from the latter, I heard a whistle on the charger of powder horn, and soon

heard a party of Indians endeavoring to cut me off from the fort, when I took a circuit and evaded them, by taking a by-path, when they had way-laid the main trail, and thus I reached the fort in safety.

Not long before the Sink-Hole affair, one BERNARD was killed on Dardenne River, the next stream below Peruque creek; and about the same time one WETLY was killed near the crossing of Peruque, and WM. LINN, a Ranger, within thirty rods of Cape au Gris Fort. LINN had gone into the edge of the woods to visit a whiskey jug he had secreted there, when the report of several guns was heard. Lieut. MASSEY went out in pursuit, but the Indians had crossed the river below, where their canoes were, and decamped. On the Cape au Gris rock, opposite the fort, the Indians deliberately showed themselves, when a young warrior about a dozen years of age advanced, exhibiting LINN's scalp, and exclaiming in the Sauk language, "Come here, you Americans, and we will serve you the same way." LINN's family, at the time of his death, were living in Wood's Fort. Within a few days of this affair, a young man named BOLLES went to a deer-lick at the foot of the bluff, about two and a half miles from Cape au Gris, and was there shot and scalped.

Of the Sink-Hole battle, fought on the 24th of May, 1814, near Fort Howard, I shall be able to give a full account, as I was present and participated in it. Capt. PETER CRAIG commanded at Fort Howard; he resided with his father-in-law ANDREW RAMSEY, at Cape Girardeau, and did not exceed thirty years of age. DRAKEFORD GRAY was first lieutenant. WILSON ABLE, the second, and EDWARD SPEARS, third lieutenant.

About noon, five of the men went out of the fort to BYRNE's deserted house on the bluff, about a quarter of a mile below the fort, to bring in a grind-stone. In consequence of back water from the Mississippi, they went in a canoe; and on their return, were fired on by a party supposed to be fifty Indians, who were under shelter of some brush that grew along at the foot of the bluff, near BYRNE's house, and about fifteen rods distant from the canoe

at that time. Three of the whites were killed, and one mortally wounded; and as the back water, where the canoe was, was only about knee-deep, the Indians ran out and tomahawked their victims.

The people in the fort ran out as quick as possible, and fired across the back water at the Indians, but as they were nearly a quarter of a mile off, it was of course without effect. Capt. Craig with a party of some twenty-five men hastened in pursuit of the Indians, and ran across a point of the back water, a few inches deep; while another party, of whom I was one, of about twenty-five, ran to the right of the water, with a view of intercepting the Indians, who seemed to be making towards the bluff or high plain west and north-west of the fort. The party with which I had started, and Capt. Craig's, soon united.

Immediately on the bluff was the cultivated field and deserted residence of Benjamin Allen, the field about forty rods across, beyond which was pretty thick timber. Here the Indians made a stand, and here the fight commenced. Both parties treed, and as the firing waxed warm, the Indians slowly retired as the whites advanced. After this fighting had been going on perhaps some ten minutes, the whites were re-inforced by Capt. David Musick, of Cape au Gris, with about twenty men. Capt. Musick had been on a scout towards the head of Cuiver River, and had returned, though unknown at Fort Howard, to the crossing of Cuiver River, about a mile from the fort, and about a mile and a half from the scene of conflict; and had stopped with his men to graze their horses, when hearing the firing, they instantly re-mounted, and dashed towards the place of battle, and dismounting in the edge of the timber on the bluff, and hitching their horses, they rushed through a part of the Indian line, and shortly after the enemy fled, a part bearing to the right of the Sink-Hole towards Bob's Creek, but the most of them taking refuge in the Sink-Hole, which was close by where the main fighting had taken place. About the time the Indians were retreating, Capt. Craig exposed himself about four feet beyond his tree, and was shot through the

body, and fell dead; JAMES PUTNEY was killed before Capt. CRAIG, and perhaps one or two others. Before the Indians retired to the Sink-Hole, the fighting had become animated, the loading was done quick, and shots rapidly exchanged, and when one of our party was killed or wounded, it was announced aloud.

This Sink-Hole was about sixty feet in length, and about twelve to fifteen feet wide, and ten or twelve feet deep. Near the bottom on the south-east side, was a shelving rock, under which perhaps some fifty or sixty persons might have sheltered themselves. At the north-east end of the Sink-Hole, the descent was quite gradual, the other end much more abrupt, and the south-east side was nearly perpendicular, and the other side about like the steep roof of a house. On the south-east side, the Indians, as a further protection in case the whites should rush up, dug under the shelving rock with their knives. On the sides and in the bottom of the Sink Hole were some bushes, which also served as something of a screen for the Indians.

Capt. MUSICK and his men took post on the north-east side of the Sink-Hole, and the others occupied other positions surrounding the enemy. As the trees approached close to the Sink-Hole, these served in part to protect our party. Finding we could not get a good opportunity to dislodge the enemy, as they were best protected, those of our men who had families at the fort, gradually went there, not knowing but a large body of Indians might seize the favorable occasion to attack the fort, while the men were mostly away, engaged in the exciting contest.

The Indians in the Sink Hole had a drum, made of a skin stretched over a section of hollow tree, on which they beat quite constantly; and some Indian would shake a rattle, called *she-shuqui*, probably a dried bladder with pebbles within; and even, for a moment, would venture to thrust his head in view, with his hand elevated shaking his rattle, and calling out *peash! peash!* which was understood to be a sort of defiance, or as BLACK HAWK, who was one of the party, says in his account of that affair, a kind of bravado to come and fight them in the Sink-Hole. When

the Indians would creep up and shoot over the rim of the Sink-Hole, they would instantly disappear, and while they sometimes fired effectual shots, they in turn became occasionally the victims of our rifles. From about one to four o'clock in the afternoon, the firing was inconstant, our men generally reserving their fire till an Indian should show his head, and all of us were studying how he could more effectually attack and dislodge the enemy.

At length Lieut. SPEARS suggested, that a pair of cart wheels, axle and tongue, which were seen at ALLEN'S place, near at hand, be obtained, and a moving battery constructed. This idea was entertained favorably, and an hour or more consumed in its construction. Some oak floor puncheons, from seven to eight feet in length, were made fast to the axle in an upright position, and port-holes made through them. Finally, the battery was ready for trial, and was sufficiently large to protect some half a dozen or more men. It was moved forward slowly, and seemed to attract the particular attention of the Indians, who had evidently heard the knocking and pounding connected with its manufacture, and who now frequently popped up their heads to make momentary discoveries; and it was at length moved up to within less than ten paces of the brink of the Sink-Hole, on the south-east side. The upright plank did not reach the ground within some eighteen inches, our men calculating to shoot beneath the lower end of the plank at the Indians; but the latter, from their position, had the decided advantage of this neglected aperture, for the Indians shooting beneath the battery at an upward angle, would get shots at the whites before the latter could see them. The Indians also watched the port-holes, and directed some of their shots to them. Lieut. SPEARS was shot dead, through the forehead, and his death was much lamented, as he had proved himself the most active and intrepid officer engaged. JOHN PATTERSON was wounded in the thigh, and some others were also wounded behind the battery. Having failed in the object for which it was designed, the battery was abandoned after sun-down.

Our hope all along had been, that the Indians would emerge

from their covert, and attempt to retreat to where we supposed their canoes were left, some three or four miles distant, in which case we were firmly determined to rush upon them, and endeavor to cut them totally off. The men generally evinced the greatest bravery during the whole engagement. Night now coming on, and having heard the reports of half a dozen or so of guns in the direction of the fort, by a few Indians who rushed out from the woods skirting Bob's Creek, not more than forty rods from the north end of the fort. This movement on the part of the few Indians who had escaped when the others took refuge in the Sink Hole, was evidently designed to divert the attention of the whites, and alarm them for the safety of the fort, and thus effectually relieve the Indians in the Sink-Hole. This was the result, for Capt. Musick and men retired to the fort, carrying the dead and wounded, and made every preparation to repel a night attack. As the Mississippi was quite high, with much back water over the low grounds, the approach of the enemy was thus facilitated, and, it was feared, a large Indian force was at hand. The people were always more apprehensive of danger at a time when the river was swollen, than when at its ordinary stage.

The men in the fort were mostly up all night, ready for resistance, if necessary. There was no physician at the fort, and much effort was made to set some broken bones. There was a well in the fort, and provisions and ammunition sufficient to sustain a pretty formidable attack. The women were greatly alarmed, pressing their infants to their bosoms, fearing they might not be permitted to behold another morning's light; but the night passed away without seeing or hearing an Indian. The next morning a party went to the Sink Hole, and found the Indians gone, who had carried off all their dead and wounded, except five dead bodies left on the north west bank of the Sink Hole; and by the signs of blood within the Sink Hole, it was judged that well nigh thirty of the enemy must have been killed and wounded. Lieut. Drakeford Gray's report of the affair, made eight of our party killed, one missing, and five wounded—making a total of fourteen;

I had thought the number was nearer twenty. Our dead were buried near the fort, when Capt. Musick and his men went over to Cape au Gris, where they belonged, and of which garrison Capt. Musick had the command. We that day sent out scouts, while I proceeded to St. Charles to procure medical and surgical assistance, and sent forward Drs. Hubbard and Wilson.

It may be proper to remark, that from the crossing of Cuiver River to Fort Howard was a mile; from the fort to the Sink Hole half a mile, and nearly a quarter of a mile from the fort to Bob's Creek. The fort was an oblong square, north and south, and embraced about half an acre, with block-houses at all the corners, except the south-east one. Lieut. Drakeford Gray was left in command there; he belonged in the New Madrid region, and did not long survive the war. Capt. Musick resided near Florisant, and lived, I think, to a good old age.

Black Hawk's published narrative of this affair, and particularly of all the preliminary incidents prior to taking refuge in the Sink-Hole, is quite strange and confused; and I can only account for it, by supposing that he has related as occuring here, what really transpired at a different time and occasion. He represents, that there were only eighteen Indians with him in the Sink-Hole, while there must have been more than twice as many; he speaks of only one Indian and two whites being killed, and that when they emerged from the Sink-Hole in the evening, they placed their dead Indian on top of a dead white man—of this latter circumstance, I have no recollection.

In July, 1814, two families had been killed by the Indians, in the Wood river settlement, east of Alton; their names were Moore and Reagan. Capt. Samuel Whitesides, who shortly after served on Maj. Taylor's expedition, immediately pursued the Indians with some thirty to fifty Illinois Rangers. Being then in that region seeking supplies as commissary, I went along as a spy and volunteer. We trailed the Indians towards the junction of the Sangamon with the Illinois; we got distant glimpses of them several times in the hot pursuit; and just at the dusk of the eve-

ning, we last saw them enter a thicket in the bottom of the Illinois, just below the mouth of the Sangamon, where the Indians had probably left their canoes. We had chased them that day what we judged to be sixty miles; and one old Indian, wearied out, gave out and stopped on the prairie just before the other Indians entered the thicket. As several of our party approached him, the old fellow raised his gun, and pointed it rapidly from one to another, as if to deter them from firing; but about a dozen fired and killed him. We camped near there that night, and then returned home.

In the spring of 1814, Gov. CLARK headed an expedition to Prairie du Chien, and there met the Indians of that immediate region in council, and established a fort, when he returned to St. Louis. But in July, 1814, the British under Col. McKAY or McCOY retook the place. Col. McKAY's force must have been less than two hundred whites, and perhaps two or three thousand Indians,* of all the nations of the North-West, except the Menomonees. They descended the Wisconsin† to the point where the high bluff on the eastern bank of the Mississippi terminates near the Wisconsin; there, on the northern bank of the Wisconsin, they landed, and marched over land about seven miles to Prairie du Chien. Col. McKAY immediately sent a flag demanding the surrender of the fort, to which Lieut. PERKINS declined a compliance, as he said he would defend it to the last. An attack was at once commenced, and an assault upon the fort made by the large body of Indians there assembled. Upon this rush and attack upon the fort, Lieut. PERKINS concluded it would be folly to resist, and surrendered; and the greatest exertions were required on the part

* This number is probably much too high: the newspaper accounts of that period speak of the Indian force being at least a thousand. It was the 17th of July, 1814, that Col. McKAY appeared before, and captured Prairie du Chien. L. C. D.

† Mr. STEPHEN TAYLOR, who resided in Wisconsin from 1835 to 1843, and now Controller of the city of Philadelphia, states in conversation, that he learned from different sources, that Col. McKAY's forces encamped on what has ever since been known as *English Prairie*, on which is located the present village of Muscoda; and from this circumstance the Prairie derived its name. This Prairie is some fifteen miles in length, and perhaps, upon an average, two in width, and is something like forty miles above the mouth of the Wisconsin. L. C. D.

of Col. McKay to preserve Lieut. Perkins and his men from the fury of the Indians, and his almost superhuman efforts to this end were at length successful. Lieut. Perkins probably surrendered at discretion, as there could have been no time for securing any specific terms. Col. McKay parolled all the Americans, and sent them down the river in the gun-boat *Governor Clark*, and sent a force with them for safety until beyond Rock Island; but they were dogged all the way by a large number of canoes of Indians. After passing below the mouth of Rock River, the British escort withdrew, and in due time the gun-boat arrived safely at St. Louis.

Of Lieut. Campbell's expedition, destined for the relief of Prairie du Chien, in July, 1814, I need say but little. The attack on Campbell was made about three miles above Rock Island, at a small island near the Illinois shore, ever since known as Campbell's Island. Lieut. Campbell disobeyed orders, was heedless, and kept out no spies; and, in the attack, he was badly shot through the left wrist. He was known after the war as Major Campbell, and settled at Louisiana, about a mile and a half below the mouth of Salt River, Missouri, and there lived many years. He was a great spend-thrift, and fond of drinking. He left two sons, sort of traders at Louisiana, who sometimes traded among the Indians.

Maj. Zachary Taylor's expedition up the Mississippi, to punish the Indians on Rock River for their hostile attacks, took place in the latter part of August and early in September, 1814. Having furnished a narrative of this affair for Gen. Smith's History of Wisconsin, I shall only speak in a brief manner of some of the events connected with it. Since learning the particulars of Maj. Taylor's official report, I feel constrained to modify some of my former impressions. I must have been mistaken as to the extent of Taylor's force, as it was clearly less than I had supposed. I know there were twenty-two boats at the rendezvous, but most likely Gen. Dodge's expedition up the Missouri at this time, caused the diminution of the boats and force designed for Maj. Taylor.

I accompanied Maj. Taylor. Near Rock Island, it was dis-

covered that a large body of Indians had collected; it seemed to me, that there were from two to four thousand of them. The British had erected a battery on the left or eastern bank of the Mississippi; in a row with two real twelve-pounders, they had six painted wooden guns, all on a knoll or elevation on the river bank, and there were apparently some fifty men dressed in British uniform—some of them may have been Indians so dressed.

From Maj. TAYLOR's report, it is uncertain whether it was RECTOR's boat which got aground, and Capt. WHITESIDE relieved; but I would not now say, as I did in my narrative to Gen. SMITH, that Capt. WHITESIDE disobeyed orders in doing it. The attack occurred on a very bright morning; the preceding night was cloudy, very windy, with some rain. I still insist, that the first cannon ball from the British battery passed through TAYLOR's boat, called *the Commodore*, yet TAYLOR, in his report says, it was HEMPSTEAD's boat—it may be, that HEMPSTEAD was the captain of *the Commodore*, while TAYLOR was commander of the expedition.

It became necessary for some one to expose himself in order to cast a cable from a disabled boat which was drifting fast towards the shore where the Indians were, to Capt. WHITESIDE's boat; and one PAUL HARPOLE greatly exposed himself in accomplishing the object. But having done this, he lingered, and one after another he shot at the enemy fourteen guns handed to him, when he himself was shot in the forehead, and tumbled forward into the river, when his body was obtained by the Indians, and cut up into a hundred pieces. The crippled boat was saved, but poor HARPOLE's exploit, in which he lost his life, was the wonder and admiration of all. He was a young man of some twenty-three years of age, and resided near Wood's Fort, in Missouri, where he had always been celebrated for his strength and activity, and was possessed of much backwood's wit and humor.

The prairie where Maj. TAYLOR halted to repair his boats, and attend to the wounded, was about three miles below the mouth of Rock river, on the Illinois shore. There were, as Maj. TAYLOR states, a great number of Indian horses opposite the mouth of

Rock river, and were doubtless placed there to decoy the whites on shore into an ambuscade. Though Maj. TAYLOR dated his report at Fort Madison, that fort had not been re-occupied; he must have stopped there, and there dated his dispatch. I may add, that my object in accompanying the expedition was two-fold; to furnish supplies, which I took along, to such of the Rangers as I had contracted to supply, and also to act, if needed, in the capacity of a spy or scout.

The death of Gen. HOWARD, after a two days illness, at St. Louis, in September, 1814, was a serious loss to me. The certificate which he had given me in 1813, I had carried with me in my pocket during my spying service, in rains and storms, until it got frequently wet, and finally worn out; and I had relied on Gen. HOWARD to make the proper application for me to obtain adequate compensation from Government; but amid his multiplied public duties, he had neglected to make the necessary representation, so far as I know, to the War Department. Thus was I left at the close of the war without my certificate, and Gen. HOWARD in his grave.

Early in the spring of 1815, while the Indians were still hostile, the young men of Cape Girardeau, St. Genevieve, and parts of St. Charles and St. Louis counties, to the number of 750, formed themselves into a regiment, with a view of offering their services to the Government for the protection of Upper Louisiana. Meeting at Cape Girardeau, I was chosen Colonel, and LEVI ROBERTS Major of the new regiment. The Rangers had been disbanded, perhaps the preceding fall. Two hundred and fifty of the regiment embodied at Portage des Sioux, about April, 1815, and taking the command, I marched them up the Mississippi to Rock Island; and finding no enemy there, we went across towards the Illinois River, crossing Spoon River; and on the Illinois we met an express from Gov. CLARK, from St. Louis, with the news of peace, stating that all hostilities would cease, and a treaty be held at Portage des Sioux in June, to which the Indians were invited. Returning home, and the war now ended, no report was made of

the organization of the regiment or of our scout, and now we disbanded. I was present at the treaty of Portage des Sioux, which was concluded on the 18th of July; Gov. Clark, Gov. Edwards of Illinois, and Col. Aug. Chouteau of St. Louis, were the commissioners, and Col. Rene Paul, Chouteau's son-in-law, was appointed French and English interpreter.

My pecuniary condition was, at this time, exceedingly unpleasant. I was now about thirty thousand dollars in debt for supplies furnished the Rangers, and not a cent had they received for their services during the war, owing, I believe, to the culpable withholding of the pay on the part of the paymasters, who probably used it for purposes of speculation, rather than the inability or inattention of Government to pay it. The Rangers getting no pay, of course I got none. In some instances, the paymasters bought up the Rangers' claims at a reduced price, and paid for them in goods. The balance due the Rangers, was finally paid towards the close of 1815; but as they lived in various parts of the country, and many of them were irresponsible, I eventually lost $13,684 93, all in consequence of the Rangers not getting their pay while in service, for had they been paid then, I should have promptly received mine. After collecting all I could from every quarter, I was still over eight thousand dollars in debt, which I ultimately paid to the last farthing, by boating and other operations during the ensuing four years. My creditors, knowing the object for which I purchased supplies of them, and knowing also, how I had suffered heavy pecuniary loss by the Rangers failing to get their pay promptly, never charged me any interest. I mention this to their credit.

Though the Indians, at the treaty of Portage des Sioux, had promised to be peaceful, there were individual exceptions. Relying upon the treaty, and the good faith of the Indians, the enterprising whites pushed out up the river, while, as the sequel proved, not a few of the Indians were yet hostile in their feelings. Several whites were attacked by these malcontents during 1815. Among them was John York Sawyer, a Vermonter, afterwards a

Circuit Judge of Illinois, who was one of a party in a boat ascending the Mississippi, and had landed on the west bank of the river, about twelve miles below the present city of Dubuque, at a place known as *Buttes des Morts*, where they were attacked and several killed. SAWYER, a very corpulent man, succeeded in secreting himself in a sink-hole back of the river hill, where he remained three days without food, and then escaped. JOHN S. MILLER, another of the party, who was a blacksmith, managed, together with his wife, in some way to reach an island, yet known as Miller's island, where they remained nearly a month before they were taken off. MILLER afterwards settled at Galena, where he died about 1843.

About this period, Dr. MUIR, of the United States Army, whom I had seen at Fort Johnston in 1814, was at Prairie du Chien, when his life was threatened, and he was saved by a young Sauk squaw, whom he married, and by whom he raised a family. Dr. MUIR often related to me the incidents of his wife's heroism in saving him, but the particulars I have forgotten. Like most of persons connected with the army, he was too fond of liquor, otherwise he might have risen to distinction and usefulness.*

In the fall of 1815, I went up the Mississippi with a boat properly manned, on a trading voyage. The Indian traders on the Upper Mississippi, purchasing goods at St. Louis, were desirous of making payment by remitting lead from the mines on Fevre River, which they had received in trade from the Indians, and which was of their own smelting and manufacture from the mineral. This promised to open up a new field of trade and commerce; but the process of boating up the Mississippi at this period, was at times quite tedious. The boats were propelled up stream

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* In conversation with Mr. HORACE SMEAD, of Grant county, who resided in the neighborhood of Galena from 1827 to 1833, we learn further of Dr. MUIR, that he was a Scotchman, a good physician, educated at Edinburgh; that trading with the Winnebagoes, a plan was concocted in the winter to kill him, when a young squaw apprised him of it, and secreted him in a cave, and supplied him with food, till the alarm passed away. In gratitude to his deliverer, he took her with him as his wife, and settled at Galena, and raised several children. Dr. MUIR was afterwards among the very first settlers at Keokuk, where he carried on the Indian trade, and where he died, after which his family joined the Indians. L. C. D.

by means of poles and sails, and with favorable wind, a hundred and ten miles have been accomplished in a single day. From twelve days to a month were requisite for the voyage from St. Louis to Prairie du Chien, while the descending trip was made in from six to ten days.

I had conversed with Indians at the treaty at Portage des Sioux, and at St. Louis, about trading with them, and asking their permission to build a saw-mill in their country, if I could find a suitable locality, as it was a pine region, and pine lumber was then worth seventy dollars a thousand in St. Louis. I now started to carry out these views. At the place now called Bellevue, in Iowa, about fifteen miles below Galena, and about six below the mouth of Fevre river, I stopped, and found a water power, which I judged would fully answer my purpose. Here a small stream flowed into the Mississippi, and some thirty or forty rods above its mouth was a fine locality for a mill; and logs could be rafted down the Wisconsin, and other streams upon which the pine grew abundantly, as I had learned from traders and Indians in that quarter. The Indians had previously informed me, that if I should go up for such a purpose, I must obtain written permission of the Government. I now had a regular license from Gov. Clark, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, to trade with the Indians.

There were a few Indians then encamped at this Bellevue locality, and others collected while I remained, so that in all, there were three or four hundred warriors, and many more squaws and children, assembled there. I soon discovered but little feeling of friendship on the part of the Indians towards the Americans. I had a talk with them, reminding them of their promises to me, and my wish to trade at that point, and erect a mill there. After I had distributed presents during several days to the amount of three hundred dollars in value, and concluding that they had obtained all they could, they said they had been consulting about the matter, and declined to grant my request; that doubtless many whites would be soliciting similar favors and privileges,

and one grant of this kind would pave the way for another, and they must firmly deny all; that they must check the advance of the whites, for if one should go into their country, others, like swarms of bees, would follow. They constantly begged for whiskey, of which I had none.

I now proceeded on to Prairie du Chien, and there engaged in some little traffic. The place was much scattered, and sparsely settled; there were some fifty or sixty dwelling houses, and all the people could speak the English, French and Indian languages, and all imperfectly. There were perhaps three or four permanent traders located there, and, during the warm season of the year, some fifty or more would resort there, and late in the fall scatter abroad to their several trading stations on the Upper Mississippi and its numerous tributaries. This had been the custom for many years. I do not think there was an American resident at Prairie du Chien. The traders were polite and kind, and their hospitality was both general and generous; and while they drank freely, it was regarded as disgraceful to get drunk.

Mr. James Aird, a Scotch trader, had been thirty-seven years in the Upper Mississippi country, making Prairie du Chien generally his place of summer resort. Joseph Rolette, Antoine and Michael Brisbois, Francis Boutielle, Jean Baptiste St. Jean, Mons. Tiercourt, Mons. Bennette, Mons. Palen, and many others, were among the traders. All these traders had families, and mostly by Indian wives; but Michael Brisbois had a fine French wife. In Brisbois' family was a beautiful girl named Fisher, whose parents,* early settlers there, were dead; and Joseph Rolette was said to have married this young girl when she was only ten years of age. Rolette was regarded as the largest trader there, and reputed wealthy. The marriages of the traders with squaws was without ceremony, and to last only for a single trading season. The trader would make the engagement with the parents

* When Capt. Pike visited Prairie du Chien in 1805, he speaks of Fisher as an American, and a prominent man of the place. He then had the title of captain and judge, and probably then filled those positions. L. C. D.

of the young squaw, to whom he would make liberal compensation; and by making a permanent marriage, the trader's business would be increased. When the trader renewed his engagement for his squaw wife for two or three years in succession, he generally then kept her for life.

I remained a few weeks at Prairie du Chien, and then returned without molestation to St. Louis, taking down a few skins and hides, but the trip was unprofitable. I learned, while at Prairie du Chien, that the people there had chiefly depended upon the traders bringing flour and other supplies from Mackinaw, but their remoteness from the older settlements, would now render it necessary to engage in farming, and raise large crops of wheat, and that arrangements were then making for that purpose. I thought it would be a good locality for a grist-mill, and promised the people that I would erect one, for which there was sufficient water-power at Fisher's Coulee, four miles above Prairie du Chien. This promise was gratifying to them, as they had no mode of grinding except sometimes to hitch a horse to a sweep, and grind on a small scale with a band and small stone—hence called a band-mill.

About June, 1816, I returned to Prairie du Chien with a large boat, and full load of merchandize and provisions, I then being but a common carrier for others. The post at Rock Island was then occupied, and commanded by Maj. Willoughby Morgan; this post was commenced the previous year. On this visit, I believe, I found a detachment of U. S. troops arrived at Prairie du Chien shortly before me; perhaps from fifty to one hundred and fifty in number, but I have forgotten the name of the commanding officer. Their arrival was very unwelcome to the settlement generally. They were occupying and repairing the old fort, on the bank of the river, at the upper part of the town.

Having discharged my load, I descended to Fevre river, as I had orders from St. Louis merchants to bring down lead from the traders in payment for goods they had purchased there. Reach-

ing a point then known as Kettle Chief's Prairie*, some little distance below where Cassville now is, perhaps fifteen or eighteen miles, I there met the traders upon whom I had the orders, and some two or three thousand Indians congregated, holding a sort of jubilee just after their corn-planting, swigging whiskey, and invoking the blessing of the Great Spirit upon their crop. The traders requested me to go down to the mouth of Fevre river, and there await their sending the lead down; they were very anxious that I should take it down to St. Louis for them, and they had it piled up at the very spot where Galena now is. This I refused, as I could not consent to wait so long, and asked to go up with my boat. This request the Indians refused, saying that "the Americans must not see their lead mines," as they were particularly suspicious of Americans, but did not cherish the same feelings towards Frenchmen, with whom they had been so long connected and associated. Speaking, as I did, the French as fluently as I did the English, the traders declared to the Indians that I was a Frenchman, and all my boatmen, which was true, were French *voyageurs*; the Indians, with very little persuasion, consented that I might go to their smelting establishments.

About two hundred Indians jumped upon my boat, while others followed in canoes, and we pushed on to the spot. There was no Indian town there, but several encampments, and no trading establishment. There were at least twenty furnaces in the immediate neighborhood; and the lead was run into *plaques* or *plats*, or *flats*, of about seventy pounds each. These *flats* were formed by smelting the mineral in a small walled hole, in which the fuel and mineral were mingled, and the liquid lead run out, in front, into a hole scooped in the earth, so that a bowl shaped mass of lead was formed therein. The squaws dug the mineral, and carried it in sacks on their heads to the smelting places. I loaded seventy tons of lead in my boat, and still left much at the fur-

* Probably named after the Fox chief KETTLE, who was killed, in 1830, by a war party of Sioux and Menomonees, as related by Judge LOCKWOOD—Vide p. 170–'71, of this volume. L. C. D.

naces. This was the first boat-load of lead from Galena. The Indians had often previously taken lead in small quantities in their canoes to Portage des Sioux and St. Louis, for purposes of barter.

In the course of that year, I made two other trips in the trade to Prairie du Chien, and also trips in 1817, '18,* '19 and '20, making altogether nine trips. I am not certain that I took more than one other trip up Fevre river for a load of lead, for the traders, now making all their purchases at St. Louis, would carry down their own lead, and take back a new supply of goods suitable for the Indian trade. After the peace of 1815, and all was settled down again in quiet in the North-West, the channel of the Indian trade was completely changed, from Mackinaw, where it had so long centered, to St. Louis, as it was found far more accessible, and by this time there were several heavy establishments of merchandize selected with special reference to this trade.

In 1818, I built a grist-mill, as I had promised, at *Fisher's Coulee*, four miles above Prairie du Chien. It had but a single run of stones, and eventually proved a source of expense to me, but a matter of great convenience to the people. Lieut. Col. Talbot Chambers went up to Prairie du Chien in 1817, in my boat, and assumed the command of the garrison. Col. Chambers loved to make a display, was fond of drinking freely, and was naturally tyrannical and over-bearing—and, when intoxicated, was desperate and dangerous. Once when so inflamed with liquor, he chased a young female into the house of Jacque Menard, with no good motive for doing so, when Menard reproached him; upon which Chambers ordered a file of twenty five soldiers to tie him up, strip, and give him twenty-five lashes with a cat o'-nine tails, well laid on.

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* In a letter dated at Prairie du Chien, June 7th, 1818, it is stated: "Since you left this place, there have been several arrivals at different times from St. Louis, among whom were Mr. Boilvin, (who is now Indian Agent, and civil magistrate,) Col. McNair, Maj. Fowler, Mr Shaw, and Lieutenant (now captain) Hickman and lady. In two hours after his arrival, Col. Chambers started for St. Louis; whether he will return, I do not know. Hickman now commands this post."—Am. State Papers, Public Lands, IV, 33. L. C. D.

While the preparations were making for carrying this inhuman order into effect, a son of Nicholas Boilvin, a bright and handsome youth of some ten years of age, ran up and commenced crying and pleading in behalf of Menard, not wishing to see one of the citizens thus humiliatingly punished in public. After two or three blows were struck, Col. Chambers ordered the drummer to cease. Menard was a clever citizen, cultivated a large farm, and had a worthy family of quarter-bloods. Col. Chambers inflicted corporeal punishment in several instances, and finally for cutting off both ears of one soldier, and one of another, was tried and cashiered; and then descended the Mississippi, went to Mexico, and joined the army there, and had risen to about the rank of colonel in that service, and was in the Mexican army at the surrender of the city of Mexico to Gen. Scott. It was in consequence of Col. Chambers' petty tyrannies, the civil law not being much in force or very effectual, that I abandoned all idea of settling at Prairie du Chien, and all the designs of improvement I had formed, and sold my mill at a sacrifice.

In 1819, I proceeded up Black River to the first fall, about six feet descent, and erected a saw-mill on the south-eastern bank of the stream. I had barely got it fairly going, when hundreds of Winnebagoes came there, in a starving condition, and importuned me incessantly for every thing I had for eating or wearing purposes, and I was thus soon left without supplies, and returned to Prairie du Chien. The next spring I went up there again, and found the Indians had burned the mill; I then rafted down a quantity of pine logs I had cut the previous year. These were the first mills erected in western Wisconsin.

In the early part of 1821, I commenced clearing and settling a farm between the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers, at the point where Gilead is now located; and, from year to year, extended my farming operations, until I cultivated twelve hundred acres in one year, and had nearly four hundred head of cattle. In 1822, I was chosen to represent Pike county in the Illinois Legislature, and my district then embraced all the country north-west of the

Illinois River to the northern limits of the state. I was the anti-slavery candidate, and in favor of a new Convention.* I was twice subsequently chosen to the Legislature, though others managed to get the certificates of election. I repeatedly held the office of county commissioner, was twenty-three years post-master, and over twenty years a magistrate.

For twenty nine years I continued farming, and purchasing lands, until, at one time, I owned thirty thousand acres in Illinois and Missouri. But in 1841, I was induced to build a steam-boat, and it was the first one built on the Mississippi above St. Louis; it bore my own name by special desire of many friends; and the total loss of the boat a year after, caused me a loss of eighty thousand dollars. This so broke me up, that, in 1845, I came to Wisconsin, and after exploring all the northern part of the Territory, I finally located the present site of St. Marie, on a beautiful bank of Fox River, in Marquette county, where I removed in 1846, and where I still reside. On the opposite bank of Fox River, is a large spring, called by the early French, *La Cote St. Marie.*

In 1852, I lost my eye-sight, which I have partially recovered early in 1855, as the result of surgical operations in New York city, but not sufficiently restored to enable me to read or write. I am now in my 73d year, five feet and five inches in height, with dark eyes, hair and complexion, and weighing about one hundred and forty pounds; never having drank spirituous liquors, used tobacco, or indulged in games of chance, and am still generally healthy and active. I was never married. I have been

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* Nicholas Hanson contested the seat with Col. Shaw. Parties ran high in the State, and the Legislature was very closely balanced. Two questions then seemed to be the all-absorbing matters of interest; one was, the re-election of Jesse B. Thomas as United States Senator, and the other was the calling of a new Convention to revise the Constitution of the State. Gov. Ford, in his History of Illinois, remarks: "Hanson would vote for Thomas, but Shaw would not; Shaw would vote for the Convention, but Hanson would not. The party had use for both of them, and they determined to use them both, one after the other. For this purpose, they first decided in favor of Hanson, admitted him to a seat, and with his vote elected their United States Senator; and then, towards the close of the session, with mere brute force, and in the most bare-faced manner, they re-considered their former vote, turned Hanson out of his seat, and decided in favor of Shaw, and with his vote carried their resolution for a Convention." L. C. D.

almost fifty years a Western pioneer, and during this time have served my country to the best of my ability. I have run many a narrow chance of my life in defence of the exposed frontier settlers. Commencing forty years ago, I have been a pioneer in the commerce, navigation, milling, lumbering, and lead trade of Wisconsin; and, in every situation in life, I have aimed to prove myself honest, patriotic, enterprising and useful—these reflections are a comfort and consolation to me in my old age.

APPENDIX No. 8.

MEMOIR OF HON. THOMAS PENDLETON BURNETT.

BY REV. ALFRED BRUNSON, A. M.

At the request of the Historical Society of the State, I have compiled the following pages, mostly from the papers and correspondence left by Mr. Burnett. Being his father-in-law, I shall be readily excused from eulogising him. I have avoided the selection of such passages in his correspondence, as might be calculated to give offence to the living, or the friends of the dead; except, perhaps, in a few instances, where it seemed necessary to do justice to the subject. I have omitted names where the subject matter might be offensive, if I could do so without marring the interest of the history.

The writing has been done in detached portions of time, snatched from other vocations, and in connection with the examination of some fifteen hundred letters and papers, to ascertain which and what had reference to the subject in hand, and of course is not as perfect in composition as it might be, not having had time to copy. But among the most sensible of readers, a simple unvarnished statement of facts is of more interest, than highly-colored, wire-drawn details of matters uninteresting in themselves.

Some matters herein set forth may be of little interest to a certain class of readers, while they will prove very much so to others. In a work of this kind, variety is necessary to suit all kinds of taste. The historian of Wisconsin and the lawyer, will find some things of interest to them; and, it is hoped, that the citizen, the student, the politician, and especially the friends of the deceased, will be gratified with the perusal of the whole.

Thomas Pendleton Burnett, son of John and Judith Burnett, was born in Pittsylvania county, Virginia, on the third day of September, A. D. 1800. Of his parentage and family I have but little knowledge. From his name and place of nativity, we nat-

urally infer that his family must have been connected, but how nearly or remotely we know not, with some of that name who hold honorable relation to the "Old Dominion." Mr. BURNETT, however, never boasted of his "decent from one of the first families of Virginia," nor did he depend upon the merit or fame of his ancestry to give him an honorable position in society. He depended upon his own merits, arising from his own native talents, acquirements, enterprise, worth and industry; and whatever he was in the estimation of others, he claimed to be "a self-made man," having, as the Sage of Ashland once said of himself, "inherited nothing from his parents but existence, ignorance and poverty."

His father emigrated to Bourbon or Spencer county, Kentucky, when THOMAS was but a child. From his letters I learn, that he had three brothers, GEORGE W., WILLIAM, and JOHN C., and one sister, EMILY A., who married J. H. D. STREET, now of Iowa.

His education was such as the common schools of the country then afforded, with an academy at some county seat. He was raised to farming, but aspiring to the profession of the law, he sought a suitable education with that view. The circumstances of his father not admitting of his aiding his son in his laudable design, he, like young WEBSTER, was thrown on his own resources to obtain it. But not having the New England colleges to repair to, he availed himself of an academy, with some private instruction from gentlemen who delighted to aid him in his studies. He wrought with his own hands a part of the time, to obtain means with which to attend school the other part; and when he was sufficiently advanced to teach school, he did so a part of his time, prosecuting his studies as best he could when not so engaged.

While reading law, he was favored with some minor offices, such as constable, deputy-sheriff, sheriff, &c., from the fees of which he derived a scanty means of support. Soon after he was admitted to the bar, he settled himself in Paris, Ky., and commenced its practice. Here he was often compelled to encounter some of the ablest lawyers in that chivalrous state. This, how-

endr, instead of being detrimental, was a benefit to him, because being resolved to succeed in his profession, the sharp rubbing he received from his elder brethren at the bar, served to nerve him up to greater effort to meet, and if possible to vanquish those legal Goliaths; and by availing himself of the points they raised, and the authorities they cited against him, when they changed sides on similar cases, he was able to hurl back at them their own thunder, now made his own by adoption. By these means, added to untiring application, he gained considerable eminence for a young man, in a short space of time, so that for two years he filled the responsible place of district attorney.

At this time the contest for the Presidency was pending between John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson. In this, Mr. Burnett espoused the cause of the latter, and it seems that he was so active a partizan of that cause, that it brought him into favorable notice and fraternal feelings with such men as Col. R. M Johnson, Thos. Marshall, W. T. Barry, N. Davis and others of the same school, who were his fast friends at Washington, and aided him in his future enterprizes in that direction, when, in accordance with the spirit of the successful party, he sought a portion of the "spoils" in the shape of an office.

The difficulties, however, attending the distribution of political favors, where there are so many more applicants than there are offices to fill, prevented his succeeding according to his wishes. From a letter to him from Mr. Barry, it seems that he sought a clerkship at Washington, but was informed not only that the places were filled, but that the salary, a thousand dollars, would not pay the expenses of a married man, and he was advised to accept of an office on the frontier, where, though the salary was less, the expenses were so much lower as to make it more profitable; and further the prospect of rising to some higher place on the frontier was so much greater in a new country than at the Capital, as to make it preferable to the other. He was accordingly appointed sub Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, October 15th. 1829, under the agency of the late Gen. J. M. Street.

But during the pendency of this question, being in suspense whether to accept it or not, an incendiary set fire to the town of Paris which threatened its entire destruction. In this emergency, though he had not a cent at stake, he exposed himself in his exertions to arrest the fire, and save the property of others, to an extent that nearly cost him his life. A wall of hot bricks fell upon him, which not only broke, but literally crushed one of his lower limbs, from the effects of which he was confined to his bed and room for seven months, and left him a cripple the remainder of his life, causing him to limp as he walked. As though the cup of his affliction was not yet full, while his sufferings were intense, and his life despaired of, his ungrateful wife left him to be cared for by others, and never returned to her duty in the relation of a wife. It will be seen hereafter, that there was no cause on his part for this desertion, and that both his and her friends justified and approved his suing for a divorce from her, at a subsequent period.

The disaster at the fire disabled him for business; his practice, of course, passed into other hands, and his funds were nearly exhausted. The idea of beginning anew to regain his practice being rather gloomy, he concluded to accept the office offered to him in the Indian Department, and arrived at Prairie du Chien in June, 1830. From some letters from his Kentucky friends, it would appear that this country, its then inhabitants, and the duties assigned him in his agency, did not exactly suit his taste, or meet the pre-conceived idea he had formed of it. But as he became better acquainted with matters and things connected with his residence, his duties, and the country, he became passionately attached to them all.

At the time of his arrival in the country, there were but two or three American families in the place, except in the garrison, Fort Crawford. But the major part of the inhabitants, some four hundred in number, were Canadian French and half-breeds, who spoke only French, with some Indian languages, all of which were to him unknown tongues.

A post-office had been established for the benefit of the garrison, agency and traders; but communication with the States by mail or otherwise was seldom and uncertain; the next nearest post-office on the south being Galena, and there being no regular contractor to carry the mail, eight weeks sometimes intervened between the arrival of the mails.

To give an idea of his duties, as well as to preserve an item of the early history of Wisconsin, I copy the first letter of instructions which he received, soon after his arrival at this place, from Gen. STREET, the Indian Agent, dated July 1st, 1830:

"SIR:—You will please to remain at the lower part of the village of Prairie du Chien, until otherwise directed, and occasionally visit the quarters of Gen. WM. CLARK, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, and receive and perform all that he may require of me as Agent, during the time I may be absent. You will particularly attend to and draw provisions for all the Winnebago Indians, except those living in the superintendency of Gen'l. CASS; and if any Winnebagoes from Rock River attend and wish you to draw them provisions and attend to them, you will do so, and report the case to me.

"If at any time a special requisition to see me is made, you will please hire some person to come immediately to my house for me. I shall be obliged to you, to copy and hand to Gen. CLARK my letter on the difference between the Indians, and, if desired, a list of the principal men attending and where from, also the number of Indians and where from."

The residence of Gen'l. STREET, at that time, was at the north end of the Prairie, about five miles from the fort, the usual place of doing business. These instructions therefore laid upon Mr. BURNETT all the *active* duties of the agency, except when special calls for the Agent occurred; and required of him the clerking labor, and traveling to and from St. Louis, "to hand to Gen'l. CLARK" the reports and returns made by the agent.

At that time, this place was entirely within the Indian country. The beautiful Prairie, seven miles long, and from two miles wide

at the south end to a point at the north end, was, from its earliest settlement by the traders and their employees, say 1747, given, by common consent of the Indians, to the French and other settlers, and was, previous to 1793, divided off into farm and village lots. The farms fronting on the river or sloughs, and running back to the bluffs, being of different widths, as agreed upon by the claimants. These claims were subsequently confirmed by JAY's treaty and an act of Congress; and in 1823, the evidence of settlement was taken, and in 1828, the claims were surveyed by order of the Government.

St. Louis was then the emporium of trade, and the head quarters of the army and Indian department, and the centre of mail facilities for all this upper country. This caused frequent journies for the Agents, to obtain supplies of money, provisions, annuity goods, and to make returns and reports to the Superintendent, as well as to receive instructions. These journeys were performed in summer by the occasional steamboats which ascended and descended the river; but if no boat came along at the time, the voyage was made in a canoe, or by land through the wilderness five hundred miles. Steamboats ascended this high only when government supplies were sent to the agency or the army, the traders availed themselves of such opportunities to get up their goods and send away their furs and peltries.

The friends of Mr. BURNETT in Kentucky felt a strong solicitude for his safety, and a great curiosity to know how a Kentucky lawyer would act in such a place, and especially in an Indian council. His correspondence at that time, shows that their imaginations were in active flights of fancy, and pictured him out in a citizens dress, but seated on the ground by the side of huge Indian chiefs, with a long Indian pipe in his mouth, smoking peace with the stalwart sons of the forest. Some thought, that in a few weeks he could dispense with interpreters, and talk himself with the four or five different tribes who did business at the agency; some feared he would fall a prey to savage ferocity, while

others supposed he could, if need be, fight his way through their ranks at pleasure.

Notwithstanding the remoteness of the place from civilization, and the sparseness of the population, say three or four hundred, courts had been instituted under the laws of Michigan, which then extended its jurisdiction over this country. What is now Wisconsin was divided into Brown and Crawford counties, by a line running north and south through Portage, where Portage City now stands; and all that part of Crawford south of the Wisconsin, was set apart as Iowa county, Oct. 9, 1829. The courts for Brown county were held at Green Bay, those of Crawford, at Prairie du Chien, and those of Iowa, at Mineral Point. Judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs and constables were in being. Under these circumstances, Mr. BURNETT had some practice as a lawyer.

As a specimen of the surprise and amusement this fact produced among his old friends in Kentucky, I give the following extract of a letter from G. W. WILLIAMS, Esq., dated Paris, Ky., Feb. 17th, 1831: "I am much gratified to learn, as I did by your letter, that you were well and in good spirits, and what is perhaps nearly as comfortable, able to make something approaching *respectability* by the practice of the law. Heavens! who would have thought a sustenance could be made at *Prairie du Chien* at law; whilst in the commercial and monied states, the most industrious and talented, scarcely receive more than *three* per cent. upon the capital invested, which upon an average may be estimated at about $20 office rent, $5 for wood in winter, and $100 for books. I am equally well pleased to learn that you are better satisfied with the country and your location than you at first anticipated would be the case. By-the-by, how do you get along with your sublime talks and big speeches with the Indians? I presume by this time, you scarcely stand in need of an interpreter, but can converse in their language with some degree of facility. I wish you would in your next give me a specimen of one of your talks."

Mr. BURNETT's subsequent prominence in the country of his adoption naturally excites the desire to know his character and standing in the society he had left when he came here. Of this we gain some knowledge by the letters he received after his arriva'. NATHANIEL DAVIS, under date of July 15th, 1830, says: "I had the satisfaction of examining a letter from you, in which you speak of the habits, customs and manners of the people of your country, as well as its situation. Your friends here appear to be all anxiety for your safety and prosperity. You have no correct idea of the number of your friends, nor of the lively interest they seem to evince both for your welfare and happiness. A person's absence will generally exhibit the extent of his friends or of his enemies; of the latter none have been so bold as to appear." GEO. W. WILLIAMS, under date of July 23d, 1830, says: "I am pleased to learn that you arrived safe at your point of destination, and I certainly hope you may realize all your reasonable expectations. Your trip must have been one of considerable interest, notwithstanding you had to undergo some necessary hardships. I expect it will be some time before you will be entirely at home in your agency, judging of you by myself. I suppose you will not at once be enabled to understand and act up to the notions of Indian conduct and character.

"You mention something of a council held recently for the purpose of making peace between some hostile tribes. I suppose in that council you made your debut: if so, give me an account of it in your next. I should like to know whether or not the reality will verify my imaginations on the subject. For instance I fancy you to be, not clouted or painted, but, as usual, in your ordinary dress, the broad-brim beaver, I mean the *white*, cutting the most conspicuous figure; handing a large stone pipe with reed handle four feet long, plentifully supplied with kin-a-ki-nic and tobacco, with the utmost dignity, combined with all possible conciliatory address, from one chief to another and so on, hearing and making all kinds of speeches and pow-wows, and grand sit-

tings, &c. &c. Is it a fancy or is it a fact, as Curran said. God bless your labors, my dear fellow, and he will, for 'blessed are the peace-makers.'"

At that time, 1830, there were evident signs of uneasiness among the Indians. But three years had passed since the disturbance made by the Winnebagoes, when several white families were murdered by them in this vicinity. Gen. STREET, the Agent, was frequently absent on duty or business, when the duties of the agency fell upon Mr. BURNETT as sub-Agent, and he was assiduous in watching the signs of the times. Col. MORGAN, then in command of Fort Crawford, was also on the alert, and to obtain information addressed a note to Gen. STREET, which called from Mr. BURNETT the following answer, under date of Dec. 6th, 1830:

"Sir: In compliance with a request in your letter of the 7th inst., addressed to Gen. J. M. STREET, U. S. Indian Agent, I have to inform you, that every intelligence which I have received since my arrival at this agency, has confirmed me in the opinion that a war carried on between the Sioux and Chippewa tribes of Indians, is highly prejudicial to the safety of white men in the vicinity of their hostile movements, and dangerous to the navigation of the Upper Mississippi, particularly that part about Lake Pepin, and the mouth of the Chippewa river.

"This opinion, I think, is fully sustained by that of men older and more experienced in Indian transactions than myself, and by the murders committed on that lake in 1825. The facilities with which the Chippewa war parties descend the Chippewa River, and lurk and conceal themselves about the shore of the lake, enables them, if so disposed, to murder men navigating those waters, with impunity. Of their disposition to attack white men when in a rage for war, I think their former outrages, and their conduct this season at the mill on the Menomonee River and its vicinity, afford sufficient evidence.

"I am satisfied, that while affairs with those tribes remain in their present state, no man, who has a prudent regard for his safety, would in navigating the Upper Mississippi, encamp on the

east side anywhere near the lake, or the mouth of the Chippewa River, at any time during the season in which the war parties of those tribes are out."

We have already seen that Mr. BURNETT was one of Gen. JACKSON's early friends and firm supporters, and as such claimed, in common with the party, a share in the favors of that chieftain, and finding that the pay of his office, $500 per year, was not equal to the duties he had to perform, nor the expenses of living on this distant frontier, he addressed his firm friend, Col. R. M. JOHNSON, soliciting his aid in obtaining a better situation, from whom he received the following answer of Feb. 5th, 1831. This letter shows not only the high estimation in which he was held at Washington, but also the difficulty of obtaining office, owing to the great number of applicants:

"Your favor has been received, in which you express a desire to be appointed Indian Agent at C——, &c. As soon as I received your letter I called on the Secretary of War to ascertain whether the place was still vacant, that I might present your claims as desired; and was informed by him that the person was selected for the office, and I believe was nominated to the Senate, which prevented even an opportunity of serving you. I should be happy to serve you whenever opportunity offers. But *I can assure you that there is such a press of applications for every vacancy high or low*, that the prospect of success is gloomy, for any person. I feel sincerely and feelingly what you say about your difficulties and embarassments."

At this time, the national administration looked with a jealous eye, not only at the National Bank, but also at the American Fur Company. Whether this was because the chief agents of that Company differed in politics from the administration, from which was inferred that opposition existed in their subordinates: or whether, as in case of the Bank, the trade was deemed so profitable as to be an object worthy of control, to furnish office and employment for aspirants who could not otherwise be provided for, is not easy to be determined at this late day. But it is cer-

tain that a war of words, and, to some extent, of laws, was waged against the Company, as well as against the Bank, and Mr. BURNETT, as an Agent of the Government, was called upon *by authority* to furnish information to be used in the attack upon the Company.

A letter dated St. Louis, Mo., May 3d, 1831, to Mr. BURNETT, reads thus: "The American Fur Company seems to have made war upon the agents in all the Missouri country, except one or two who belong to them; hence the reason for the publication of a series of numbers in the St. Louis Beacon, commencing 3d Feb., to which you are referred. They have been attributed to me.

"I wish you to furnish me a full and minute history of the workings and doings of this Company in your quarter; *whether they do not oppose the present administration and views of the Government, and the agents of the Government;* whether they do not cheat and impose on the Indians of your agency, as to prices, &c. What are their prices, and whether they have not purchased up all the interpreters that are worth anything; whether they do not hold councils with the Indians, and render the agents odious to them; whether they do not employ persons that are really opposed to our Government; (the monopoly I refer to is the Am. Fur Co.); whether they do not bid an insolent defiance to the authority of the Government and its agents; and is not their course opposed to civilizing the Indians.

"I want the benefit of your information generally; but not to be published, or your name in any manner exposed, or in the slightest manner referred to unless authorized. This Company have threatened to break down the Department and elevate themselves; hence the lot has fallen on me to expose and break them down, which will be accomplished. *Doubt not; I know the authority under which I proceed. Direct to me, care of Gen. Clark.*"

Whatever may have been the motive of this system of espionage, or whether Mr. BURNETT did as required, I know not; but I

do know, that whatever he may have thought of the course pursued by the Am. Fur Co., he held in perfect odium this relic of tyranny, a system of espionage in other men's concerns.* But there really being no grounds, except as above hinted, for this parade of weapons against that Company, the probability is Mr. BURNETT did not furnish the desired information; and it is further probable, that his not doing so, was one cause of his proscription in 1834. There were, no doubt, some things in the management of the fur trade about as detrimental to the interests of the Indians, as in the trade of merchants generally with the whites. But the advantages that both are to the communities in which they are established, so far exceed their disadvantages, that the latter sink into the shade of forgetfulness in the light of the former.

In twenty years residence among Indians, traders and Canadians, I have not been able to discover any tendency towards Canada or the British government from the employment of Canadians or foreigners in the fur trade. The only thing that I could discern as influencing the Indians towards the British, was the presents given them on Drummond's Island in Lake Huron. While these were given, the Indians from the head of Lake Superior and its tributaries would go occasionally to get them, but when these were discontinued, their visits were also discontinued. Nor were the profits of the fur trade so very valuable as was supposed; in proof of which we have the failure of one of the companies, as well as the vast majority of their factors or sub-traders. The trader might sell his goods for three times their original cost, and yet be the loser in the transaction. To give an idea of this, or the facts in the case, the account stands as follows:

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* It may well be regretted, that so much stress is laid upon this matter by Mr. BRUNSON. Of the writer of the letter cited, we know nothing—the letter itself comes to us as anonymous; and the "by authority" may well have been assumed for some sinister or vindictive purpose the writer had in view against the American Fur Company. Narratives like this, designed for historic preservation, to go forth under the auspices of the State Historical Society, and designed too for readers of all shades of political opinion, should never be marred by even the semblance of party prejudice or personal animosity. L. C. D.

The original cost of the outfit, say	$500
One clerk, whose pay per annum is	500
Four *voyageurs*, who convey the clerk and his goods to their winter quarters, build their fort, guard their goods, get wood, provisions, &c., &c., at $100 per man,	400
The wild rice and meat purchased,	100
Cost of outfit, besides canoes,	$1,500

In this trade, the Indians must have credit for ammunition, blankets, &c., or they cannot hunt, and of these, upon an average, one-third is not paid. The game may be scarce, the hunt unfavorable, so that they cannot pay; and some Indians, like some white men, are dishonest, and will not pay. Now unless the trader sells at a price to pay expenses including transportation from Europe to the place of sale, the expense, of agents, factors, chief officers, &c., it must be a losing concern.

In view of the facts of the case, the supposed profits of the trade were probably the object of pursuit. But before that could be obtained, some pretext must be found on which to legislate the Company out of the Indian country. The act of 1834, regulating the trade with the Indians, did not do this, but was in reality a benefit to the Company; yet the Company failed because the Indians were decreasing, the trade diminishing, and the game fast disappearing.

It was true enough, that a majority at least of the agents and clerks of the American Fur Company were, like most other business men of that time, not favorable to the political views of the then dominant party, and it is further true that the Indian agencies being now filled by the friends of the dominant party, in reward for their services in electing their chief, this would of course bring the two opposites in *political* views into contact in the Indian country, and the traders might truly enough be opposed to the then administration. But this trading Company was a private, not public concern, and the Government had no authority or right in our free country, to interfere with the business, or to seek

the supposed profits of the trade, in order to reward partizans for their political services.

The Government had its factories established under its patronage and control, the offices whereof could be filled by the Executive with the same right and authority as other offices under his control. But these factories had proved a failure as to profit, and therefore were of no value. In all my intercourse with the traders, I found them very prudent and cautious in expressing their views on politics; and, without exception, found them disposed to sustain the Government in its measures regulating intercourse with the Indians. This was policy in them, lest they should bring down the power of the Government upon them, in the shape of oppressive laws, which would break up their trade.

I allude to these facts, to show the absurdity and bad policy, in a free country especially, of this "spoils" theory, and whether Democratic or Whig, or any other party should be at the head of affairs, the rewarding of partizans with office is setting a precedent which must eventually, if not discontinued, lead to the ruin of our institutions. Those out of office are always more numerous than those who are in, and if at any time the "outs" unite, they can oust the "ins;" and by this process, the most villainous may gain the highest power, and by sufficiently rewarding his followers, secure himself, as did Louis Napoleon, on a throne, before the country is aware of it.

In May 1831, Gen. Street leaving the agency in care of Mr. Burnett, the latter reported to Gen. Clark, on the 18th of that month, that "the Indian relations among the different tribes of this quarter, have not a very amicable appearance. The threatning of the Sauks and Foxes, and occasional acts of mischief committed by them against the whites, in the vicinity of Rock Island, have doubtless been communicated to you before this time.

"The Sioux chief Wabashaw and a considerable number of his tribe, are now here. A small party of them who came across the country from Red Cedar, state that within their country north of the line of the purchase of last summer, they came upon a war

road of the Sauks and Foxes. They followed the trail leading out of their country several days, and from the signs remaining at their camps, they have no doubt, that three or more of the Sioux have been murdered by the Sauks and Foxes. Among other appearances that confirmed them in this belief, was a painted buffalo robe, such as no Indians in this quarter but the Sioux, make or use, cut in pieces at one of their camps. They pursued their trail until they came upon their camp, a few miles north of the old Red Cedar Fort; but finding them double their own number, did not make an attack. They say, that they have made peace and promised to keep it, and will not in any case be the aggressors.

"Col. MORGAN informed me two days since, that he had sent down to the Sauks and Foxes to send up ten or twelve of their men to see him, and have a talk with him. They were expected here on yesterday, but have not yet arrived. The Sioux are waiting their arrival, and are, I believe, ready to meet them, either as friends or enemies. When they were informed that the Foxes were coming, they put their arms in order. They say that if the Sauks and Foxes come and deport themselves peaceably, they will not molest them, but if they see any hostile manifestations, they will strike them. My own opinion is, that if the Sauks and Foxes have had a war party out against the Sioux, they will not come here upon Col. MORGAN's invitation, knowing as they do, that the Sioux always visit this place about this season in considerable numbers.

"A part of the Menomonees have been to see me since Gen. STREET's departure. They renewed their promise not to go against the Chippewas for the present, but to wait a while longer to hear from their Great Father."

The squally appearance of Indian affairs, called for the watchful attention alike of agents, and officers of the army. But it became a question of etiquette, which should take the lead in the matter. The military seems to have claimed that right, while the agents claimed at least to know what had been done in the

premises; both being then under the superintendence of the War Department, the military considered the Indian Department as subordinate to theirs. But Mr. BURNETT thought otherwise, claiming that each branch of the public service had its appropriate duties, with which the other should not interfere, while in case of necessity one should assist the other, both acting in unison. And as the Sauks and Foxes alluded to in his letter to Gen. CLARK did come to the place, with whom Col. MORGAN held a council, without the knowledge or co operation of the Agent, Mr. BURNETT claimed to be informed of the nature and extent of the proceedings, and addressed a note, dated May 23d, 1831, to Col. MORGAN, as follows:

"SIR—I was informed yesterday that you held, on the morning of that day, a council with a party of Sioux and a party of Fox Indians which you had assembled in the village of Prairie du Chien. As the acting Indian Agent at this place, it properly concerns me to know what takes place at this post in relation to Indian affairs. I should therefore be glad to be informed of the circumstances that required such council. The objects to be effected, and the results accomplished; also the names of the chiefs or men of influence of either tribe, who were present. Will you please to communicate to me as early as may be convenient, the desired information, and likewise whether Gen STREET was apprised, previous to his departure, of the contemplated meeting of those Indians."

This brought from Col. MORGAN the following tart reply, and raised the question of prerogative:

"SIR—I acknowledge in you no right to call on me to render an account of my proceedings to you, though if you will do me the favor to call at my quarters on my return from St. Peter's, for which place I am just about to set out, I will explain to you the object of the council and tell you what passed. You were apprised yourself of the Foxes having been invited, and you knew they had arrived. Why stay four or five miles off? I stated to

the Indians that you should have been to the council, if you had been here."

The "four or five miles" alluded to by the Colonel, was the distance from the fort and village to the residence of Gen. STREET, where the office of the agency was kept, that being the nearest house suitable for his family that could then be obtained. It was true, that Mr. BURNETT had knowledge that the Foxes had been sent for, the Sioux being already on the ground, and that the Foxes had arrived, but not of the time and place of holding the council, and this he claimed should have been given. But the Colonel, standing upon the dignity of his office, as commandant of the military post, seemed to think that the Agent must or should have been on hand, whether he had notice thereof or not, as any other spectator.

The question of prerogative was now fairly raised. Whether it was ever settled by the War Department, I do not know, but a common sense view of the subject would say, that each branch of the public service had its own appropriate duties and prerogatives, and that neither had a right to interfere with or encroach upon the other. The Indians were placed under the care and control of the agency, while the military was under the care and control of its proper officers; nor had Col. MORGAN any more control of the Indians, than the agent had of the troops. Their uniting in one common head at Washington, gave one no more right to interfere with the duties of the other, than it would the Navy and War Departments to encroach upon each other because the President was their common head, or for the Executive, Judicial and Legislative departments to arrogate each others' rights, because their respective powers were alike derived from the Constitution. Every department of the Government, and each subordinate branch of the respective departments, have their appropriate duties to perform; and when necessary, to unite their energies for the benefit of the whole. So if the civil department, to which the Indian department belongs, and is *now* appropriately assigned, requires the aid of the military, the latter must serve

the former; for, in our form of government, the military must be subject to the civil authority. It is clear, therefore, that in this case Mr. BURNETT was right.

It is well known, that on the frontiers, and beyond the reach of courts of justice, and sometimes within their reach, if not very strong, the military officers are very apt to exercise all the authority of the Legislative, Executive and Judicial departments, over the few straggling citizens who may chance to be in their vicinity. In some cases this has been absolutely necessary, because no other government existed. In my first visits to Fort Snelling, at the mouth of the St. Peters, then commanded by Lieut. Col. DAVENPORT, and three hundred miles beyond the jurisdiction of any civil court, this was the only government exercised over the traders, their employees, discharged soldiers, and *voyageurs* who had settled in that vicinity. But such was the mild and patriarchal character of the administration of the government, that no one could reasonably object to it, or be particularly anxious for a change. The only thing complained of, was the suppression of the whiskey trade among the Indians and soldiers; but this was done by authority of an act of Congress, and the articles of war, and was not only justified, but demanded by the laws of humanity.

Yet, in some instances, the officers of the army have exceeded the bounds of propriety and the rights of citizenship, and that too where the civil authority was within reach. A citizen of this place was once whipped by the soldiers by order of Col. J——s; another was sent to St. Louis under guard, without any charge being preferred against him, and left to find his way back to his family as best he could, and upon his return, he found them ejected from his house by the soldiers.

Mr. BURNETT informed Gen. CLARK of the transaction of Col. MORGAN, May 28th, 1831: "In my letter of the 18th inst., I informed you that Col. MORGAN had sent for the Sauks and Foxes to visit this post. On the 21st instant, about fifteen men of the Foxes of Dubuque mines arrived at the village, and on the next

day Col. MORGAN held a council with them and the Sioux, who were here. I presume that whatever took place at the council, or was effected by the meeting of the Indians, of any importance, will be communicated to you through the proper channel, by Col. MORGAN who acted alone in the measure.

"The Sioux had been waiting the arrival of the Foxes for several days. The Foxes landed at the village on Saturday evening, not later I think than four o'clock. The council was opened the next morning, as I am informed, at ten o'clock; yet no intimation of either time or place of meeting, or that my presence was at all desired, was given, although there was ample time to do so. Throughout the transaction, there has been no consultation had, or co-operation had with the agency. The only communication upon the subject previous to the council and the departure of the Indians, was the simple fact that he had sent for the Foxes, of which I apprised you. I suppose that if any thing occurred of sufficient importance to found a report upon, he will communicate the facts, and in that case, it must appear that the measure was undertaken and carried through without any connection or co-operation with this agency. I have, therefore, given the above statement of facts to show that the absence of co-operation in the affair, was not from neglect of duty or inattention on the part of this agency.

"The information that I have collected on the subject, is this: some fifteen Foxes from Dubuque mines, all young men except one or two, came up and had a talk with the Sioux and Col. MORGAN, in which each expressed a desire to continue the peace which had been concluded between them the last year. The Foxes denied any knowledge of a war party having gone against the Sioux. They said they wished to be at peace, and would not do any act of hostility, but they could not answer for those below—they spoke for themselves only. They smoked and danced together, and parted in apparent friendship and harmony."

The extent of the frontier, and the number of tribes within the agency, kept up an almost incessant excitement as to their affairs,

and to keep the Government advised of all their movements, required constant vigilance and the writing of numerous letters. Under date of June 13th, 1831, Mr. BURNETT writes to Gen. CLARK: "I have received, since the last mail from this place, information which I consider entitled to credit, that a war party of Sioux is now being organized among WASHABA's band, to go against the Chippewas, by a warrior of some note in that band. I have also understood, that there are a few Menomonees, relatives of those who were killed by the Chippewas in the fall and winter past, now with the band of Sioux. But I have not been able to learn whether they intend joining the Sioux in their expedition, or not, but think it probable that some of them will do so."

Under date of June 29th he wrote: "I am informed by Major LANGHAM, who arrived here from below a few days since, that the Winnebagoes of *the Prophet's* village on Rock river, have united with the Sauks and Foxes. The Winnebagoes of the Wisconsin and Upper Mississippi are still peaceable. They are most likely waiting to see the first results of the movements below, and intend to act afterwards according to circumstances.

"Until within two or three weeks past, very few of those Indians have visited this place, for a length of time, fewer, I am told, than usual at this season of the year. Lately a great many of them have been here, the most of whom came down the Wisconsin and have gone up the Mississippi. A great portion of them are old men, women and children. They continue to pass by daily. Many rumors are in circulation as to their present disposition and intention; very few of which are, perhaps, entitled to implicit belief. They have served, however, to give considerable alarm to many of the inhabitants of the Prairie, and many of them begin to think themselves in danger. I have spared no pains to ascertain the disposition of the Winnebagoes here, and have found no evidence of a disposition to hostilities on their part, unless their sending so many of their old men, women and children up the river, and purchasing powder in larger quantities than

usual for ordinary hunting, should indicate something of the kind.

"I also learned a few days since, that the 'one eyed DECORI' had left his village at Prairie La Crosse, and gone down to the Sauks and Foxes. This was accidentally communicated to my informant by a Winnebago, and is probably true. DECORI was down about two weeks since, and called to see me on his return home. His deportment was as usual; I saw no change. In fact I have not discovered any change in the deportment or appearance of any of them that I have seen. They all appear to be perfectly friendly. None of the traders here think they have any hostile intentions.

"C. A. MORGAN left the fort for Rock Island on the morning of the 27th inst., with two companies from his post, and two more from Fort Winnebago, under Major TWIGGS. He had previously called in all fatigue parties, and put his whole force under a course of training. Much alarm prevails in the mines. The people are arming and preparing for their defence. I do not consider that there is any immediate danger either here or in this vicinity. Much, however, will doubtless depend on the result below. The Sioux and Menomonees are certainly friendly, and against the Sauks and Foxes, would willingly unite with the whites, if permitted to do so. I have heard nothing since my last of a war party of those Indians against the Chippewas."

On the 24th of October, 1831, Mr. BURNETT obtained leave of absence until the ensuing spring, to visit some friends and arrange some business he had left unsettled in Kentucky. In granting this permission, Gen. STREET says: "Permit me to avail myself of the present occasion to acknowledge the great support I have received from you in all my official duties, during a period of fourteen or fifteen months, and to assure you of my high regard and unlimited friendship."

Sometime before his departure, Mr. BURNETT had written to his friend Dr. C. R. MCFALL of Keene, Ky., in which he gave some account of the duties and amount of business of an Indian

Agent, which drew from him, under date of Nov. 13th, 1831, the following amusing remarks:

"The idea I had formed of the duties of an Indian Agent, I find by the light you have reflected upon the subject, was by no means correct. I had thought his only duty was, to sit behind his desk, and issue out to the Indians their regular supply of whiskey, powder, lead and other articles which Uncle Sam covenants to furnish to the said Indians at an unusually low price; and in payment for said articles, said Indians have ceded to Uncle Sam a certain tract or parcel of land known by certain boundaries, &c. But no; in place of enjoying himself in luxurious ease, the poor Agent has to take long and painful journeys by land and water; suffer from the bites of musquitoes, from heat and cold, &c. Pretty tough work this, for a Kentucky lawyer especially. But it is not, I find, Uncle Sam's plan to hire laborers to work his farm, and suffer them to sleep out their time in complete torpidity. No, they must be up and doing, must earn their wages by hard labor.

"It must certainly have been a queer kind of a sight, to have seen a Kentuckian, learned in all the lore of the law, holding a council with the red men of the forest. Like a young Mercury he arrives among them; they are assembled together; mute silence reigns throughout the Assembly; deep thought and anxious expectations sit on every countenance. Now is the time; he rises, tells them in the most finished language of the most fertile imagination, the object of the meeting, what Uncle Sam expects to do for them, and what they must do for him. As he warms with his subject, his imagination expands; the earth, air and sea are brought to his aid, as comparative objects. He ceases, and his audience knows not what he has said."

During the time that Mr. Burnett had been at the agency, he had attended as counsel to some important suits, in which the Government through some of its agents was a party, for which he claimed fees as attorney, this not being embraced in his duties as Agent, and if he had not done so the Government must have

employed some one else. The fees charged for the several suits were $500, which the Agent approved and allowed. In December of this year, he visited Washington, for the double purpose of keeping his office from the grasp of some hungry office-hunter, hundreds of whom are hovering around the capitol any winter, and against whom I perceive by his correspondence, it is necessary for every office holder to keep a watchful eye, which is the reason that so many of them visit Washington so often; and also for the purpose of securing this fee, which had been refused. But this latter he did not get allowed at that time, but being long-winded on such a chase, he hung to it until the Department paid him $225.

In February, 1832, while Mr. BURNETT was in Kentucky, Gen. STREET wrote him, that "the Menomonees and Sioux are preparing for a retaliatory war against the Sauks and Foxes in the spring. The Menomonees have made peace with the Chippewas, in order to have no fears from that quarter. The two tribes met above the mill on the Chippewa and made their peace. I have advised the Superintendent so as to have the earliest interferance, if any is intended. The Sauks and Foxes, I learn, expect retaliation and will be prepared to meet them. If the Government is not early in stopping them, they will certainly go in considerable force, and a bloody contest may be expected."

About the first of April, Mr. BURNETT received instructions, while yet in Shelbyville, to "proceed to the agency at Prairie du Chien by way of St. Louis, and call on Gen. CLARK for the funds alloted to the agency for 1832, or such portion thereof as he shall determine to forward. The receipts will be forwarded to you at St. Louis as soon as a conveyance by steam boat shall occur." Mr. BURNETT reached the agency about the 1st of May. At that time the Sauks and Foxes under BLACK HAWK were in hostile movements on Rock River, with Gen. ATKINSON in pursuit. To aid in the defence of the country, Gen. ATKINSON from Dixon's Ferry, May 26th, 1832, addressed Gen. STREET as follows:

"SIR:—I have to request, that you send me at this place, with

as little delay as possible, as many Menomonee and Sioux Indians as can be collected, within striking distance of Prairie du Chien. I want to employ them in conjunction with the troops against the Sauks and Foxes, who are now some fifty miles above us in a state of war against the whites. I understand the Menomonees, to the number of three hundred warriors, who were with you a few days ago, are anxious to take part with us. Do encourage them to do so, and promise them rations, blankets, pay, &c. I have written to Capt. Loomis to furnish them some arms, if they can be spared, and ammunition. If there are none at Prairie du Chien, I must procure some in this quarter. Col. Hamilton, who has volunteered his services to lead the Indians to this place, will hand you this letter; and if the Indians can be prevailed on to come, will perform the duty. I have to desire that Mr. Marsh may be sent with Col. Hamilton and the Indians, and an interpreter of the Menomonee language." In accordance with this requirement, Gen. Street gave, on May 30th, to Mr. Burnett the following instructions:

"Sir:—You will please proceed with Mr. John Marsh, who goes express to the nearest Sioux village, and render him such aid as may be necessary in obtaining as many Indians as possible, to come down with you, and proceed under the command of Mr. Marsh to join Gen. Atkinson. The letter of Gen Atkinson will be your guide in the business. Use every means to expedite the object; and hasten your return, as much depends upon expedition."

The nearest Sioux village was one hundred and thirty miles up the river from the seat of the agency, which had to be ascended in canoes, there being no steamer then to be had. Yet in six days after receiving the order, Mr. Burnett made the following report to Gen. Street:

"Sir:—In obedience to your order of the 30th ult, I set out immediately from this place, in company with Mr. Marsh, in a canoe, with eight hands, to visit the nearest village of the Sioux Indians. From recent indications among the Winnebagoes of the

Upper Mississippi of a disposition to engage in hostilities with the Sauks and Foxes, Mr. MARSH and myself thought best to call at their village on the river La Crosse, and invite so many as might be disposed to join us on our return, and go with the Sioux and Menomonees to join Gen. ATKINSON's army on Rock River. We arrived at the Winnebago village, on the evening of the next day after leaving this post, and that night had a talk with the chiefs and braves upon the subject. WIN-O-A SHE-KAN was opposed to the measure, and declined having anything to do with it. He said the Sauks had twice, this season, presented the red wampum to the Winnebagoes at Portage, and that they had as often washed it white, and handed it back to them; that he did not like that red thing; he was afraid of it. WAUDGH-HA-TA-KAN took the wampum, and said that he with all the young men of the village would go; that they were anxious to engage in the expedition, and would be ready to accompany us on our return.

"The next day we reached Prairie Aux Ailes (WA BA-SHA), and found the Sioux extensively anxious and ready to go against the Sauks and Foxes. They were intending to make a descent upon them in a few days, if they had not been sent for. They engaged with alacrity in their preparations, but we found it necessary to wait till Monday morning to give them time. We left their village on our return, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, accompanied by the whole effective force of the band, and at La Crosse, were joined by twenty warriors of the Winnebagoes, the remainder of their village to follow the next day, and reached this place to-day, at 2 o'clock P. M, with one hundred warriors; eighty of whom are Sioux, and twenty Winnebagoes. I think from the disposition manifested by the Winnebagoes, that fifty or sixty more of them will be here before the expedition leaves the Prairie, making a force of one hundred and thirty, or one hundred and forty. The Indians, with whom I have met, appear well effected towards the whites, are in fine spirits, and seem anxious to engage with the Sauks and Foxes.

"I made the promise authorized to the Indians of subsistance,

pay, &c., and told them that their families should be supplied with provisions during their absence from home. The most of the families of the warriors have accompanied them thus far, to take a supply of provisions home with them, when the expedition shall have left this place. It is due to Mr. Marsh to say, that he has displayed great zeal and energy in effecting the object of our visit, and that his exertions had the effect of bringing out the greatest possible force from the bands we have called upon."

Mr. Burnett greatly desired and strongly urged Gen. Street to allow him to accompany these Indians and take part in the war. But the general thought his services were needed at and near the agency, and therefore declined to comply with the request.

In the meantime, the Sauks and Foxes retreated from the Rock River to the Wisconsin, taking their own time for it on account of the slow motion of Gen. Atkinson. Black Hawk is said to have remarked, that he could plant and raise corn, and keep out of the way of Atkinson. But on the Wisconsin, the wiley chief met another and unexpected enemy in the persons of Gen. Dodge and his volunteers, who gave the Indians battle, and routed them, "horse, foot and dragoons." The news of this defeat of the Indians soon reached Prairie du Chien, and it was thought probable that if the Sauks and Foxes could get canoes or even rafts, that they would attempt to escape from their pursuers by descending the Wisconsin River. To prevent this, some volunteer troops, Mr. Burnett among others, were stationed on that river at the ferry, now Barrett's. But the Indians took across the country towards Bad Ax. The success of Gen. Dodge at the Peckatonica, led to the following expression of respect from the prominent men of Prairie du Chien, not included in the army, addressed to him July 3d, 1832:

"Sir:—The undersigned, citizens of this place, have witnessed, with feelings of high respect and admiration, the patriotic exertions you have made for the defence of our frontier against the cruelties of savage warfare. Fully appreciating the nature and motives of the bold and energetic course of your conduct in behalf of our suffering country, we send you by Capt. Jas. B. Estes,

a double-barrelled gun, which we hope you will accept, as a small testimony of the high estimation in which we hold your character as an officer and a citizen." Signed by J. M. STREET, J. P. BURNETT, W. M. REED, H. L. DOUSMAN, MICHAEL BRISBOIS, B. W. BRISBOIS, JEAN BRUNETT and JOSEPH BRISBOIS.

As soon as it was ascertained, that the hostile Indians were wending their way to the Mississippi, north of this place, to escape pursuit; with a view to intercept them Gen. STREET, July 25th, 1832, wrote to Mr. BURNETT: "Sir:—You will proceed up the Mississippi to the Winnebagoes, twenty-five or thirty miles above this place, and inform them of Gen. DODGE's battle, and of the crossing of the Sauks to the north side of the Wisconsin, and that their chiefs CARRAMANA and DECORI* are here, and that I want all of the Winnebagoes to come down with you immediately; tell them it is the wish of their chiefs also. One object of this is, to get them out of the way, with their canoes, to prevent their crossing the Sauks over the river. Send on word, if you can, to the upper villages, that the Sauks have been defeated, and have crossed the Wisconsin. And should the Winnebagoes hesitate, tell them that if they do not come, I will not pay the annuity to any who refuse. The time is now near and they will lose their money. Hasten back as soon as possible."

The next day, July 26th, Mr. BURNETT reported: "Sir:—In obedience of your order of yesterday, I set out from this place in a bark canoe late last evening to visit the Winnebagoes, supposed to be encamped twenty-five or thirty miles above Prairie du Chien. This morning before day the steamboat *Enterprise*, with a military command, came by my encampment and took myself and crew on board. Before arriving at the place where the Indians had been encamped, we found that they had been gone for several days, and had removed some distance above. We there-

* KAY-RAY-MAU-NEE, or *Walking Turtle*, took part with the British at the battle of the Thames, and of DAY-KAU-RAY mention has already been made. In addition to the note on page 178 of this volume, we can state, that the "grand old chief" DAY-KAU-RAY, whose Indian name was SCHA-CHIP-KA-KA, died on the Wisconsin River, April 20th, 1836, in his 90th year. L. C. D.

fore continued on up a considerable distance, passing several lodges at different points until we came to the principal camp, on the east side of the river, supposed to be sixty miles above Prairie du Chien. I communicated your message to all the Indians I saw on the way, who readily promised to obey your instructions.

"At the principal camp, I found WASHINGTON DECORI with a considerable part of the tribe from the Wisconsin and Kickapoo rivers. I immediately informed them of your request, and desired them to get ready as soon as possible and go to the agency. They manifested entire willingness to do so, but said some of their party were out hunting, and would be in at night, for whom they wished to wait, so that all might come together. They promised very positively, that they would start as soon as the hunters should arrive, and would certainly see you by the middle of the afternoon to morrow. After some conversation about their starting this evening, and their still objecting to do so until the hunters came in, Lieut. ABERCROMBIE told them, that he would wait until sunset for them to get ready; and if they did not start by that time, he would take all their canoes, and bring them down with the steam-boat. About two hours after this, they concluded to start, and let the hunters come on after them; and after seeing all the canoes move off, we started on our return, and reached this place at 9 o'clock this evening. The Indians whom I saw, will be here to-morrow by 12 o'clock. They had not heard of the battle on the Wisconsin, but appeared to be highly gratified and pleased at the news."

The next day, July 27th, GEN. STREET ordered Mr. BURNETT to "proceed with WASHINGTON DECORI to La Crosse, and such other points as you may deem important, and tell the Winnebagoes I wish to see them at the agency. I wish WIN NE-SHICK certainly to come. Much must be left to your own judgment in the case. The object is to get what information you can relative to the Sauks and Foxes, and to draw all the Winnebagoes from the Upper Mississippi, and with them the means of passing the river. If you can, extend the news to the Sioux."

The following day Mr. BURNETT reported to Gen. STREET: "In obedience to your order of yesterday, I went on board the steamer *Enterprise* last evening, and started for La Crosse. We arrived early this morning at the entrance of the lower mouth of Black River, and found the Winnebagoes encamped on the shore. I took WE-KON DECORI, and went on shore immediately to see the Indians. I found the One-Eyed DECORI and the LITTLE THUNDER at the lodges, but found that most of the band had left the village sometime since. WIN-NE-SHICK and WAU-MAR-NAR-SAR, with about fifteen men and their families, had been gone near a month to hunt, and dry meat, about fifty miles up La Crosse and Black Rivers. The rest of the band were in the camp. I told them that you wished to see them immediately; that the Americans under Gen. DODGE had defeated the Sauks and Foxes on the Wisconsin, and after killing a great many had driven them across the river; that the defeated Indians were endeavoring to make their escape to the Mississippi for the purpose of crossing it, and regaining their own country; and that it was probable they would attempt to reach that point, that they might get the Winnebago canoes to cross in, and that they must get away from that place before the Sauks and Foxes arrived.

"They said they would come down immediately on the return of the absent party; that they were afraid of the Sauks, and did not wish to leave a small part of their band behind, who were too few to resist if they should meet them. I then told them to send two of their best young men on horseback, to bring in the hunting party. They very promptly complied, and in a short time the young men were mounted and on their way. I charged the express to carry to the absent Indians the message I had delivered, and to tell WIN-NE-SHICK especially, that his presence was required at the agency. The chiefs present told me, that they thought they would all be here certainly in six days, and probably sooner. I told them it was of great importance to them to come as soon as possible, and bring all their canoes on the river; that if the Sauks should come to that point, they were not strong

enough to prevent them from taking their canoes (if they did not kill them), and crossing over the river; that should they effect a passage to the west side of the river, at any point above this place, within their country, they would be suspected of assisting them, and if it should be known that they had done so, they would lose their annuities, and be treated as allies of the Sauks and Foxes. They promised to start for this place on the return of the absent party, and bring all their canoes with them. From their apparent anxiety, I think they will be here in three or four days at the farthest, though they said it might be six.

"The Sioux chief, L'Ark, who left this place on the evening of the 25th inst., passed Black River this morning before our arrival, and will reach his people with the news (which he received from here) to-day. Having done all we could, we left La Crosse at 10 A. M., and reached this place at 3 P. M.," making 90 miles in five hours.

It was but a few days after this, the 2nd of August, 1832, that Gen. Atkinson over-hauled the broken fragments of Black Hawk's army, fatigued, hungry, and dispirited, and attacked them on the bottoms of the Mississippi, a few miles below the mouth of Bad Ax River, about forty-five miles above Prairie du Chien, and totally defeated and scattered them. Black Hawk succeeded in crossing the river by some means, probably on a raft of driftwood, but was soon after taken prisoner by a company of Winnebagoes. Mr. Burnett was with them or met them soon after the capture, to whom Black Hawk gave a piece of red ribbon which was tied to his hair.* Thus ended the most fearful Indian war that has ever occurred on the soil of Wisconsin.

We have noticed before, that Mr. Burnett being a lawyer, and having but a small salary, one not equal to the duties performed, and the expenses of the place in which he lived, claimed the right which was exercised by others of his profession, to practice at the bar. But in doing so, he involved himself in a difficulty with an

* This piece of ribbon is now, Jan. 18th, 1856, in my possession, and will, with this memoir, be sent to the State Historical Society for preservation. A. B.

officer of the army, which was not settled for several years. The affair itself is an item of history in his life worthy of note, but it assumes a higher degree of importance in this connection than mere history, because it involves an important *legal* question, and possibly will cast some light upon the rights, privileges and duties of public agents, as to whether they must abandon all other means of support, when in the public employ, though the pay therefor is insufficient for their support, or less than an equivalent for the services rendered.

The ground work of this matter was laid during the first year of his agency, 1830, but was suffered to slumber till 1832, and was continued under advisement, or something else, until 1833. But to give the whole matter in one view, I shall here place it in one connection, which cannot be done to better advantage than by copying some of the proceedings. On the 3rd of November, 1830, Capt. R. B. Mason preferred the following charge against Mr. Burnett, to Col. Willoughby Morgan, who, as we have seen, had no jurisdiction or control over the agency or its incumbents, it being a seperate and distinct branch of the Government. The Colonel, as we have already seen, was at this date commanding officer of the *garrison*, not of the Indian Department:

"Sir—I beg leave to state to you, and request that you will lay the case before the Secretary of War, that while the officers of the army at this post are striving to prevent drunkenness among the soldiers, and are prosecuting before the civil courts various persons for selling spirituous liquors to them contrary to the law of the Territory, that Mr. Burnett, the Sub Indian Agent, an officer of another department of the Government, is throwing his weight in the opposite scale, by appearing before the courts, and defending the persons who thus offend against the laws, and who have annoyed us so much. This conduct on the part of Mr. Burnett, is the more surprising as his duties are somewhat connected with the military, and from his intercourse with the garrison, it must be known to him how exceedingly we are annoyed by the grog-shop keepers, and how much the works at this place have been

retarded in consequence of the drunkenness of the men. The Government, I presume, in giving Mr. BURNETT the appointment of Sub-Indian Agent, and sending him to this place to perform the duties of that office, little expected that he would be aiding the whiskey-sellers, and thereby opposing the exertions of the officers of the garrison in endeavoring to keep their men sober."

At this time, Mr. BURNETT was absent at Fort Winnebago on official business, and had no knowledge of what was brewing, until his return, about the first of December. On the 18th of November, while Mr. BURNETT was still absent, Col. MORGAN, without waiting for his return, or giving him any notice of the complaint, wrote to Gen. STREET, that "A communication from Capt. MASON was yesterday forwarded to head-quarters of the Western Department, with a view to be transmitted to the War Department, complaining of the course taken by Mr. BURNETT, your Sub-Agent, in defending before the courts here, persons accused of selling spirituous liquors without license. I have deemed it my duty to forward this communication in obedience to the request of Captain MASON; though I believe Mr. BURNETT in the course complained of, is actuated more by a sense of duty than inclination. I am certain he is as anxious to put down the grog-shops, which have sprung up here to our great annoyance, as any other person. He is the drafter of a petition to prevent the sale of whiskey to soldiers within the limits of this county, which is now circulating for signers. Mr. BURNETT being absent, is the reason I have addressed you this communication."

On the 30th of November, Mr. BURNETT having returned from Fort Winnebago, Gen. STREET wrote him: "I avail myself of the earliest moment after your return to hand you the enclosed letter from Col. W. MORGAN to me. Not being favored with Capt. MASON's complaint, I am ignorant of the particulars objected against you; yet I am desirous that you may be apprised of what has been doing here, during your short absence, with a view, it would seem, to operate on you as an officer of the Indian Department. I could not feel, that such a communication, to one so intimately

acquainted with your whole course of conduct since your arrival here, required an answer from me.

"In handing over Col. MORGAN's letter, which bears date Nov. 18th, I will inform you that there is evidently a mistake in the date. On the 19th of November, about 10 A. M., I was in Col. MORGAN's quarters. He informed me that he had received a complaint from Col. MASON against you the day before, the 18th, and that he was about to write you. I told him you had left for Fort Winnebago two days previous (the 17th Nov.). Col. MORGAN then said he would address me on the subject as you were absent. I replied, 'it will be useless, as I cannot get a letter to him before he returns.' I then left his quarters. On the next day I received a letter on other business, from him, properly dated the 20th November, by his servant, and on the 25th November, the enclosed letter, bearing date the 18th November, was handed to my son in the village. The mail started before 10 A. M., on the 19th, and Col. MORGAN says in his letter, dated the 18th, that he forwarded Capt. MASON's complaint 'yesterday,' which would have made the departure of the mail the 17th, instead of the 19th. Consequently Col. MORGAN must have written this letter after 10 o'clock A. M., on the 19th of November. The date I presume has been a mistake."

Such confusion in dates, casts a gloomy appearance on the matter, and tends to create suspicions that there were some misgivings of mind as to the propriety of the course being pursued. First, on the 19th November, Gen. STREET was in Col. MORGAN's quarters, when the Colonel informed the General, that he received Capt. MASON's complaint against Mr. BURNETT *the day before*, and yet the complaint is dated November 3rd. It further appears that Mr. BURNETT left for Fort Winnebago on the 17th, so that the complaint of Capt. MASON must have lain in his hands two weeks after it was written, before it was forwarded to Col. MORGAN, and that the complaint was not presented to the Colonel until the day Mr. BURNETT left, and as Mr. BURNETT in going such a distance through the then wilderness, would start early in the morn-

ing, the complaint was not probably presented till after his departure. And, secondly, it seems that Col. MORGAN sent off the complaint to Head Quarters on the day following its reception, Mr. BURNETT yet being absent; and yet Col. MORGAN seems to have been ignorant, or at least professes to have been so, of Mr. BURNETT's absence from the place. Thirdly, in the midst of this delay in one case, hot haste is seen in another, and confused dates and statements in the whole; all casting a blur over the proceedings as an honorable, open-handed matter. We can but notice the want of jurisdiction in the case, for Capt. MASON calls Mr. BURNETT "an officer of another department of the Government;" and being of another department, he was not responsible to the military officers. A military officer, or a citizen, if he had so wished, could have preferred charges against Mr. BURNETT directly to the Secretary of War, or through the Agent and General Superintendent, which would have been the usual and proper way; but to complain of a *civil* officer to a *military* one, or to arraign a civil officer before a military tribunal, is in violation of the spirit of our American institutions, and placing the civil under the control of the military powers.

On the first of December, Mr. BURNETT addressed Capt. MASON, requesting a copy of the complaint, which being furnished, is placed first in this series. From this letter it appears that Mr. BURNETT and Capt. MASON had conversed on this subject on the third of November, and the Captain promised a copy of the complaint, but had failed to furnish it. As the complaint was written at the time of its date, Nov. 3d, it is strange that as between gentlemen, the Captain should neglect to give a copy of it as he had promised, and keep it in his possession for two weeks before presenting it to Col. MORGAN, and then to present it after Mr. BURNETT's departure for a distant post on official duties.

The point at issue was, whether Mr. BURNETT, as Sub-Indian Agent, had a right to practice law in any case where an officer of the army was in any way interested. In cases before alluded to, in which the United States were interested, through their agents,

he defended the interest of the Government, and after a long delay, was paid his fee for so doing. No complaint was made for this, but when an officer of the army, on his own responsibility, has brought suit against citizens for selling whiskey without license, because soldiers were the purchasers thereof, for defending them as a lawyer, complaint is made. To prepare for the worst, MR. BURNETT addressed a note each to Gen. STREET, Col. MORGAN, the Judges and Clerk of the Court, enquiring as to his conduct in his professional duties, as well as his general deportment in his official course, to which he received the most satisfactory and flattering answers.

Gen. STREET, under date of Dec. 2d, 1832, says: "I received yours of to-day, and cannot resist the opportunity presented, to assure you of the high estimation in which I hold you, as an amiable, intelligent and honorable man; and most cheerfully do I bear testimony to the correct, prompt, and vigilant discharge of your duties, as an officer of the Government. As the Sub-Agent of Indian Affairs at the agency, your official duties, when not performed in obedience to orders emanating directly from me, have mostly passed under my notice, or been submitted for my advice. The duties of this agency have been greatly increased within the last two years, by wars and murders among the adjacent tribes, and subsequent attempts on the part of the Government, to produce a general peace amongst all the Indian Nations on this frontier. The reckless course of one of the nations at war, in having wantonly killed two Indians belonging to the tribes under the care of this agency, as well as the assembling of the council at Prairie du Chien, cast upon the officers of this agency new and additional duties, tedious, difficult and laborious. But notwithstanding the personal inconvenience, the new and peculiar duties you were thus subjected to, they were performed faithfully, and I have every reason to believe to the entire satisfaction of the commissioners.

"The Indians under the care of this agency, have been fully and completely conciliated, and from being the most savage, warlike

and ferocious on the northern frontier, have become the most gentle and harmless. Since you arrived at the agency, I feel a high gratification in saying, that every official duty has been discharged by you with a faithful and untiring vigilance, that demands my most unqualified approbation, No duty has been neglected, or attempted to be evaded from personal indulgence, or professional pursuits; but a peculiar devotion to the best interests of the Government, has stamped a character on your official course, that needs only to be examined, to be appreciated in its proper light. Nor have your labors been in vain, but success has crowned them in several instances, bearing strong testimony to the faithful exercise of official duty. Residing with me as a member of my family, I am enabled to speak of you more fully as a private friend and public officer. As a man, I have found you amiable, friendly and decisive; as a member of the bar, open, candid, liberal, independent and manly.

"In regard to the particular matter of complaint, as made through Col. MORGAN, if I rightly comprehend it, Capt. MASON complains of your successful defence of citizens charged with having sold spirituous liquors contrary to the laws of Michigan Territory, not for any exceptionable management or sinister intrigue—this, Capt. MASON or any other person, I presume, would not venture to attribute to you; but for *defending them as a lawyer.* He conceives, I understand, that in accepting the office of Sub-Indian Agent, you had deprived yourself of the privilege of pursuing your profession as a lawyer, or at least of defending any citizen *charged* with a breach of the laws. In this I can only remark, we differ widely in opinion. You early applied for obtaining my consent to practice law, unless it should interfere with your official duties. As yet no such interference has occurred.

"In relation to the particular complaint, feeling no particular interest in attending the session of a county court held by two unlearned men, I was in the house only a few minutes during the term. From what I saw, and the subsequent representations of the most reputable individuals, I feel no reluctance in declaring

that your course as an advocate, was polite and deferential, though uncompromising, bold and energetic."

Col. MORGAN, Dec. 3d, 1830, says: "In answer to yours of yesterday, I have the honor to say to you, that your course at the late treaty here, and since, has been entirely satifactory to me, both as it respects your official duties and private deportment. I have not heard any complaint of either. The point in controversy between you and Capt. MASON, seems to be, whether you have a right to practice your profession, or not. That matter can easily be adjusted by higher authority." The Judges, Clerk, and Prosecuting Attorney all testified that the course pursued by Mr. BURNETT in the cases in question, as well as generally, "was open, fair and honorable, and such as could give offence to no man whatever," as they should suppose.

Mr. BURNETT made out and forwarded to the War Department his defence against these charges, with the letters and certificates alluded to above, but heard no more from them till near two years after. In the meantime, the demeanor of Mr. BURNETT towards Capt. MASON was such, as to show the contempt he felt for the course pursued by him, at which MASON took exceptions, and sent him the following challenge, dated Jan. 9th, 1831: "Sir,—I presume from your manner on Sunday last, when I met you at Mr. BRISBOIS', that you feel yourself injured or aggrieved by *some conduct* of mine; if so, it will afford me pleasure to give you honorable satisfaction, at any time you think proper to call for it. You cannot, of course, mistake my meaning."

Were it not for the last sentence in the above, it might be easily construed to mean the "*amende honorable*," such as *ought* to be rendered by one gentleman to another. But this diplomatic double meaning so plainly shows its murderous intent in the last sentence, that no mistake could be made. But to the honor of Mr. BURNETT, he treated the challenge, as every man of high moral courage will—with silent contempt.

Hearing nothing from the complaint for nearly a year, Mr. BURNETT wrote to his friend, Hon. W. T. BARRY, to ascertain the

result; in answer to which he was informed, that no charges had been preferred against him, though his answer to the charges had been nearly a year in the office of Indian Affairs. Here the matter rested, in *statu quo*, and probably would have remained so, the officer to whom it was sent at "Head Quarters," most likely thinking the matter unworthy of notice; but Capt. MASON would not yield the point so easily, and accordingly on the 8th of July, 1832, wrote from St. Louis to Major JOHN GARLAND, then at Washington, to "have a talk with the Secretary of War on the subject." And Mr. GARLAND, himself having some private pique at Mr. BURNETT, appears to have been glad of an opportunity to do him an injury; and accordingly on the 31st of July, 1832, wrote to the Secretary of War, endorsing Capt. MASON's letter to him, which greatly enlarged the complaint, affirming that the charges were true, and urging that they might be investigated. Upon this, Mr. ROBB, Acting Secretary of War, wrote to Gen. CLARK, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. It seems that the original complaint was entirely lost, not having reached the War Department, being most probably deemed unworthy of notice. But now Major GARLAND's urging the investigation so earnestly, and yet leaving nothing to go upon but the letter of Capt. MASON, the Major added what was not true, that "the work on the new garrison was retarded by the drunkenness of the soldiers, which drunkenness occurred in consequence of Mr. BURNETT's defending the whiskey-sellers."

The complaint was now made in fact *de novo*, this being the first knowledge of the matter at the War Department, and Mr. ROBB gave it its proper direction by sending it to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, who in turn sent it to Gen. STREET for investigation, nearly two years after the cause of complaint had occurred. No evidence was presented to sustain the complaint, except the bare assertions of Capt. MASON and Major GARLAND, both *ex parte;* and in reply to these, had been filed in the office the letters and certificates heretofore mentioned. Mr. BURNETT did not deny the defending of those who were prosecuted for selling

quor without license, but denied that his holding the office of ub-Indian-Agent cut him off from his professional privileges, nd he denied that his defending those men was the cause of the runkenness of the soldiers, or that the work of the garrison was tarded on that account. The defence of Mr. BURNETT, addressed Gen. STREET, is lengthy, but as it gives items in his history of hich we have no other means of knowing, and at the same time nbodies an able legal argument and defence, with a correct story of the case, it is given here entire:

"SIR:—In the investigation which you are making, under he orders of the Department of War, of the charges against me Sub-Indian Agent preferred by Capt. MASON, Nov. 3d, 1830, nd in his letter to Major GARLAND of the 8th of July last, and Major GARLAND's letter to the acting Secretary of War of the 31st July last, endorsing the charges, I beg leave most respectfully submit the following response:

"Before going into a particular examination of the case, I will ay, without hesitation or fear of contradiction, and challenge a eference to all or any who have been acquainted with me in pub- c or private, from my boyhood to the present time; that to those ho have *known* and *understood* my conduct, official or other- ise, and who have no personal feeling to gratify, it needs not the rmal ceremony of an investigation, and the production of testi- ony, to satisfy them of its general correctness, and of my dispo- on faithfully to discharge any duty with which I may be charg- d. In this case I am highly gratified that after so tedious a de- y since the origin of the charges, an investigation has taken place at will lay the whole truth of the matter before the Hon. Secre- ry, confident that when he knows the whole truth, a correct de- sion will be given.

"The appointment of Sub-Indian Agent was given me on the 5th of Oct., 1829, and although the salary is a mere pittance, it as accepted in consideration of recent misfortunes, and with the xpectation of being able to render a situation in this country ul- mately advantageous. On the night of the 2nd of that month,

I was badly crippled by the falling of the wall of a burning house in Paris, Ky., from which I shall never entirely recover, and so great was the injury received, that my life was despaired of. This too was the result of my exertions to save the property of my fellow citizens, when the whole town was threatened with immediate destruction, and where I had not a dollar in jeopardy from the flames. It was upwards of seven months before I was able to resume my business, which was now broken up from my protracted inability to attend to it. I might perhaps in time have regained it, but the necessity produced by my misfortune required an immediate supply of means, and within five days after I could walk without a crutch, I started for this place.

"Upon my arrival here, you were so fully sensible of the inadequacy of my salary to the services to be performed, that I received your cordial consent to pursue the practice of my profession, when public duty did not require my attention. I have continued to do so, under the sanction of that permission, until the present period, at no time neglecting, in the slightest degree, any official duty which devolved upon me. In this way, I have been able to render the office acceptable, which could not have been so from the salary alone.

"The first term of the County Court of this county, after my arrival, commenced the 1st day of November, 1830. At that term the grand jury found bills against SAMUEL GRIFFIN, a licensed tavern-keeper, for selling spirituous liquors on Sunday; against CHARLES LA POINTE, jun., and several others, for selling in less quantities than one quart, without licenses; and against JOHN DOWLING, a licensed tavern-keeper, for keeping a disorderly house. In the most of these cases, if not all, I believe that Capt. MASON was the prosecutor. There was no attorney attending the court, except Mr. DALLUM, the Prosecuting Attorney, and myself. I was employed by GRIFFIN and DOWLING to defend them, and the court assigned me as counsel for LA POINTE, in consideration of his circumstances. These were all the prosecutions that I defended at that or any other term of the court, and I have never been

concerned in any way, in the defence of any other prosecutions of the kind before any tribunal in this county, except a single case before a Justice of the Peace, near a year afterwards.

"There was nothing in any of these indictments, or in the proof upon the trials, which rendered my appearance in the cases incompatible with my duties as an agent of the government.—They were charges of simple offences against the laws of the Territory, without the remotest connection with the laws of the United States, or any order or usage of the Department, to which I am attached. It is true, that Capt. MASON attended the court daily, for the purpose of prosecuting the poor and ignorant inhabitants of the place, with a *host* (as he would probably say) of soldiers attending his call as witnesses, aided by the vigilance and faithful attention of the Prosecuting Attorney; and that in most, if not all, of the cases, it came out in proof upon the trial, that some soldier had participated in the act for which the defendant was prosecuted. But I know of no law, I understand no duty, which will require me to keep silence in a court of justice, because Capt. MASON or any other officer of the army may think proper to come forward and charge a citizen with an offence against the laws of the country, wholly disconnected with my official station.

"The first intimation that I received, that the slightest exceptions were taken to my conduct in this matter, was on the evening of the third day of the court, after adjournment, when Capt. MASON showed me his communication to Col. MORGAN of that date, Nov. 3rd, 1830, which he did, as he said, to satisfy me that he had no personal feeling. I thought it strange that any one, who comprehended my duties, should entertain the views of the subject which he expressed, and requested him to furnish me with a copy of his communication, which he promised to do on the next day. At the meeting of the court on the next day, I called on him for the promised copy, and he promised it that day. That was the last I heard from him on the subject for several weeks. I left for Fort Winnebago on the 17th, under the impression that the

charges had been abandoned, as a copy had not been furnished, and as Col. MORGAN had told me that he did not agree with Capt. MASON upon the subject. On my return, I was surprised to learn that the charges had been preferred, and forwarded to the Department. I obtained from my accuser, a copy of the complaint, nearly a month after it had been promised, and two weeks after it had been forwarded, in my absence.

"I lost no time in preparing and forwarding my defence to Washington. I also sent a copy of the charges, lest they should be lost on the way. I heard no more of the matter, till I visited Washington in December, 1831, when I found that no charges had been filed in the office against me. I remained in Washington till the 20th of February, 1832, and during a portion of my stay, Major GARLAND was in the city; yet while I was there, and my defence supported by documents not to be refuted, and on file in the Indian Office, no move was made against me in the case; and a few days before I left the city, I withdrew my defence, considering it unnecessarily there.

"Capt. MASON, I believe, visited Washington in the spring, but took no steps to call up the investigation while there; but on his return to the frontier, he wrote from St. Louis to Major GARLAND, to revive the matter. This brought the matter before the Secretary of War, July 31st, 1832, for the first time. This revival of the matter, it will be recollected, after so long a time had elapsed, and opportunities, for a full and fair investigation had passed, took place when the Indian war was raging in the vicinity of this place, and the whole of both your time and mine was incessantly engaged, often in the night as well as in the day, in the discharge of paramount public duties; while Major GARLAND, snugly seated in his *Bureau*, could manage the charges, secure from the dangers or toils incident to a frontier station.

"From a subsequent letter from the Acting Secretary, of the 25th of September, 1832, it appears that the original communication of Capt. MASON to Col. MORGAN, has at length made its appearance at the Department, and the charges therein contained

can now be met. This I shall do fully and fairly; and while I shall endeavor to correct any unjust inferences which may possibly be drawn from the very general nature of his statements, I shall not deny, evade or palliate any thing that I have done.

"It will be perceived, that Capt. MASON does not charge me with a breach of any law of the United States, or of the Territory; he does not charge me with disobedience of any order or instruction emanating from any authority I was bound to obey; he does not charge me with a breach of any custom or usage of the Department; nor does he charge me with any mal-practices in my profession. It is not pretended that any act of this kind has occurred. He makes a general charge, that cannot be referred to any law or precedent, order or custom, with which I am acquainted, for decision. He says only, "that whilst the officers of "the army at this post, are striving to prevent drunkenness among "the soldiers, and are prosecuting, before the civil courts, various "persons for selling spirituous liquors to the soldiers, contrary to "the laws of the Territory, that Mr. BURNETT, Sub Indian Agent, "an officer of another department of the Government, is throwing "his weight in the opposite scale, by appearing before the courts, "and defending the persons who thus offend against the law, and "who have annoyed us so much." He concludes with a general charge of *aiding the whiskey-sellers*, and thereby opposing the exertions of the officers of the garrison in endeavoring to keep the men sober.

"When the facts upon which the charge is founded are understood, it amounts simply to the question—have I a right, holding the appointment of Sub-Indian Agent, to practice the profession of the law? This is the view which Col. MORGAN took of the subject at the time, and gave it as his decided opinion that I had the right. Capt. MASON represents that the prosecutions were "for selling spirituous liquors *to the soldiers contrary to a law of the Territory*." Now the truth is, there was no law of the Territory in existence at that time, which prohibited the selling of spirituous liquors to soldiers any more than to other persons, as a refer-

ence to the statutes then in force will prove. Capt. Mason was himself the *individual* and only *prosecutor* in the cases in question; no *other officers of the army at this post* were known to me in that attitude, nor do the records of the court show it. The whole of my practice, which he considers a breach of my public duty, took place in the *Crawford* county court, and at *one term only* of the court, and not before the civil *courts* of the *country;* and the *various persons* whom I had defended at that time, consisted of *two individuals* only, Griffin and La Pointe, and to one of them, La Pointe, the court assigned me as counsel. The indictment against Griffin, charged him as an inn keeper, with selling different liquors on Sunday, to divers persons, whose names were unknown to the grand jury, the selling on that particular day being made an offence in a tavern-keeper by the laws of the Territory. The indictment against La Pointe was for selling spirituous liquors without a license; and that against Dowling was for "keeping a disorderly house." In neither indictment was a word said about "selling to soldiers." Dowling's case came on the day after the charge was made out, the 4th, so that Griffin and La Pointe were the only ones whom I had defended at the date of the complaint. Capt. Mason makes a further general charge of defeating the expectations of the Government, in conferring upon me the small office which I hold, and with aiding the whiskey-sellers, &c.

"How far I may have fulfilled, in the discharge of my public duties, all reasonable expectations of the Government or citizens, I shall not pretend to say. I leave that for you to decide, because all my official acts, both before and since these charges, have been made under your own observation, and I am perfectly satisfied, that you would not have sanctioned, or tolerated in me a course, that could be construed into a dereliction of duty. As to the charge of aiding the whiskey-sellers, a criminal law advocate who had defended one on his trial for murder, could with as much justice, truth and propriety, be charged with being the aider of the murder. It was evident in all these cases, that they did not

involve, in any way, our Indian relations. If they had; if Indians had obtained the liquor, or had they been riotous in DOWLING'S house, I should have had nothing to do with them, or either of them. To know this for a certainty, I enquired of the Prosecuting Attorney, if any testimony connecting either case with the Indians or Indian affairs, had been, or would be presented. He said there would not.

"It has been before stated, that Mr. DALLUM, the Prosecuting Attorney, and myself were the only members of the bar in attendance at that term of the court. It would therefore seem to have been the wish of Capt. MASON, that those whom he saw fit to prosecute, should not have the benefit of counsel to defend them. But the Constitution of the country guarantees to every one accused, the right of counsel to defend him. The people of this place, however poor and ignorant, have not forfeited their constitutional privileges. This is *their* right, as well as the highest in the land. I do not pretend that the absence of all other attorneys from the court, or even the assignment of myself by the court as counsel, would have justified me in a positive breach of duty. I do not expect or wish to shelter myself under any such plea. But I do contend, that when law, order, regulations, customs and instructions are all silent upon the subject; or, so far as they do exist, favor the exercise of my profession in the manner that it was exercised, that the circumstances of the case form a strong reason why I should act as I did.

"In support of the facts herein above stated, I beg leave to submit the documents which I once before forwarded to the Department upon the same subject, and which were on file there about fourteen months. The testimony here offered, will sustain every material fact I have stated, and is of a character not to be refuted."

Capt. MASON, in his letter to Major GARLAND of July 8th, 1832, attempts to implicate the character of the Judges and Clerk, as being notorious *whiskey-sellers*, thereby to destroy the force of their testimony as to the facts of the case. Mr. BURNETT'S re-

sponse to this, is omitted as unnecessary to the question at issue. But it shows the desperate means retorted to by Capt. Mason, to gratify personal revenge, because he could not accomplish his wishes in the premises. Both Capt. Mason and Major Garland affirm things in their charges which are proved not to be true, in the response, but it is not deemed necessary to copy.

The determined and dogged zeal with which the two officers of the army followed Mr. Burnett in this matter, might have been commendable in a cause demanding it; but to follow a man of Mr. Burnett's known reputation, on a charge of so trifling and unfounded a nature, evinces a degree of venom not at all commendable in any man. Nor is it at all agreeble to the fine feelings of such a man as Mr. Burnett, to be thus prosecuted from year to year, with no other cause for it than the revengeful feelings of disappointed pride of opinion. But the end of the matter is not yet.

On the 16th of Feb., 1833, Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote Mr. Burnett as follows: "The charges preferred against you by Capt. Mason, your reply and the documentary evidence, have been referred to this office for examination and report. I am instructed by the Secretary of War to inform you, that he acknowledges with much pleasure, the excellence of your character, and the ability and zeal manifested in the discharge of your duties as Sub-Agent, and though he disclaims all inclination and right to interfere with the fair exercise of your professional talents, he expects and must insist upon a cordial co-operation in the officers of the Government, to enforce the laws, and punish offenders. He cannot perceive that co-operation, where an officer of Government appears as the public apologist or defender of the violators of the law. Taking it for granted, that the cases defended by you did not occur in the Indian country, and that strictly speaking, they had no relation to the Indian Department, still your defence of them has been productive of unpleasant consequences. Collision has taken place between yourself and some officers of the army; and instead of harmonious action

to promote the policy of the Government, crimination and re-crimination have been resorted to, weakening its influence and resisting its operation.

"The practice, therefore, of publicly defending persons accused of unlawfully introducing, vending or using ardent spirits, is considered inconsistent with your duty as Sub-Agent, and it is confidently trusted, that this intimation from the Department will prevent a repetition of the practice."

To this decision Mr. BURNETT took decided exceptions, and remonstrated in the following letter, addressed to Mr. Commissioner HERRING, dated April 16th, 1833, to which he received no answer:

"SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th of February, communicating to me the decision given at the Department, upon the charges preferred against me by Capt. MASON. It is with much regret, that I perceive in that letter, what seems to me to be an indirect censure upon the transaction which had been made the subject of complaint, and the establishment of a restrictive rule for the future government of my official conduct. I had flattered myself, that I had shown to the satisfaction of the Department, by the testimony of those who were best acquainted with my acts, both public and private, and a reference to the only authorities to which I had ever been directed to look for the definition and regulation of my duties, that I had, in every instance, performed everything that could reasonably have been required of a Sub-Agent for Indian Affairs. And I expected, that if I were mistaken in this supposition, and it should be considered by the Honorable Secretary, that I had violated any rule of public duty, a direct decision to that effect would be given. A charge had been made against me. I had responded to it, and the cause was submitted, upon testimony, to the proper authority for decision. Either the complainant or the respondent was wrong in the position assumed, and I wished to know which; and I humbly conceive, that I was justifiable in expecting a decision upon the issue. This I have not been able

to perceive in the communication which you have addressed to me.

The information given in your letter, that it is the duty of the officers of the army, and that it is a duty in which the other officers of the Government must co operate, to become informers and prosecutors under the municipal code of a State or Territory, is the first that I have ever received of the existence and concurrence of such a duty. The principle may be one that has heretofore been practiced upon, but I have looked in vain for a precedent. It is possible, that the circumscribed sphere of my public acts, and my limited knowledge of the practical operations of Government, have kept me in ignorance of a rule of official duty, so important in its application to the conduct of public officers.—It had been my opinion, previous to the receipt of your letter, that the civil departments of the Government, either general or local, were provided with sufficient and competent officers to administer the laws of the country, and that in that administration, the only legitimate duty resting upon the military department was, to aid the civil authorities when they should be found too weak to execute them. If in forming this opinion, I had been led into error, I trust that it will be perceived, that it is an error into which any one, with the lights before him, that I have received, would most likely have fallen; especially when it is borne in mind, that a different principle of duty is essentially variant from all obvious purposes, for the organization of either the Army or Indian Department, or any published regulations for the government of either. If the converse of the opinion which I had formed upon this subject, be correct, I would suggest the extremely unpleasant situation in which I should be placed, should it be required of me, as an act of duty, to co operate with an officer of the Army in the prosecution of any citizen, for an alleged petty offence against the municipal laws of the Territory, in a case where it should be known, that the prosecution originated in malice or ignorance, passion or prejudice. The officers of the army are men, and being men, they are subject as others, to the influence of the

passions, prejudices and weaknesses of humanity, of which it would not be difficult to furnish examples. In making this statement, I mean no disrespect to the military. There is no one who holds that honorable profession in higher estimation than myself, or who is more sensible of the many brilliant examples of worth and talent of which the army of our country can boast. I only state a self evident fact, for the purpose of illustrating the subject.

You observe, that the Honorable Secretary cannot perceive the necessary co-operation, "when an officer of the Government appears as the public apologist or defender of the violators of the law." Pardon me, Sir, for I must say, that *I have never in all my life appeared as either the public or private apologist of the violators of the law.* The distinction, in all common parlance, between an apology and a legal defence, is too obvious to a mind of philosophical reflection or legal attainments, to require illustration. An honest man may scorn to be concerned in the one, while he may undertake the other according to every principle of honor, virtue and morality.

You say to me, "taking it for granted that the cases defended by you, did not occur in the Indian country, and that, strictly speaking, they had no relation to the Indian Department, still your defence of them has been productive of unpleasant consequences." Again, Sir, I must beg your indulgence. I cannot perceive that it is at all necessary, that a proposition should be *granted*, the verity of which is *demonstrated* by the history and legislation of the country, and by testimony which cannot be controverted. The legal character of the country where acts referred to transpired, is established by the history and legislation of the Government. The precise nature of the transaction, is explained and made manifest by positive and incontestible testimony. But if the transaction has been productive of unpleasant consequences, I would most respectfully ask—am I chargeable with them? If any one officer of the army, or other person, shall see fit voluntarily to bring himself into collision with me, while I am in the exercise of a natural right secured to me by the laws of the coun-

try, and resort to crimination for the purpose of prejudicing my relations with the Government, can I, upon any principle of justice, be held accountable for the act, or the effects which it may produce? And can an act of mine, right in itself, justly be decided to be wrong, because it may be found to have given displeasure to particular individuals? If re-crimination has followed upon crimination, so far as it has been resorted to, it has, in my humble opinion, been fully justified by the system of persecution which has been pursued against me, and the gross misrepresentations that have been made of my conduct. It is impossible for these misrepresentations to escape the observation of any one, who will cast his eye over the charge, and the response, and the testimony in the case; and if I had tamely submitted to the fraud; if I had failed to repel the influence which it was designed to have upon the decision of the Department, I should consider myself unworthy of the trust of the Government, or the confidence of my countrymen. And yet, this gross and enormous feature of the transaction has, for aught that I know, passed without animadversion, while I am rebuked for collisions and unpleasant consequences that have been forced upon me.

I am told that these collisions and unpleasant consequences, in the production of which I have been a party concerned, have weakened the influence of the Government, and resisted its operations. I trust I shall be believed when I say, that there is no man in the country who would regret more deeply than myself, the commission of an act calculated to weaken the influence of the Government, and resist its operations. I had hoped that the Honorable Secretary was sufficiently satisfied by *proof*, that my humble abilities had been exerted to the utmost, to further the views and operations of the Government, so far as they had been made known to me. I feel conscious of unceasing efforts to render the Government my best services; and it is painful to receive this intimation, the first that has reached me from any source entitled to consideration, that instead of doing what I thought I had

done, and what I know I designed to do, my acts have tended to thwart the Government, and weaken its influence.

Without going into a detail of former years, I will state some of the hard services which I performed during the last season—a season pregnant with distress to this frontier. From my return to this agency, in the spring of that year, after a visit to my family and friends in Kentucky, until the termination of the Indian war, I underwent the most unremitting toil and exertion in the discharge of my public duties, and I feel justified in saying, there was no one in any station in this vicinity, who was not actually in the campaign, who endured more fatigue, who performed more laborious and hard service in the public cause, than I did. About the first of June, I visited, by direction of the Indian Agent, the Winnebago and Sioux villages on the Upper Mississippi, for the purpose of raising a band of warriors, to send to the aid of Gen. Atkinson, at his request. I succeeded in the object of the expedition, and returned to this place in six days with about one hundred and fifty warriors. Soon after it was known here, that the hostile Indians had been forced to cross the Wisconsin, and were making their way towards the Mississippi, I was sent by the agent on two different trips to the Winnebagoes above this post, for the purpose of withdrawing them with their canoes to this Agency, before the Sauks and Foxes should reach the Mississippi. These measures were also successful; and although I went in company with a military command from Fort Crawford, I have no hesitation in saying, from my knowledge of those Indians, and from my observations while amongst them, that if I had not gone, the success would not have been complete, unless the Agent had attended to the business in person. I spent the whole night preceding the battle of the Bad Ax, in aiding the preparation of an expedition to be sent up on board the steamboat *Warrior*, which had just come down with information that the hostile Indians had reached the shore of the Mississippi. I visited the Menomonee camp at midnight, and collected a small party of warriors, supplied them with ammunition, and got them, with an

interpreter, on board the boat, and after wading the Marais three times, I got home and laid down at sunrise to take an hour's rest. I asked permission to take charge of these Indians, and conduct them to the scene of action, but the Agent was unwilling in the then state of affairs at this place, to dispense with my services. The expedition reached the battle-ground in time to share the victory of the day, and one of the Indians whom I sent up, was killed in the engagement.

Soon after the close of the campaign, I was dispatched to St. Louis, at an unhealthy season of the year, and at a time when the whole coast below was panic-stricken at the appearance of the cholera upon our borders, and when I returned, the pestilence was making its most dreadful ravages at Rock Island. On my way down, I communicated to Gen. SCOTT, then at that post, the first intelligence he had of the capture of BLACK HAWK and the PROPHET. By the time I again reached the agency, I was almost prostrated with fatigue. I had endured four months of the most incessant labor in the public service, at the cost of many entire sleepless nights, and during the whole of the time, the state of my health was so feeble, that under other circumstances, it would scarcely have justified the most ordinary exertion. I do not intend to make even a suggestion as to what has been the value of all these hard services, and the proportion which they bear to my compensation. I only state the facts, and in doing so, express the consciousness which I feel, that throughout all the toil and labor, I was animated by an ardent and sincere desire to subserve the best interests of my country; and that then, and at all other times, instead of contributing to "resist the operations" of the Government, I have been ready, whenever it has been intimated to me, how and where I could be of any service, in effecting any of its views, to render my best exertions and most cordial co-operation. And although I have not had the fortune to see my humble name in the bulletins of that *glorious war*, coupled with the pride and pomp of the preparation, the march or the victory, or noticed in any of the details of the operations of the Department

on this frontier, either in the closet, the camp, or the field; yet, I am proudly conscious of having done *all that was ever required of me*, and of having done it promptly and faithfully, according to the best of my poor abilities; and if my country has derived any benefit from my labors, I am content. I know how little the publications of those times have been calculated to give the people correct information of the character of the war and its operations. Their history has been made up too much of exaggerated achievements, and concealed or palliated defaults, of fulsome adulation, and gross and unmerited censure, to give the public a correct knowledge of the transactions; and had I have occupied a more conspicuous station, I think I should have felt as little ambitions of obtaining the frothy notices current at the time, as I am sure I do now. But what I desired, what I thought I had a right to expect, was, when I had served my country to the utmost extent which my situation enabled me to do, at the expense of a season of labor and fatigue that few men under the circumstances would endure, the humble merit of having done my duty would be accorded to me, without the censure of having contributed to resist the operations of the Government.

The rule which has been established by the Honorable Secretary for my special government in future, seems to me, with all due deference to the high authority from which it has proceeded, to be unequal and unjust in its discriminating character, and in its abridgment of my rights. I would respectfully ask, what are the reasons for establishing a principle by which I am directed to regulate my future actions, which, so far as I can perceive, does not apply to any other officer of the Department? And if the reason cannot be found, wherein consists the justice of the discrimination? I trust, Sir, that upon reflection, you will be sensible of the unpleasant sensations which the establishing of discriminating rules and individual applications of them, are justly calculated to excite in the mind of the public officer who is made the subject of their operation; and that you will be convinced, that they should be resorted to in extraordinary cases only. But, Sir, I

humbly contend, that the prohibition to practice in a State or Territorial court, in cases arising under the local laws of the State or Territory, which have no possible relation or bearing upon Indian affairs, is not a legitimate restriction to lay upon an officer of the Indian Department. While I contend for this principle, I say to you most sincerely, that it is not because I think, that I should be benefitted one dollar by a change of the regulation. It is now more than eighteen months since I have been engaged in a single case embraced in the rule, and it is quite probable that few or none would again occur should it cease to operate. Since the first Monday in November last, I have been performing the duties of Prosecuting Attorney for this county, and it is not unlikely that I shall continue to perform those duties so long as I continue at this place. It is not, therefore, from any desire or expectation of gain, that I ask for a recision of the rule, but for the reason alone, that, as it seems to me, it restricts my natural rights and privileges. HAMPDEN resisted the levying of the illegal tax, not because the payment would impoverish him, but because submission would make him a slave. While I am prohibted the privilege that has been denied me, I feel that I have been deprived of one of the rights of freemen, secured to every citizen of the country, and to every other officer of the Government. And if I may be legally deprived of this, what security is there for the others? The Honorable Secretary disclaims all right to interfere with the fair exercise of my professional talents; but what shall be considered a fair exercise of them, I cannot know until his decision shall be had. If one class of cases may be rightfully prohibited, may not another and another, until the whole shall be swept from me; and a profession which I have acquired under privations and disadvantages that few men have encountered, rendered wholly useless? I wish to be understood—I do not indulge in any present anticipations of this kind, I only extend the principle to show the length to which it will lead, if it shall be finally established, whenever it shall come to be acted upon by a less liberal head of the Department.

For the reasons which I have given, I flatter myself with the hope, that if the Honorable Secretary will do me the favor to give the case a second examination, he will perceive, that I have not merited the censure contained in your letter, and that I cannot be justly subjected to the rule which has been established for the future regulation of my duty as Sub-Agent at this place; I therefore, most respectfully ask, that he will re-consider the subject, and that I may be made acquainted with his ultimate determination.

In considering this communication, I trust that the sentiments advanced, and the manner in which they have been expressed, will not be mis-construed. They have been conceived and uttered, I assure you, with the most respectful deference, and the highest consideration for the superior authorities of the Department. I mean only to exercise in an appropriate manner, a privilege guaranteed to every citizen of the country, to every officer of the Government, the privilege of remonstrance."

While such scenes were pending, and before the final decision of the Department had reached Mr. BURNETT, it was pleasant and agreeable to his feelings, to receive the following from Dr. BEAUMONT, one of the most distinguished surgeons in the U. S. army, under date of Washington City, Jan. 7th, 1833:

"My dear Sir:—An agreeable impulse of heart, joined to a sort of compunctious state of mind for the *sin of omission*, compels me now to express my undiminished regard for one whose kind disposition, warm heart, and generous feelings, have gained the sincere admiration and esteem of myself and family, during our short but very agreeable acquaintance. It is with peculiar pleasure and satisfaction, that I reflect upon the scenes of social enjoyment incident to our residence at Prairie du Chien, and more especially our last journey down the Mississippi, and short sojourn at St. Louis. There is indeed an abiding happy impression made upon the mind, by the manifestations of ingenuousness and magnanimity of soul, widely different from that produced by the common place, every-day, poorly-disguised, cold, hollow-hearted, affectedness of fashionable society, of which this place is the seat

and centre, and than which nothing can be more discordant to the present state of my feelings."

It will be recollected, that at this time, 1833, the entire country north of the Wisconsin River, was unceded territory, except this Prairie. The pine timber on the tributaries of the Mississippi above this place, was, as it still is, much wanted in the new towns and settlements below; but being in the Indian Territory, the whites, without special permission, were not allowed to take it.—Judge J. H. Lockwood had obtained such permission from both the Indians and the War Department, under the supervision of which the Indian affairs were then placed, to build a mill on the Menomonee branch of the Chippewa River, he paying an annuity of some two thousand dollars to the Wabasha band of Sioux Indians, who then claimed that country. Mr. Burnett, with some others, applied to the Department for a like permission to build a mill on Black River. The application was referred to Gen. Clark of St. Louis, over six hundred miles from the site prayed for, and, of course, knew as little about it as those living at Washington City. But at that city, Gen. Clark was presumed to know everything pertaining to the wilderness, and its inhabitants, even to the lakes and the Pacific ocean, and of course, all matters involving Indian rights and privileges, were referred to him.

He could no more appreciate the growth of the towns and settlements above St. Louis, than can the people east of the Alleghanies, the growth of the country west of them, and therefore saw no necessity for the measure; or if he did, he saw more in the technicalities and discipline of the agents of the Government, than in the wants of the people. His own growing city could be supplied, as it had been, and the towns above as far up as Galena, from the Ohio River, and not dreaming, perhaps, that in all future time St. Louis would grow to its present dimensions, or that by this time (1856) there would be over twenty cities on the river above St. Louis larger than St. Louis then was, with a hundred smaller towns, he decided against the application, on the ground that Mr. Burnett was an officer of the General Government in

the Indian Department. He then withdrew his name from the company, and urged the grant in favor of the others, but the refusal was still adhered to, notwithstanding the Indians were anxious for it, because they were anxious for the annuity, for which they suffered no damage whatever.

About this time, the Indian Agent at St. Peters was talking of resigning, and Mr. BURNETT applied for the office, if such should be the case. But Gen. CLARK decided against this also, because of the charges preferred against him by Capt. MASON, the result of which has already been seen. His abilities and fitness for the office are acknowledged in the correspondence on the subject, and his claim was urged by several prominent men at Washington, some of them in the Cabinet, but Gen. CLARK took sides with the army, and any Indian Agent, and, we presume, any other person, who happened to differ in opinion from the officers thereof, could receive no favors from him in that direction.

Under these circumstances, in which he was not permitted to practice law, if in any way contrary to the wishes of any one officer of the army; nor yet permitted to enjoy the privileges of other citizens in building mills, or making such improvements in the country, he thought seriously of resigning, and returning to Kentucky, but was fortunately dissuaded therefrom by his friends.

The Indian title to the country south of the Wisconsin and Fox Rivers having been extinguished, the mines and country filling up with enterprising citizens, with a prospect of a rapid settlement, the prominent men of the country began to think of applying to Congress for a Territorial organization. And in reference to this, Judge DOTY, under date of Feb. 5th, 1833, writes to Mr. BURNETT: "The welfare of our country, it seems to me, demands that we should attempt to obtain some understanding between these distant settlements, upon the measures proper to be pursued, and the men whom we ought to support. *United*, we may effect a great deal of good; *divided*, we loose everything. It is certain, that our country is known only as the theatre of Indian wars; and it is only when danger is upon us, and the blood of our citi-

zens actually shed upon our prairies, that Congress deigns to cast an eye to our defence. The intimate and accurate knowledge you possess of public affairs, beyond any other person in your section of the country, seems to justify us in calling upon you to take a leading part in these measures; and as our purposes must be the same, it may be expected that we should be united in the means to obtain them."

The judiciary system of Michigan, to which, at that time, what is now Wisconsin was attached, was deemed to be very defective, which was considered, with other things, as a good reason for desiring a separate Government. Mr. BURNETT suggested to the Hon. M. L. MARTIN, then in the Territorial Council at Detroit, some amendments to the judiciary system, to which Mr. MARTIN answered, Feb. 6th, 1833: "It is found extremely difficult to regulate, by any general provisions, the different interests of the eastern and western sections of Michigan; especially such as refer to the judiciary system, or the proceedings in courts. I have procured the passage of a bill that I think will go far in relieving us, in cases of chancery attachment and insolvency."

In May, 1833, Gen. STREET was called to Washington to defend himself against a complaint that had been previously preferred; the main ground of which was, that by his vigilance and care of the Indians, the traders were prevented from skinning them quite so easily as some of them wished to do. This, of course, was unpardonable with those interested; but he was not removed for the offence. In the meantime, the duties of the agency devolved upon Mr. BURNETT till the 20th of June, when the General returned. Then Mr. BURNETT obtained leave of absence from the Agent for three months, to visit his friends and attend to business in Kentucky, subject, however, to the approval of the Superintendent at St. Louis. But the Superintendent curtailed his furlough to two months, that being the extent of his powers, as he alleged. Gen. STREET on being apprised of this, remarked to Mr. BURNETT, then in Kentucky, "the curtailing of your permit was, to say the least of it, in my opinion, a singular measure. It will assure you, how-

ever, that my opinion of a hostile feeling towards you is not without some foundation. I am now convinced that a similar feeling extends from the same quarter towards me. The whole of his course towards me for the last six or eight months has been strange, and his recent letters confirm me in the belief, that my course has been too independent to suit him. Neither you nor I may look that way for support. If we can get slow justice, it will be as much as we should calculate upon."

The reasons assigned in several letters for the hostility of Gen. CLARK are these: his feelings were in the interests of the Army and Fur Company,* so that if an Agent should pursue a course conflicting with those interests, he was at once marked by the General. Such things are not new, singular, or yet out of date on the frontier. Gen. STREET felt assured, that his communications to the Indian Department, were copied and given to the Fur Company how or by what means he did not know; he could only know that they went sealed to the Superintendent, who after reading and copying *for his own use*, sent them sealed to the Commissioner of Indian affairs. The copying might have been done in the office, without the knowledge of Gen. CLARK; but whether so or not, Gen. STREET felt assured that they were copied, from the way he had sometimes to meet from the traders, what he knew to be only in those reports to the Superintendent. The charges against Mr. BURNETT were from the army; those against Gen. STREET from the Fur Company. The Company, however, were not friendly to Mr. BURNETT behind his back, however much so they were to his face. So says a letter now before me.

Mr. BURNETT returned to the Agency within the time, two months; and in October, Gen. STREET left again for Washington, to meet the charges before mentioned, and not then decided, and

* On pages 242, 244, et seq. of this volume, reference is had to some vague, yet dogged determination on the part of *somebody* to break down the American Fur Company, and that *somebody* wished Mr BURNETT to aid in the matter, and send his communication to the "care of Gen. CLARK," thus rather conveying the idea, that Gen. CLARK was at least privy to the pretended plot, or transaction. But now, we are told, that Gen. CLARK'S "feelings were in the interests of the Fur Company." It would seem, that some explanation is needed, which it is not in our power to give. L. C. D.

to settle his accounts with the Department, where he continued till the ensuing April, leaving the entire duties of the agency in the hands of Mr. BURNETT. In consequence of the amount of service required, Mr. BURNETT applied to the Department through Col. R. M. JOHNSON, to be allowed pay for an interpreter $400, through which means he would receive a compensation more commensurate with the amount of services rendered, and the responsibility resting upon him. But Mr. HERRING, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Dec. 18th, 1833, replied: "It is conceded, that Mr. BURNETT is a valuable officer, and that his salary is an inadequate recompence for his services. But the standard has been determined by an authority to which the Department must bow, and the Secretary of War is precluded from the exercise of discretionary powers in the case." This terminated his attempts to obtain office, or an adequate compensation for the services he rendered in the one he had in the Indian Department.

On the 30th of June, 1834, the act for re-organizing the Indian Department was passed in Congress, by which Mr. BURNETT and all other Sub-Agents were legislated out of office; but few of whom were re-appointed. And on the 2nd of July, Mr. HERRING, by direction of the Secretary of War, wrote to Mr. BURNETT, giving an extract of the law, and directing him to render his account for salary, as his services in that Department were no longer required; and concluded by saying: "I am directed by the Secretary of War, to tender his acknowledgments to you for the zealous and faithful performance of the duties of your office, and I will thank you also to accept the assurance of my high respect." He received this note on the 6th of August, when he wrote to Mr. HERRING to know to whom he should render his accounts, as no directions were given on that point; Gen. STREET ceased to be an Agent at the same time at Prairie du Chien, by being removed to Rock Island, and no one had yet been appointed to fill the Prairie du Chien vacancy.

Before sufficient time had elapsed to receive an answer, he wrote August 30th: "Sir:—In your letter of the 2nd July last,

you direct me to render my account for settlement, up to the date of the reception thereof. Gen. STREET arrived at this place a few days since, and informs me, that he has not received any funds for the payment of my salary, due since the 31st of December, 1833; and that he has not been advised whether the money will pass through his hands or not. There is now due me on account of my salary from the 1st of January, to the 6th of August, 1834, inclusive, $300. Will you be so good as to inform me when and where I am to receive this money? Whether it is to be paid me in the usual way, or whether I am to roam from office to office, until I shall find some person authorized to settle and pay my account; or whether it is the intention of yourself, the Hon. Secretary of War, and his privy counselor GARLAND, to construe me out of it altogether."

In this apparent hot haste, Mr. BURNETT would hardly have been justifiable, were it not that the circumstances as heretofore detailed, and especially the non-attention of the Department to his charges against Major GARLAND, for preferring which his dismissal was determined on, whether the law passed or not, indicated a degree of neglect on the part of the Department, very trying to his patience. Still it must be admitted, that the time was short, after the passage of the act new-modelling the Indian Department, and also the appropriation act, and the money had not had time to reach the distant posts on the frontier. But the Commissioner might have informed him in very few words, in what way the money would reach him. Possibly it was an oversight in the hurry in which the sub-Agents had to be apprised of their dismissal from office. On the 8th of September, however, the Commissioner writes: "I have received your letter of the 6th August. Funds to defray the expenses of the Prairie du Chien Agency for the first half-year, have been sent to the Superintendent at St. Louis." But this left him in suspense, whether he should go to St. Louis for it, or whether it would be sent to him; and it left $50 non-provided for, as the half year would only give him $250. He was relieved from this suspense in a few days by the receipt

of a letter from Gen. CLARK, dated September 13th, saying, "I have recieved to-day your letter of August 30th, and of the 2nd inst., on the subject of your pay, and of your fees, as counsel in the case of BURNETT *vs.* STREET and KEARNEY, the defendants being sued as the Agents of the Government, and of course, the Government should pay the expenses, &c. On the 30th ult. Gen. STREET was informed of the amount allowed the Prairie du Chien Agency, for the first and second quarters of the present year. Your pay up to the 31st of July is embraced in it, amounting to $291.67. This as well as the other sums specified in the allotment, will be, as usual, paid over to Gen. STREET, whenever called for, to be by him applied to the payment of the objects for which they are intended. No communication has been made to me from Washington, on the subject of fees for counsel in the cases you have mentioned. It were, perhaps, advisable that you write direct to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, requesting him to pay you whatever has been allowed for your services in those cases.'

Gen. STREET at this time, was Agent at Rock Island, two hundred miles below Prairie du Chien, nor was it certain when Gen. STREET would receive the money, nor whether it would be sent to Mr. BURNETT, or whether he must go for it. The sum allowed was more than his half year's salary, but some nine dollars less than was due him. This jewing a public servant out of such a pitiful sum, was a small business for a great nation; but such seems to be the way of the world. As to his fees, he had written to the Department again and again, and was informed that the matter had been *referred to Gen.* CLARK; but the General says, "he had received no communication" on the subject, and when great men and rulers of the nation make such contradictory statements, whom are we to believe in such matters!

This terminated Mr. BURNETT's connection with the Indian Department, and his connection with any office in the gift of the Government; nor was his experience calculated to inspire him with any great degree of confidence in the "spoils" theory of the party in power, as his share of them was but small, and doubly

earned before he received them. * * * * As soon as it was known, that he was thus displaced from his office, his worth now being known through the country, he began, and continued for some time, to receive voluntary and strong expressions of sympathy, and the confidence of the public in his merit, a few of which will follow.

August 16th, 1834, Judge Doty wrote him from Mineral Point: "After a long conversation with Mr. Ansley, I have, at his request, concluded to suggest to you, the propriety of fixing your residence at this place, now that you are no longer required in the Indian Department. It is certainly a fine opening for a lawyer. You will, in addition, have the advantage of a good understanding with the people now, for everybody that I speak with, thinks well of you. It appears to me you ought to avail yourself of these circumstances. Your friends wish to have you appointed District Attorney, and I think you must take it, because I think there will soon be a vacant judgeship in the District, and this will enable us to help you to it, if it should be desirable to you."

On the 28th of August, Robert Dougherty, then clerk of the Circuit Court at Mineral Point, wrote: "The people in general in this section of the country are very anxious for you to come and reside with us. We have got up a petition to the Governor with almost a thousand signatures, which will be sent on to-morrow morning, in your favor for District Attorney. Every man that saw it, signed it."

Sept. 4th, Col. R. M. Johnson wrote: "My dear Sir:—I sincerely regret to learn that you are out of office. I know your capacity for such a place, and the sacrifices you have made.—You know quite as well as I do, the uncertainty and difficulty of obtaining office. All I can say is, that if an opportunity offers at the next session, I shall be ready to serve you sincerely, as I have always done."

Sept. 5th, Alexis Bailey, Esq., writes from St. Peters: "I always feel a pleasure when I hear from my friends. But this letter of yours made me feel the truth of the fable of the fox in the

bramble, that an equal portion of the bitter is mixed with the sweets of this life, and that perfect happiness is unattainable in this world. I feel for you in the *mode* taken to thank you for your services. The *manner* in which it was done, conveyed one of those cutting slurs, the more so that one does not or cannot obtain satisfaction. But, my dear Sir, our Government is a Republic, and where did you hear of one being grateful? You are young, and can do better; your profession and abilities entitle you to a higher sphere than the one you were in."

Oct 12th, Major T. Allen, of Ky., wrote: "I regret exceedingly to learn that arrangements have been so made as to displace you from the office you held; however, make no complaint, and suffer it to pass off silently. You have been placed in a good situation, by the appointment, and I have but little doubt you will not feel the loss of it long, if at all."

Being now released from the cares and responsibilities of office, and being yet in the unpleasant relations of a married man without a wife, he returned to Ky. to spend the winter, and also obtain relief from the legal bonds in which he was held to the woman who had deserted him in the time of his calamity, from the fall of the burning building in Paris, Ky., in 1829. On his way there, while between St. Louis and the mouth of the Ohio River, the boat on which he took passage was snagged and sunk to the hurricane deck, leaving that deck but just out of water. The occurrence took place in the night, when the passengers were asleep; they escaped to the upper deck, mostly in their night clothes, where they remained in a snow storm till morning, being without fire, and but poorly clad, or otherwise sheltered from the stormy wind and driving snow. There were several women and children among them. The most of the passengers, Mr. Burnett among others, lost all their baggage, and some their money. In the hurry of escape from the rushing flood that came into the cabin, Mr. Burnett had caught his clothes and his cloak, but not his trunk. But finding some ladies and children exposed, without any protection from the storm, he gave them his cloak, and kept him-

self warm as best he could, by walking and other exercise. In the morning they succeeded in reaching the land, in a thick wooded bottom on the Illinois shore, where a log-heap fire was soon kindled, around which the passengers and boat's crew gathered to warm, but were without food, and not within reach of a house from which supplies could be obtained. They remained in this situation till near night, when they were relieved from their sufferings by a steam-boat that was passing down the river.

The nature of the case between him and his recreant wife, and the ground upon which the divorce was granted, are set forth in the following certificates, sent to him a year or more after the divorce was obtained. At the time of the divorce, he knew not that he should ever again enter into the marriage state. And distant as he was from the place of his marriage, and the residence of his wife, he might have done as thousands of others have in the great West, married again without the formula of a divorce; but his sense of propriety and legal liabilities forbade such a breach of the civil and moral law. And the fine feelings of his nature as well as his sense of the propriety of the thing, induced him to obtain these papers, to show that his way was clear and his course honorable, if he should again see fit to enter into that holy relation. After he came to this country, his correspondence shows that he preferred to forgive the past, if she would return to him, but she refused.

The first of these papers is from the Hon. Cyrus Wingate, who, Mr. Burnett says in a note added to it, "has for many years in succession been a member of the Ky. Legislature, and is a worthy and highly respected member of the Methodist Church." It is dated April 17th, 1836, but referring, as it does, to a transaction in 1834'5, this is deemed the appropriate place for it. The letter says: "The bill which divorced you from your wife Lucy, was reported from the House of Representatives to the Senate, on on the 10th of Feb. 1835, and was referred to the "committee on Religion," on the next day. I had the honor to be chairman of that committee for several years, and was so at the time when

your application was investigated. For twelve years in succession I have been honored with a seat in the Legislature of Ky.; and during that time, as a general thing, have felt it my duty to oppose applications for divorce. Indeed such has been my course on those subjects, that I have been considered by many as being too rigid in my inquiries, and examined too closely into the domestic relations; this may be true, but I feel that I have done my duty in relation to your application.

"I recollect distinctly, that intelligent and honorable men were examined before the committee, and the result was the firm conviction of my mind, (and I believe of every member of the committee,) that your bill ought to pass. And in obedience to the order of the committee, I reported the bill back to the Senate on the 13th, with an expressed opinion of the committee, that the bill ought to pass; and the rules being suspended, the bill passed, I believe, without a dissenting voice. I can say, without fear of contradiction, that during the pendency of your application, your conduct was dignified, honorable, and manly; and that you not only sustained the character of a gentleman of nice feelings, and a just sense of honor, but that you occupied a place in the sympathies and affections of all the members of the Legislature, with whom you became acquainted. And I further know, that your character in Bourbon was such, as not only enlisted Gen. Matron, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Davis, in your behalf; but it also procured for you the application of the near relatives of the woman you were married to, for your release; and upon the ground that she was in default entirely and exclusively; and I will further add, that so far from your reputation having suffered, or in the least degree been prejudiced, by this procedure, it must have suffered if you had not applied."

The next paper was from the Hon. Garret Davis, of April 3d, 1836: "I managed Mr. Burnett's application for divorce. He took this step with the knowledge, approval and co-operation of his wife's brother and brother-in-law. The ground of it, sustained by proof, was, that her conduct, and treatment of him generally,

and particularly when he was confined by the fracture of his leg, occasioned by the falling of a house during a fire, was marked by nothing but extravagant neglect and aversion; and such was the fitfulness and malevolence of her disposition as to forbid all hope of harmony with her. His case was so well made out as to meet with no opposition.

"When Mr. BURNETT came to Paris, he was a stranger, and opposed in politics to a large majority of the town and county. He was open and decided, though temperate and respectful in his political course, and though in the first few months of his residence amongst us, his politics awakened some prejudice against himself, his discretion and the propriety of his conduct overcame them, and when he left us he had the respect and good wishes of our society, without distinction, and I believe that he merited them."

The correctness of the statement of Mr. DAVIS was certified to by JOHN R. THORNTON of the Senate, and ROBERT MATRON of the House of Representatives. Similar papers and of similar import were signed by Dr. G. NICHOLS, of Shelbyville, Ky., "an exemplary member of the Baptist Church, and long at the head of his profession in that town." And also by the Rev. A. A. SHANNON, of the Presbyterian Church of the same town. But it is deemed unnecessary to copy them. The main facts being thus established by six of the most prominent men of the country, political and religious, no doubt need remain on any mind, as to the propriety and justice of his course, in this solemn and afflictive matter.

The subject of a separate Territorial Government, from that of Michigan, heretofore alluded to as in contemplation, was still growing and maturing, with the leading men of the country lying west of Michigan. Judge DOTY was in the Legislative Council at Detroit, and by a letter from him to Mr. BURNETT, dated January 3d, 1835, it appears that in accordance with measures concocted in Wisconsin, and especially Crawford county, a bill was introduced into the Legislative Council to provide for a State Government on the east of that Lake. The object was to have the State Gov-

ernment formed, leaving the Territorial Government on this side of the Lake. The bill met with opposition, because it originated in Wisconsin, and the men of Michigan saw that if it passed, they would be indebted to Wisconsin for a State Government. But the bill passed, and a Convention was called, and and a Constitution adopted.

The prospect of a speedy separation from Michigan, prevented the passage of a law to establish a District Court west of the Lake, for a while. But a question arose as to the residence of Judge Irwin, who, it seems, resided in Ohio or Virginia, except when attending courts in the Territory. The people of Green Bay deemed the office to be vacant, on account of non-residence, and petitioned the President to appoint one in his stead; and Mr. Burnett's name was presented to the President to fill the vacancy. The vacancy was not recognized, and the appointment, of course, was not made. But Mr. Burnett was appointed in January, 1835, District Attorney for the counties of Crawford, Iowa, Dubuque and Des Moines.

In the summer of 1835, the formation of a State Constitution for Michigan, and the expectation of admittance into the Union, induced the people to be on the lookout for a Delegate to Congress, and for a transfer of the Territorial Government of Michigan to Wisconsin, without an act of Congress to authorize it. Those who are conversant with the history of Michigan becoming a State, will recollect that the people acted without law or precedent, in forming and adopting their Constitution, without first obtaining an act of Congress authorizing them to do so, and of the same piece of policy and law, was the attempt to transfer the Territorial Government from the east to the west side of Lake Michigan. The latter, however, was not recognized by the General Government; while the former was, and other States, following the precedent, have been admitted into the Union in a similar way.

But to save appearances, and obey the forms of law, it was agreed on the two sides of the Lake, that the Delegate to repre-

sent the Territory should be elected on the west side, leaving the peninsula to form a State Government, and be represented by their Senators and Representatives in Congress. While this was arranging, Mr. Burnett received numerous letters, which I find on file, urging him to be a candidate for the Delegacy.

One arrangement in this transferring the Territorial Government to Wisconsin, was to apportion the whole of the thirteen members, among the counties west of the Lake. This being done by Gov. S. T. Mason, those counties elected their Councilmen, among whom was Mr. Burnett from Crawford. The reason assigned for this movement, as stated in a letter now before me, dated July 10th, 1835, from a prominent actor in the business, is in these words: "You will perceive by this, that it is our intention to continue the Territorial Government of Michigan in force, without any further legislation by Congress, and this is the result of all my exertions last winter, because I am satisfied, that it is the only way in which we can get a separate Government, until the boundary question shall be settled." This boundary question was between Ohio and Indiana on the one side, and Michigan on the other; and carried with it the boundary question between Illinois and Wisconsin, and, as in most cases, the weaker party was compelled to yield up their rights to the illegal claims of the stronger, in open violation of the ordinance of 1787, which run the line due east and west, from and through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan. But the whole scheme of the transfer of the Territorial Government was a failure.

Mr. Burnett attended the summer terms of the courts in which he was District Attorney. But finding "it inconvenient and unpleasant" to continue in the office, on the 10th of September, 1835, he tendered his resignation to Gov. Mason.

The election of Delegate to Congress and members of the Territorial Council, was held on the 1st Monday of Oct., 1835, when Geo. W. Jones was chosen Delegate from Michigan, and Mr. Burnett, among others, was elected to the Legislative Council, to meet at Green Bay. The Council met at the appointed time in

December, but the new acting Governor of Michigan not appearing, as was expected, there was not much of importance done by it. Mr. Burnett was chosen President of the Council, but as no Governor was on hand, no message presented calling attention to important subjects for consideration, the members present had an opportunity to pass resolutions implicating the acting Governor for neglect of duty. Why acting Gov. Horner did not meet the Council at the time and place fixed upon, has not, I believe, been made public. Some supposed that he was advised from Washington, that the whole proceeding was without the authority of law; but from a letter from Col. Jones, then the Delegate from Michigan, dated at Washington, Feb. 20th, 1836, it appears that Mr. Horner "dreaded the journey" from Detroit to Green Bay, in dead of winter, "as he admitted" to him.

It appears from the correspondence of Col. Jones with Mr. Burnett, that the Council passed resolutions censuring Gov. Horner for non-attendance, and resolutions touching Gov. Cass in relation to Indian Treaties. These resolutions implied blame, or at least something that needed explanation. There were also speeches made by Mr. Burnett, and others, but especially by him, implicating Gov. Cass' administration of Indian Affairs while Governor of Michigan, and even after his elevation to the head of the War Department. Whether these charges were well or ill founded, I have no means of knowing. I can only say, that on this frontier, I have found those who think that they were, while others are of a different opinion. The speeches made while the resolutions were under discussion, were printed in the newspapers of the time, and were reiterated and elaborated in a series of numbers afterwards printed in the *Galena Gazette*, over the signature of *Wisconsin*, all of which, it seems, found their way to Washington and called forth expressions of regret from Cols. Johnson and Jones, and a kind offer of mediation from Gov. Dodge, in which he used the language of Gov. Cass in reference to Mr. Burnett, all of which were in terms of the highest respect for Mr. Burnett, and the matter seems to have been dropped here.

We may add, that the Council not being properly organized, the resolutions, of course, did not possess the *prestige* of legality. But it seemed, from what followed the publication of those numbers in the *Gazette*, that there was some foundation for the charges implied in the resolutions, and which were amplified and sustained in the numbers alluded to. For in a letter now before me, from an officer of the army of some rank, dated May 11th, 1836, at Natchitoches, I find the following: "I saw your No. 1, for the first time this morning in a *St. Louis Republican*, taken from a Galena paper. But my dear fellow, have you no conscience, that you put it to our talented and literary Secretary so unmercifully? If you fail to make an impression, then set it down as established, that honesty goes for nothing when in contest with political power. Some of us have had strong suspicions on this point before now."

And before the close of the publication of these numbers, Mr. BURNETT received a polite intimation from Washington, that he could have any appointment at the disposal of the Department, it being understood, though not expressed, that their publication should cease. But this intimation was viewed by Mr. BURNETT in the light of a bribe, and he said, that if he was not entitled to an office from *merit*, he should not accept of one as a bribe, to be silent on matters of public interest, when exposure of political or other corruption, seemed to be a duty.* Those numbers, so far my knowledge goes, are out of print, unless some one has an old file of the *Galena Gazette* for 1836.

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* This "intimation" of a bribe from Washington, would seem to hint that it emanated in some way from Gen. CASS, as the newspaper strictures referred to him. From the vague assertions of Mr. BRUNSON, we respectfully suggest, whether in defending the dead, our friend may not, in his zeal, have done injustice to the living? What the charges were, we are not told, except that they, in a general way, implied some blame against Gen. CASS, connected with Indian treaties, both while Governor of Michigan Territory, and since his administration of the War Department. But Mr. BRUNSON himself candidly admits, that "whether these changes were well or ill-founded, I have no means of knowing;" and adds, "I can only say, that on this frontier, I have found those who think that they were, while others are of a different opinion." Col. R. M. JOHNSON and Hon. G. W. JONES "regretted" that such charges had been made, and, Gen. DODGE could not have believed them, or he would not have offered his friendly mediation in the matter. For Gen. CASS to have "intimated" a bribe, would have implied guilt; and no one, we can hardly suppose, would seriously entertain even a suspicion of his having knowingly wronged either the Government or the Indians. L. C. D.

Among the acts and doings of the Council, were memorials to congress, to organize the Territory of Wisconsin, whether Michigan became a state or not, and to the President, in reference to the officers of the Territory, praying that the offices thereof be filled by citizens of the Territory, and not by men of other States, who would come to the country for the sake of office, and not without; claiming that competent men could be found already in the country, who came here to reside, whether in office or out of it. It was expected that Gen. DODGE, who was, and yet is, a citizen of the country, would be made Governor. And it was reported that the Secretary of Michigan had the promise of a transfer to Wisconsin in the same office; but against this, the Council protested in the strongest manner, and solicited the appointment of Mr. BURNETT to that office. The report and resolutions of the Council, on this subject, were conveyed to Col. JONES at Washington by COL. HAMILTON, and were immediately laid before the President.

Col. JONES says: "I proceeded in *propria persona* to the President, presented the document to him, and endeavored to impress upon him the propriety of granting the prayer of the Council." Col. JONES further says, in a previous letter, dated Dec. 22d: "I have but one course to pursue, and, first, my feeble efforts will, in all cases, be made to have appointed citizens of our own Territory. From amongst these, I will endeavor to have those appointed, who I honestly believe to be best qualified, everything considered, to discharge the duties of the office to be filled. As to the office of Secretary, I know of no person who is an applicant for the place, that I believe to be so well qualified to discharge its duties as yourself, and I have no doubt, if justice is done to the people interested, but that you will receive the appointment."

If the Secretaryship could not be obtained, Mr. BURNETT desired a judgeship, and for one of these offices, his friends in Congress, such as JOHNSON and JONES, and through them BENTON, LINN, WRIGHT, TALLMADGE and many others, earnestly contended. But perhaps there never was a greater scramble for the offices of a

Territory than in this instance. It was the first Territory organized under the administration of Gen. JACKSON, and his friends, or at least many of them, were disposed to avail themselves of the opportunity now offered, to get some office.

Col. JONES says, under date of March 13th, 1836, while the bill to organize to the Territory was pending: "The President told me the other day, that there would be a thousand applicants for the offices of our Territory. There is scarcely a day that I am not asked for my feeble influence in favor of some rascally office-hunter from this District, or some State. I assure you, that I have become so disgusted with the hungry wolves, that I cannot treat them with common civility. I hate the sight of them, and look upon them as *robbers* of the dearest rights of my constituents. We ought to drive them from our soil, if they succeed in stealing our offices."

But notwithstanding all the efforts made in favor of citizens of the Territory, the offices were mostly filled by those from other States; and as a reason for this, Col. JONES says, Apr. 18th, 1836: "I go for Wisconsin and her citizens before the world. But, Sir, we have no votes to give for President, and are not worth pleasing. These office-seekers are strongly recommended, and it is a difficult matter, as the President told me, to get over the importunities of his numerous political and influential friends, who have their friends to please." It is possible, if not probable, that Mr. BURNETT would have been more successful in his application for office, if he had been less independent, and allowed what he considered to be corruption in high places, to pass without his caustic strictures upon it.

As early as March, 1836, the incipient steps were taken at Detroit, to form the *Four Lake Company*, with a view to secure the site, and lay out a city, which should afterwards be the capital of Wisconsin. Several persons were associated with Govs. MASON and DOTY in this enterprise, one of whom was Mr. BURNETT. The country being then unsettled from the Blue Mounds to Milwaukee, and but little explored, measures were taken by some of the com-

pany, to ascertain the practicability of the measure, and the land was entered and a city laid out, which was afterwards christened *Madison.*

Early in April, 1836, acting Gov. HORNER had moved to Wisconsin, expecting to hold the same relation to Wisconsin that he had held to Michigan. The bill to organize the Territory of Wisconsin had not yet passed Congress. Michigan had assumed to be a State, and was expecting to be admitted into the Union; but the spirit of the times, and of the dominant party in politics, was of the progressive character, and those who felt most interested, were impatient at the tardy movements of Congress, and were still anxious to move the Territorial Government of Michigan to Wisconsin *nolens volens.* Accordingly, Gov. HORNER, then at Dubuque, (Mr. BURNETT being there at the same time,) addressed the following to Mr. BURNETT, April 8th, 1836:

"SIR:—As the Executive of Michigan Territory, I desire your opinion on this point: Can I convene the Legislative Council of Michigan Territory at any other place than Green Bay? If I can, will it suit your convenience, as a member of that Council, to attend in the next two months, at a convenient place within the Mining District? I should also be glad to know, whether you desire a session of it." To this Mr. BURNETT answered as follows: "In answer to the first question proposed, that is, whether you can convene the Council at any other place than Green Bay, I will state what took place during the session of January last relative to that subject. Near the close of the session, a resolution was introduced, requesting the Governor of the Territory to call the Council together at some further day, and at a different place. Upon this resolution a discussion arose, and the measure was opposed by some, upon the ground, that the place for the assembling of the Council having been once designated by the competent authority, it was then fixed, and must remain so until it should be changed by law. It was contended, that the power vested in the Executive by the act of 1835, (of Michigan, making Green Bay the place of meeting,) was not a continuing power, to be exercised

at will, by changing the succeeding meetings of the Council from place to place; but that when it had been once exerted, the authority was exhausted, and could be renewed only by subsequent legislation. The subject was one upon which I had not previously reflected, and the arguments, by the opponents of the measure, had not before occurred to me, and I was not prepared readily to admit the conclusions to which they brought the minds of others; they, however, prevailed with a decided majority, and the measure was defeated by an almost unanimous vote. Whatever my present opinion may be upon the *legal* principle involved in the question, it seems to me to be of very little consequence, as I am persuaded that unless other members have changed theirs since the close of the session, a quorum could not be obtained, who think that the Council can be legally convened at any other place than the one first designated under the law.

"As to the inquiry, whether it will suit my convenience to attend a session, &c., I will remark, that, in the discharge of any public duty, I have ever made my personal considerations yield to the emergency of the case; and that in as much as it is not my privilege to have public measures shaped with a view to suit my individual wishes and convenience, it is not my expectation that they should be so ordered.

"In reply to the last question proposed, I will say, with all due deference and respect for the Executive, that it seems to me, that my individual wishes either for or against the assembling of the Council, ought not to have more weight and influence in directing the action of the Governor, than those of any other citizen of the country. The Governor will, I presume, exercise his discretion upon the subject, and judge of the expediency of the measure proposed, from the exigency of the times, in reference, as well, to the domestic affairs with the General Government."

This, so far as I am advised, was the last attempt to keep alive the Territorial Government of Michigan in Wisconsin. On the 20th of April, 1836, the act organizing the Territory of Wisconsin was approved, and took effect on the 4th July of that year.—

Things now began to operate in a more legal form than before.—The Secretary of the former Territory was made Secretary of this, and until the arrival of Gov. DODGE was, as he had been in Michigan, acting Governor. Under the new organization, new officers, a new Delegate to Congress, and new Councilmen and Representatives had to be chosen; and, as on former occasions, Mr. BURNETT was the choice of numerous friends. A strong effort was made to get his name before the people as a candidate for Congress, but this he declined.

The organic law of the Territory authorized the Governor to cause a census of the different counties to be taken, and to apportion the thirteen members of the Council and the twenty-six members of the House of Representatives, "among the several *counties*," "as nearly equal as practicable." The people of Crawford county, where Mr. BURNETT resided, understood this law to give each county a representation in *each house*. But the Governor understood it otherwise, and apportioned the members of the Council among the counties that had a larger population than that of Crawford, giving the latter two members of the House, but no member of the Council, nor attaching the county to any other so as to form a Council district, or affording the people an opportunity in any way to vote for a Councilman. Upon this state of the case, the people claiming to be entitled to a representative in the Council, unanimously elected Mr. BURNETT to that place.

The election being over, Mr. BURNETT wrote to Gov. DODGE, October 17th, 1836, as follows: "Sir:—You will percieve from the Sheriff's return of the election held in this county, that the people have unanimously elected me to the Council in the Legislative Assembly of the Territory. As the act for establishing the Territorial Government provides, that "the number of persons authorized to be elected, having the greatest number of votes *in each of the said counties* for the Council, shall be declared by the said Governor to be duly elected to the said Council," the question is submitted to you, whether you will declare me to be duly

elected to the Council, according to the vote of the county. It is hardly necessary now to go into an argument of the case, but I may be permitted to remark, that the organic law evidently was intended to, and does most fully, so far as positive enactment can go, secure to the people of *every* county, the equal rights of suffrage and representation with their fellow-citizens in other parts of the Territory. The people of this county have elected one member to the Council, which is the *least* they could do, to have any representation in that body. That number seems most clearly to me to be authorized by law, to be elected, and proper to be so declared by the Executive. I am well aware of the difficulties of the case, as it now stands," (there being thirteen members elected, besides Mr. BURNETT,) "and it is not for me to make suggestions as to the course proper to be pursued by the Executive, under the present circumstances. I only ask, in the name of the people of an entire county, what they and I are perfectly convinced is our lawful right, and that the member chosen by them with one voice to represent them, may be officially declared to be duly elected."

It is a question which I leave to others to decide, whether the trouble in this case, grew out of the wording of the organic law, or out of the Governor's mis-application of that law in making the apportionment. There were at that time but six counties in the Territory among which to apportion the thirteen Councilmen, and the twenty-six Representatives. The organic law seems clearly to contemplate, that each county would contain a sufficient population to entitle it to at least one member of the Council, and one or more members of the House. But on taking the census, it was found, that Crawford county did not contain one thirteenth part of the population of the Territory. It seems, further, that the organic law made no provision for attaching two or more counties together, so as to constitute a Council district. Here was a lameness in the law, which the Governor, it seems, thought he had no power to remedy; but apportioned the members of the respective houses, as nearly in proportion to the inhabitants as

possible, under the circumstances. No one can justly impeach the motives of the Governor. He certainly could have had no intention to wrong the people of Crawford county, for he gave them two members of the House, which was more than their proportion according to population. But still the law, though enacted under a mistaken view or opinion as to the population of the several counties, most clearly contemplated giving each county at least one Councilman, as well as representatives. The apportionment, however, was so made as to give the 13 members to the other five counties, and without attaching Crawford to any other county for this purpose.

Under these circumstances, the Legislative Assembly met at Belmont, in Nov. 1836, when Mr. BURNETT presented his claims and certificate of election, demanding a seat in the Council. But the trouble, in case he was admitted to a seat, was, that there would then be fourteen instead of thirteen, and no one knew which of the others must retire to give him room. The Council had not the apportionment of its own body previous to its first meeting, and if the Governor had erred in the apportionment, the Council had no power to correct the error; and the result was, that Mr. BURNETT was refused a seat in that honorable body. All the proceedings in this case, will be found in the journal of the Council of that session.

At this Belmont session, and in organizing the Territorial Government, Mr. BURNETT was nominated by the Governor, and confirmed by the Council, as District Attorney for Crawford county, and on the receipt of the commission therefor, wrote the Governor as follows, from Prairie du Chien, Dec. 17th, 1836: "Sir:—I was, on this day, handed a commission appointing me, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council, District Attorney for the county of Crawford. I take the earliest occasion to inform you, that I decline accepting the appointment, that you may take such steps to fill the office as may be deemed expedient. Believing, as I do, most sincerely, that the Council was not legally organized, and that it had not, therefore, the lawful

authority to perform any valid and binding act, I cannot, consistently with these opinions, assume an office that has been conferred by the action of that body. It is proper to state, that my name was presented for the appointment, without any knowledge or consent on my part."

The people of Crawford county, not being satisfied with the apportionment of the Council, petitioned Congress for redress; the petition being sent to the care of the Hon. John Quincy Adams to be presented, and Mr. Burnett wrote that eminent statesman a letter, explaining the matter, and urging the favor of his influence in their behalf. But it seemed that nothing was done in the premises. In the circumstance of Mr. Burnett's addressing that great statesman on this subject, we see the impropriety of any one's taking ultra measures in political matters. It has been seen, that Mr. Burnett was an original Jackson man, and of course was an opponent of Mr. Adams. And those who recollect the spirit, as well as the means, used in that contest, would hardly think it possible, that a Jackson man would ever ask a favor of Mr. Adams, under any circumstances. But in the circumstances herein related, under the administration of the man whom he had helped into office, Mr. Burnett had not received what he deemed equal and impartial justice; and to obtain this, he addresses the the very man whose election he had opposed. I do not mean to be understood as saying, that Mr. Burnett changed his political views, as a Jackson democrat, but simply, that it is unsafe in political contests to condemn or consign those of an opposite party to oblivion, for circumstances may so change, that we may agree on public measures, or we *may* be glad of their favor and assistance in subsequent cases.

On the 29th day of Dec. 1836, Mr. Burnett was married to Miss Lucia Maria Brunson, my second daughter, and in the spring of 1837, he removed to Cassville, in Grant county, Wisconsin. He changed the place of his residence, to be more central to his professional business, which was now greatly extending, not only in the western counties of what is now Wisconsin,

but also into what is now Iowa, in Dubuque, and even into Des Moines county.

Early in the year 1838, the subject of the election of a Delegate to Congress from Wisconsin Territory was agitated; and Mr. BURNETT was not only consulted as to the measures proper to be pursued, but was strongly solicited by his friends, on both sides of the river, to suffer his name to be used in the contest. But before preliminaries were arranged, Congress divided the Territory, and organized that of Iowa out of the portion of Wisconsin which lay west of the Mississippi River. This entirely changed the face of things leaving the aspirants on the two sides of the river, an open field, without the interference of the local interests, which naturally grow out of such circumstances.

Party politics had hitherto been kept out of sight in Territorial matters, and Whigs and Democrats were not known in the canvasses for office. The first Delegate from the Territory, was understood to be a Whig, when elected; but the administration of the General Government, and a majority in Congress, being of the Democratic party, it was deemed prudent by himself and his friends to change his political character. One reason for this, was, that as the Territory was dependent upon Congress for funds to support its Government, make its internal improvements, and pay its numerous officers, it was *policy*—the usual standard of morality, truth and justice, with the majority of the politicians of the day—for our Delegate to be on the strong side of Congress, and the Administration, in hopes to obtain greater appropriations from the National Treasury.

With a view to secure this object in the election, without the contingency of a change in political views or policy, Mr. BURNETT was called upon by the Hon. J. S. H., one of the delegates to the nominating convention, to know whether he "professed the principles of the Whig party, and whether he was in favor of a National Bank as the only means of regulating the currency, and whether he believed in its constitutionality."

The above was dated at Green Bay, Aug. 17th, 1838, and Mr.

BURNETT, then being at that place, on the day following replied as follows: "In answer to your letter of yesterday, it gives me pleasure to state, that I do not now and never have professed the principles of the Whig party. All my political principles were imbibed in the school of the Democratic party, as taught by Mr. JEFFERSON and his associates and followers, and I am too far advanced to change these principles. I have always been opposed to the Bank of the United States. All the arguments that have been elicited in late years in favor of that institution, have not, in any degree, tended to change my opinion. I am, and ever have been, in favor of a strict, limited construction of the Constitution, and a strict responsibility of all public agents. I do not believe it was intended by the framers of our Constitution, to confer on Congress the power of creating a National Bank; and in all cases where such a measure is even doubtful, I think the safer course is, to leave the matter to the people, and to the States. I have thus frankly, and in a few words, given you my opinions upon these questions; believing it to be the right of the citizen to enquire of a candidate for office as to his views upon the political measures of the country; I am nevertheless clearly satisfied, that it is not good policy to make national politics a test question in our Territorial elections, and am opposed to any attempt, at present, at the organization of parties in the Territory." In this Congressional contest, there were three candidates in the field, GEO. W. JONES, J. D. DOTY, and Mr. BURNETT. Each had his warm friends, and the election was warmly contested. But Mr. DOTY was the successful man.

In a letter now before me, from a friend of Mr. BURNETT in Racine, giving reasons why the election in that county went so different from what was expected, among other reasons says, "the *bar* in this village was kept open by ——'s friends on the day of election, and I am credibly informed that the bill was $25 00." When will the time come that bribery will not be resorted to, to purchase votes? And what can a man value himself at, who will sell his vote, if not himself, for a drink of whiskey? Until this

corrupt and corrupting practice is discountenanced, discarded and abandoned, we cannot reasonably expect *purity* in our public men. In this case, it is not said that the candidate footed the rum bill, but that his friends did. This they might do without his knowledge or consent, but these friends would not be to that expense unless they expected, if their candidate was successful, to be compensated in the shape of office, contract for some public work, or by direct remuneration. In either case, *corruption* is at the bottom or foundation of the movement, and while men will thus sell their influence, the elective franchise is but a farce, and liberty is but a solemn mockery; for the people who thus dispose of their rights, are but slaves to a political demagogue, who, if he would thus purchase votes, would, in time, sell himself to a usurper of a higher grade, and become a vassal to a crowned head, if by so doing he could be well paid for his own, and the liberty of his country. These remarks are not made with reference to this case particularly, but the fact having occurred here gave rise to the general reflection.

From the numerous nominations, together with the numerous letters Mr. Burnett reeceived from the leading men in different parts of the Territory, it was but a reasonable calculation on his part, as well as on that of his friends, that he would be elected. But such is the "glorious uncertainty" of politics, as well as law, that he, like many others of merit, was doomed to be disappointed, and this one added to others heretofore alluded to, induced him to remain silent and inactive on this score for some length of time. Nor would he ever again have been a candidate for any office in the gift of the people, if he had not literally been dragged out of his retirement by his friends.

The Delegate from Wisconsin had up to this time been elected in the odd year, so that his two years ran into two Congresses, and as Judge Doty was successful 1838, and the Governor and a majority of the Legislature being opposed to him, it was deemed a favorable opportunity to get rid of him, by enacting that the election of Delegate should correspond to the election of mem-

bers of Congress in the States. This of course brought on an election of Delegate in 1839. Judge Doty and Byron Kilbourn were the prominent candidates, and by some means which I have not seen explained, Mr. Burnett was again brought before the public in that connection. I have not been able to learn from his own correspondence, that he consented or refused to have his name used in that way. The friends of each of the prominent candidates, reported that his name was used for the purpose of dividing the vote of their respective friends. Of this Mr. Burnett was not guilty, nor was he capable of such a measure. As it was, he received but a few scattering votes, and Judge Doty was again successful, contrary to the expectations of the law-makers and changers.

In the meantime, Mr. Burnett's practice at the bar was greatly enlarging, and he was preparing his farm in Grant county for the reception of his family, where he intended, and, as it finally resulted, did spend the remnant of his days on earth, and to which he moved his family in 1840, and gave it the name of "Hermitage." In the spring of 1842, Gov. Doty in organizing the militia of the Territory appointed Mr. Burnett General of the 2nd Brigade of the 2nd Division.

In the fall of 1842, a murder was committed on Prairie du Chien, for which five soldiers were arrested and indicted, for whose defence Mr. Burnett was employed. The accused were acquitted, and for the want of other means to pay their counsel, they assigned over to him their pay due from the United States, for and during the time of their confinement, which assignment was sanctioned by the officer commanding the company to which they belonged. But the pay-master, Major Street, refused to pay him, or them, for the time of their confinement, under a decision of Mr. Thornton, the 2nd Controller of the Treasury, made in 1833. From this decision, Mr. Burnett appealed to the Secretary of War, who referred the matter to the Pay-Master General, and he in turn referred it to the decision of the Controller, "that soldiers confined by the civil authority for alleged criminal offences, are

not entitled to pay from the United States for the time they are so confined. The fact that the men were not convicted, does not alter the case. The decision is based on the ground, that no service having been rendered the United States during that time, they, like other employers, are not bound to pay for any."

But Mr. BURNETT, with his characteristic diligence as a lawyer, never yielding a point in which he thought he was right, until the last thing possible was done, appealed from this tribunal to the President of the United States, to whom he writes Aug. 28th, 1843, as follows: "I beg leave respectfully to request your examination of the enclosed correspondence. When the matter was submitted to the Hon. Secretary of War, it was expected that he would give it some attention, and not turn it over to the Pay-Master General. *He* had already given his orders in relation to the decision of the 2d Controller, under which Major STREET was acting, when he refused to pay the men. If I had wanted a re-iteration of the order, if it could have been of the least imaginable benefit to me or the men for whom I have been acting, and at whose request I am still urging their claims for justice, to have it again promulgated, I should have written to the Pay-Master General direct, without troubling the Honorable Secretary to hand my letters over to him to be answered.

"The Pay-Master General says, that 'the decision of the 2d Controller is based upon the ground, that no service having been rendered the United States during that time, they, like other employers, are not bound to pay for any.' The same principle would prevent the payment of a soldier for the time he might be confined in the Hospital by sickness, or wounds, or while he was a prisoner of war. Why are the men, in either of these cases, paid for the time in which they render no service? Because they have been prevented by circumstances to which they must submit, and have not withheld their services voluntarily. But Mr. THORNTON says, 'where the soldier is confined by the civil authority,' (an authority to which the highest official is bound to submit, no matter how unjust the confinement may be,) the mis-

fortune fell on him, and he must bear it. Now in every imaginable case, for every day when the muster-roll does not show the soldier to be present, or absent on duty, no matter what accident, or misfortune may have intervened, the rule, with equal justice and reason, and as much law to support it, would be applied—the soldier must bear his misfortune. The principle will not not bear extension; it cannot be sustained by reason and analogy.

"The substance of the position is, that in *every* case, where no service is rendered, there can be no pay demanded, and the Government of the United States is compared to an individual. This rule would exclude every officer of the Government, civil and military, from receiving pay when absent from the appointed place of his duty, or when he fails to render service. To apply it to the army, if an officer is absent on furlough, or imprisoned on either civil or criminal process, we never hear of the rule being applied to him. Is law or reason different when applied from what it is, when, under the same circumstances, applied to a soldier? Is it to be established as a permanent measure of our Government, that one rule of justice is to be applied to the poor soldier, who always needs protection, and a different and more favorable one to officers who are never so necessitous, and who are always more able to protect themselves, and whose pay is of so much more consequence, so far as saving is concerned?"

But the appeal was of no avail until two years after, when the money was paid. It appears from the papers in the case, that this rule of the Controller had lain dormant for ten years, on this frontier, and it was not known to exist either by the Pay Master or officers of the army, until it appeared in this case, and of its injustice no one can reasonably doubt. As an item of history, it is of little importance; but as it involves an important principle of law, and exhibits the glaring injustice of the Government towards the weak and helpless, it is worthy of note.

From the organization of the Supreme Court of the Territory, Mr. Burnett had been the Reporter thereof, and in the winter of

1843–4, the Legislature authorized the publication of the Reports of cases in that Court, with the Laws of the session. This required the re-writing of the whole on short notice, but the work was accomplished in due time. But in this, as in many other cases, where political squabbles for the ascendency interfered with the proper administration of the Government, there were two claimants of the manuscript. The Legislature had given the printing of the Laws and Reports to Mr. GEORGE HYER, while the Secretary of the Territory, who held the "purse strings," wished to give it to Mr. W. W. WYMAN. Furthermore the Legislature appointed JOHN CATLIN and BEN. C. EASTMAN, commissioners to superintend the publication of the Laws and Reports, and to compare the Laws in the proof-sheets with the originals in the Secretary's Office, but there were some fears expressed that the Secretary would not grant the privilege of this comparison in his Office, which fears, I believe, were without sufficient foundation to justify them. In this state of the case, Mr. BURNETT was called upon by both claimants for his MS. Reports. But the commissioners being first in their call, and Mr. BURNETT believing that the will of the people as expressed by their representatives, should be obeyed, in preference to that of a foreign Secretary, who was sent here by the Federal Government merely or chiefly as a fiscal agent, he sent the MS. to the commissioners, who caused the Reports to be printed according to law.

In the year 1844, Mr. BURNETT was called upon to appear before the people of his county of Grant, as a candidate for the Assembly. There seems to have been strong efforts made against his election, on account of the independence with which he attended upon his duties at the bar, but he succeeded by a handsome majority, having 1000 out of the 1500 votes cast.

In the winter of 1844–5, and while the Assembly was in session, a rumor that an Indian war had broken out, came, with a thousand fearful forebodings, producing intense excitement in and about the Capitol. At this time, the militia laws had all been

repealed, probably with a view to counteract the supposed influence of Gov. Doty, and the capital he might have made by the organization of the militia, and the appointment of the officers from among his friends, the majority of the Legislature being opposed to Doty. At this juncture, however, a change in the administration of the General Government had changed Governors, and Gen. Dodge was again at the helm of the Territory. But the law which abolished the militia service with a view to hamper and trammel Doty, was now, in a time of need, found to trammel and hamper Dodge, for though great fear was excited, that plunder and murder would be, or were actually being committed by the Indians, the Governor's hands were tied by the law, which he had himself approved. The representations of Indian disturbances made to the Governor, he communicated to the Assembly.

If I have been rightly informed, the emergency of the case was such, as to call the two Houses together at an evening session, to recieve the Governor's Message on the subject, and to devise ways and means for the public defence. And while one was looking at another, at a loss to know what to do, Mr. Burnett penned and offered a bill to repeal the act by which the militia organization had been abolished, and to restore the former laws upon the subject. In offering the bill which contained only a few lines, he moved a suspension of the rules, so that the bill passed at once, and was sent to the Council; and, by the same process, it was passed there, and in about half an hour from the time it was first offered, the Governor had approved of it, and the whole militia of the Territory was organized, officers and all, and measures were said to be taking to call out a portion of it, to chastise the supposed marauders; when a second communication to the Governor, showed that there was no occasion for it. The first report had grown out of exaggerated statements of some white hunters, who had come in contact with some Indians in the same pursuit, and who probably took some game which the whites would have been glad to have taken; and possibly some pigs had

been taken on the credit of the Indians, but this was never proven against them.*

Mr. BURNETT was again in the Legislature in 1846, when arrangements were made to call a Convention to form a Constitution for a State Government. He was also elected a Delegate to the Convention, which met on the 5th day of October, 1846. He was, however, prevented, by sickness, from reaching Madison, until the 14th of the month, when he took his seat in this first State Convention. He had been some months confined at home by disease, and was indeed unfit to leave home when he did. But feeling the high responsibilities which rested upon him, he repaired to the Capital, but his stay there was destined to be short.

On the 19th of the month, Mrs. BURNETT, who the day previous

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* By reference to the Legislative Journals, it appears that this matter happened on the last evening of the following session, February 3, 1846. The Governor communicated the proceedings of a meeting of the citizens of Muscoda, on the Wisconsin River, in Grant county, dated Sunday night, Feb. 1, 1846, stating as follows: "The citizens of this prairie and surrounding country, having been for the last several months annoyed and harrassed by the depredations of the Winnebago Indians, and submitted to their bullying and insults, have at length been forced to the *dernier* resort—to take up arms for our protection. This evening a skirmish took place between the Indians and the citizens, in which four of the former were severely, if not mortally, wounded; and from the known character of the Indians, we may naturally expect more serious consequences to ensue. A true and correct statement of the occurrences of the day, is substantially as follows: A number of the Indians came down the north side of the Wisconsin River to Capt. SMITH'S, and stole his canoe. He discovered them, and called to them to bring it back, which they refused to do. The Captain, with several other men, came over to this shore, found the Indians who took his boat, and chastised one or two of them with a stick, and in the melee, one of his men was severely hurt with a club, in the hands of one of the Indians. The Indians then ran, and the citizens, a number of whom had by this time collected, followed them a little way and returned. In a short time the Indians came back also. All the citizens having by this time assembled, Capt. JAMES B. ESTES and BOOTH advanced towards them, unarmed, and in a peaceable manner, making friendly manifestations—all of which time the Indians threatened, by drawing their knives, throwing off their blankets, waving their guns in the air, and pointing them toward the whites. Finding it impossible to pacify or appease them, they separated, and in a moment they fired upon the citizens—the next minute their fire was returned, and four of them fell." They then add, that the Indians have sent their runners to collect their scattered bands, and the whites have sent for aid; that they want the Governor's assistance, and are determined to kill or drive every Indian on the Wisconsin, over the Mississippi; have upwards of forty men under arms, and have chosen JAMES B. ESTES for Captain.

Gov. DODGE recommended the adoption of a memorial to the Secretary of War, asking for a corps of dragoons to protect the frontier settlements. "In the course of half an hour," says the Madison *Argus* of that period, "resolutions were adopted to that effect, and the militia law of the Territory revived;" and on the adjournment of the Legislature, the Governor set out immediately for the scene of disturbance, but the excitement had died away, and no more trouble was apprehended. L. C. D.

had returned from the funeral of her mother, was taken with the typhoid fever, then prevalent in the country. In a few days, her danger was such, that his presence was deemed essential, and a messenger was sent with his own team for him. On the night of the 25th, after the fatigues of the day, he left Madison in a wagon for home, eighty-five miles distant, and reached home, before he slept, the night following. This fatigue and exposure, together with his anxiety of mind, caused a relapse of his disease, and he was at once confined to his bed; and besides his wife, his mother, who a few months previously had come to spend her declining days with him, also lay under the same roof, and under the influence and effects of the same disease, and all three within hearing of each other.

On the 1st day of November, 1846, his mother departed this life in peace, but neither Mr. nor Mrs. Burnett could follow her to the grave. On the 5th of the same month, Mr. Burnett breathed his last, and in about three hours afterwards his wife followed him into the spirit-world. The house, at this time, was emphatically the house of mourning. Mrs. Burnett's father, two brothers, sister, and several other relations were present, but Mr. Burnett had no relative present, other than those already mentioned, of his wife's. But such was the deep hold he had upon the affections of his neighbors, that no care or pains were spared for his comfort, and that of his afflicted family. The house was literally thronged both day and night, not merely by spectators, but by those who sympathized with the afflicted, and came to administer relief.

The news of this double death, spread with the velocity of the wind; and on the 7th, a large concourse of people assembled to convey the deceased couple to their single grave. Mr. Burnett had selected a spot in a beautiful grove, at the head of his garden, for his family cemetery, where he had already buried a little son, who was killed by the kick of a horse, and where his mother but five days before had been interred: and there his masonic brethren, his family connections, and a large concourse of friends,

consigned his remains and those of his companion to one common grave. Language can never depict the intense state of feeling that pervaded the whole community. The mail conveyed the sad intelligence to the Convention.

On the 10th of November, Hon. J. Allen Barber, to whom the sad intelligence was sent, rose in the Convention, and made the following announcement: "Died, at his residence at the Hermitage, Nov. 5th, 1846, Thomas P. Burnett, aged forty-six years and two months. Also, the same day, Lucia M. Burnett, his wife, aged twenty-nine years and seven months. Also at the same place, on the 1st inst., Mrs. Judith Burnett, mother of Mr. Burnett, aged seventy-three years." Mr. Barber then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That this Convention has heard the announcement of the appalling intelligence of the death, by a malignant fever, during the same day, of the Hon. Thomas P. Burnett, one of its members from the county of Grant, and his wife, and also of his mother, with feelings of the most poignant grief and heart-rending sorrow.

Resolved, That in the death of the Hon. Thos. P. Burnett, this Convention has lost one of its most talented, intelligent and useful members; community one of its most valuable citizens, and brightest ornaments; his immediate circle of acquaintance an ardent friend, and his family and kindred have sustained a loss, for which, the expression of our deepest and warmest sympathies, can afford but a slight consolation.

"*Resolved*, That as a testimony of our respect for the deceased, the members of this Convention will wear crape on the left arm for thirty days.

"*Resolved*, as a further testimony of respect for the deceased, That this Convention will adjourn over the morrow.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be signed by the President and Secretary, and transmitted to the relatives of the deceased."

On the morrow after these proceedings, the Convention, with

many citizens of Madison, and of the Territory then at that place, met in the Capitol, when a suitable funeral discourse was delivered by Rev. Mr. McHugh, the Chaplain. This was probably one of the most, if not the most, solemnly impressive scenes ever witnessed in that place. The death of Arnott, who fell in the Council Chamber by the hand of Vineyard, probably produced more excitement, but it was of a different kind; it was produced by man acting upon his fellow man. But this was caused by the act of God, to whom all bowed in humble submission, and not with feelings of revenge or retaliation.

At the next meeting of the District Court at Mineral Point, the absence of Mr. Burnett, for the first time since that place had become a county seat, produced a most solemn impression on the minds of the Court, the bar, officers and citizens, and a public meeting was held; an address suited to the occasion was delivered by Mr. Jackson, afterwards Judge Jackson, and resolutions, similar to those of the Convention, were adopted.

Mr. Burnett left one daughter six years of age, and one son not quite two years of age, with sufficient means for their support and education, and to make a respectable beginning in the world, if spared to reach their majority, which is most ardently desired.

It will be expected, that in a memoir of so distinguished an individual, something will be said of his character. But from the relation which I sustained to him, it will at once be seen, that a delicacy rests upon me, which forbids any attempt at eulogy or panegyric upon him from my pen. I may, however, be permitted to give the naked facts, and leave the reader to enlarge according to his own ideas of propriety.

In person, Mr. Burnett was below the ordinary size, being about five feet, eight inches in hight, rather slim built, and weighed about one hundred and thirty pounds. His education was not of the profound and extended character of some, being principally self-acquired; but being a diligent student, he was second to but few of his profession in legal lore, or in general historical and political knowledge, and knowing that if his aspirations in the

world were ever attained, it must be by his own industry and application, he spared no pains in acquiring all useful knowledge for his profession. His address was of the most pleasing and popular character. At the bar, to the court and jury, as well as in his social intercourse, he was courteous and affable, and seldom gave offence to his opponents. One strong and prominent trait of his character, was, the sympathy of his nature. He so fully entered into the feelings and wishes of his clients, that even in doubtful cases, he felt that he was right; yet his courtesy never allowed him, in arguing a case, to affirm things to be true, of which he had no knowledge. That which rested on opinion, he gave as opinion; and after stating his reasons for so thinking, left it to the court or jury, whichever he was addressing, to decide from their own convictions of right.

In his pecuniary matters, he was industrious in accumulating, and economical in all his habits. He had an eye to competent retirement; and to this end, selected one of the most lovely spots on the Military Road from Prairie du Chien to Fort Winnebago, now Portage City, it being on a high ridge, where timber and prairie lands were in close connection. And having a taste for agriculture and horticulture, he devoted his leisure time to their superintendence. He built a double log cabin in which to live, till his means would allow him to build a better; and at the time of his death, had his drafts made, and was about to close his contracts for the erection of a spacious stone mansion; but this was not accomplished. His orchard, garden, and lawns, were arranged with great taste and beauty. The trees and shrubs were pruned with care; his stocks of cattle and horses were of the improved breeds of the day; and the newest and best agricultural implements were in use on his farm.

Like too many, his worldly cares and aspirations had engrossed the most of his attention, to the exclusion of the duties of practical piety. He was a firm believer in revealed religion, recognized and acknowledged his obligations to practice its duties, and like most others, intended to do so before he died. His wife being

a professor, he often accompanied her to the house of worship, and always furnished her with the means, besides his own contributions, for the support of the Gospel. And often when in places of worship, or in company with the religious, the sympathies of his nature would yield to the moral influences with which he was surrounded. But this same sympathy of nature led him to assimilate with other and different influences when surrounded by them. Owing to this, as he associated with men of the world, he fell into their habits, so far as they were deemed consistent with the character of a gentleman; and, it is to be regretted, that some things are not deemed inconsistent with that character, that are very much so with Christianity, and which no gentleman would like to meet unpardoned at the bar of God. Over these, we throw the vail of charity and forgetfulness.

After Mr. BURNETT's return from the State Convention to his sick family, and a relapse of his own complaint had lain him upon his sick and dying bed, the associations around him were calculated to awaken the most serious reflections as to his future state, and the necessary preparation to meet it. There lay his dying mother, and dying wife, from both of whom he had received religious instruction. My own relation to him, as well as my profession, both required and justified, now that I saw the hand of death upon him, to present more fully to his consideration than I had done before, the importance of obtaining forgiveness from God, before he appeared at his bar to answer for the deeds done in the body. He saw and felt the impropriety of deferring such important concerns to so late an hour, but devoted his few remaining hours to prayer, and to seeking mercy and forgiveness from the hand of that God against whom he had sinned, before he should be ushered into his presence, and receive his final doom. And it was, and still is, a source of comfort to his friends, to know, that he expressed confidence in the hope of forgiveness here, and a blessed immortality hereafter.*

* In commemoration of his Mr. BURNETT'S memory and services, the Legislature at its session of 1856, named a new county after him, situated in the north-western part of the State. L. C. D

APPENDIX NO. 9.

PIONEER LIFE IN WISCONSIN.

BY COL. DANIEL M. PARKISON, OF LA FAYETTE COUNTY, WISCONSIN.

In compliance with the request of the STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, for my reminiscences of pioneer life, together with my recollections of the Winnebago and Black Hawk Indian Wars, I herewith communicate an imperfect and concise sketch for the use of the Society.

I was born in Carter county, East Tennessee, August 1st, 1790. My parents were natives of Shenandoah county, in the Valley of Virginia, and my father, PETER PARKISON, served under Col. DANIEL MORGAN in the Revolutionary war, and on one occasion was wounded; and about the close of that contest, he removed to East Tennessee, where he took an active part in all public matters pertaining to that pioneer era in Tennessee settlement. He served under Col. JOHN TIPTON as a captain, in 1788, in a sort of civil strife then raging among the East Tennesseeans, growing out of a conflict of jurisdiction in consequence of the short-lived republic of Franklin, organized under the leadership of Col. JOHN SEVIER. It was mainly a war of words, though some blood was shed before its termination. My father died in Carter county, in March, 1792.

After residing a while in White county, Tennessee, I migrated in May, 1817, to the southern part of the then Territory of Illinois, and settled in Madison county, twenty-five miles east of St. Louis, which town then contained about five thousand inhabitants.

The surrounding country, however, was quite sparsely settled, and destitute of any energy or enterprise among the people; their labors and attention being chiefly confined to the hunting of game, which then abounded, and tilling a small patch of corn for bread, relying on game for the remaining supplies of the table. The inhabitants were of the most generous and hospitable character, and were principally from the southern States; harmony and the utmost good feeling prevailed throughout the country.

In 1819, I removed to what afterwards became Sangamon county, which was then an entire wilderness, there being then but six families, including my own, within eighty miles; and for that distance, the inhabitants were, for several years, compelled to go for their supplies of merchandize, as well as the transaction of all matters of a political or public character. But notwithstanding their isolated position, and in the midst of numerous Indian tribes, their prosperity was rapid. This portion of country was then a frontier on the north and west; and, like southern Illinois, was settled by emigrants chiefly from the southern States, possessing enlarged views of generosity, hospitality, and confidence in their fellow men. When a new-comer arrived in the country, the settlers, without distinction or ceremony, went at once to pay him a visit, whom they usually found in a tent or camp. The warmest sentiments of friendship and good-will were interchanged, the old settlers assuring their new neighbor, that every thing they possessed, in the way of tools, teams, wagons, provisions, and their own personal services, were entirely at his command. Hence, in a few days, all hands, as the phrase then was, turned out, and built the new-comer a house, cut and split his rails, hauled them out, put them up in fence around the land he wished to cultivate, and then his land was broken up for him ready for the seed. Thus, in the space of a few days, the new comer was in a comfortable condition, well acquainted, and upon the best terms of friendship, with the whole neighborhood. And to conclude these friendly attentions to the new-comer, a most joyous and convivial occasion was enjoyed, when the

younger portion of the company would trip the light, fantastic toe, over some rough puncheon floor. Thus would be formed the most warm and enduring friendships—such as no ordinary circumstances could disturb.

Among the settlers, the utmost confidence was reposed in the honor and integrity of each other; consequently all business was done upon the *confidence* principle. Notes, receipts, mortgages, or bonds, were scarcely ever given in those days; and afterwards, when the Yankees, as we called them, came among us, and sought to introduce their system of accounts, written notes and obligations, we looked upon them with great suspicion and distrust, and regarded their mode of doing business as a great and unwarrantable innovation upon our established usages. We looked upon them as a selfish, small-dealing, and narrow-contracted people, and, consequently all intercourse with them, was at first, as much avoided as possible. After a few years, however, these prejudices in some degree wore off, and a general good feeling prevailed. I must here remark, in justice to the Yankee or Eastern character, that I have found among them, as warm hearts, as firm, enduring friends, and formed as ardent attachments, as among any other people. Some of my most devoted and highly esteemed friends are among this class.

I heard the first sermon preached in Sangamon county; it was in 1819, and by Rev. Rivers Cormuck, of the Methodist denomination. The first funeral sermon was preached at my house, in consequence of the death of a daughter and son of mine. I was the first Justice of the Peace in the Sangamon country, and had many an amusing scene in dispensing justice among the honest and illiterate members of the community, and in solemnizing the rites of matrimony between the loving swains and impatient damsels of the country; and occasionally between those who were quite stricken in years, for this feeling was by no means confined to the young.

In the year 1822, considerable excitement was created in relation to the lead mines near Galena, and a number of persons went

there from Sangamon county, among whom was Col. Ebenezer Brigham, now of Blue Mounds, Dane county, Wis. In 1826, the excitement and interest relative to the Lead Mine country became considerably increased; and in 1827, it became intense, equalling almost anything pertainnig to the California gold fever. People from almost all portions of the Union inconsiderately rushed to the Mining Region.

With Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, James D. Brents, and two others, I arrived at Galena on the 4th of July, 1827; and on the same day, arrived also a boat from St. Peters, which had been attacked by the Indians, a short distance above Prairie du Chien, bringing on board one man killed and two men wounded. In the encounter with the Indians, they killed two of them. The Indians who made this attack upon the boat, were those under the command of Red Bird, one of the war chiefs of the Winnebagoes.*

Upon the reception of the alarming intelligence of the attack on this boat, and also upon some of the inhabitants near Prairie du Chien, and the reports being spread over the country, a scene of the most alarming and disorderly confusion ensued—alarm and consternation were depicted in every countenance—thousands flocking to Galena for safety, when in fact it was the most exposed and unsafe place in the whole country. All were without arms, order or control. The roads were lined in all directions with frantic and fleeing men, women and children, expecting every moment to be overtaken, tomahawked and scalped by the Indians. It was said, and I presume with truth, that the encampment of fugitives, at the head of Apple River, on the first night of the alarm, was four miles in extent, and numbered three thousand persons.

In this state of alarm, confusion and disorder, it was extremely difficult to do any thing; almost every man's object was to leave

* From Judge Lockwood's Narrative, pages 161, 162 of this volume, it appears that Red Bird was doing mischief at Prairie du Chien, when the boat was attacked *the same day*, near the mouth of Bad Ax River, some forty-five miles above Prairie du Chien. He could not, therefore, have taken any personal part in the boat attack. L. C. D.

the country, if possible. At length a company of riflemen was raised at Galena, upon the requisition of Gov. Cass of Michigan, who arrived there on the second day after the alarm. This company was commanded by Abner Fields, of Vandalia, Illinois, as Captain, and one Smith and Wm. S. Hamilton as Lieutenants; and was immediately put in motion for Prairie du Chien, by embarking on board the keel-boat *Maid of Fevre River*. On our way up the river, I acted as Sergeant of the company, and we made several reconnoitering expeditions into the woods near the river, where Indian encampments were indicated by the rising of smoke. In these reconnoissances we run the hazard of some danger, but fortunately all the Indians that we met were friendly disposed, and did not in the least sympathize with those who had made hostile demonstrations.

When we arrived at Prairie du Chien we took possession of the barracks, under the prior orders of Gov. Cass, and remained there for several days until we gave way to Col. Snelling's troops who arrived from Fort Snelling. While we remained there, a most serious difficulty occurred between Col. Snelling, of the regular army, and Capt. Fields and Lieut. Smith of our volunteers, which eventuated in Lieut. Smith sending Col. Snelling a challenge, and Capt. Fields insisted upon doing so likewise, but Col. Hamilton and I at length dissuaded him from it. Col. Snelling declined accepting Lieut. Smith's challenge, and immediately sent a corporal with a file of men, to arrest Mr. Scott, the bearer of Smith's communication. The volunteers refused to surrender Scott into the hands of the guard; but Col. Hamilton wrote a note to Col. Snelling, stating, in effect, that Scott should immediately appear before him. Accordingly Col. Hamilton and I conducted Mr. Scott into the presence of Col. Snelling, who interrogated him as to his knowledge of the contents of Lieut. Smith's communication; and upon Mr. Scott's assuring the Colonel that he was entirely ignorant of the subject-matter, he was dismissed.

Col. Snelling then addressed the volunteers in a pacific and

conciliatory manner, which seemed to dispose of the matter amicably; but the Colonel, nevertheless, refused to furnish us with any means of support, or any mode of conveyance back to Galena—as the boat in which we came, returned there immediately after our arrival. But for the noble generosity of Mr. Lockwood, who kindly furnished us with a boat and provisions, we would have been compelled to have made our way back to Galena on foot, or as best we could, without provisions. During our entire stay at the garrison; we received the kindest treatment and most liberal hospitality at the hands of Mr. Lockwood. At the time of our arrival at Prairie du Chien, the citizens had in their custody as hostages for the good conduct of ther nation, three Indians, one of whom was the well-known Chief Day-kau-ray. He disclaimed on the part of his nation as a whole, any intention to engage in hostilities with the whites; he was, however, retained some time as a hostage before being released.

During our absence, another volunteer company was raised, commanded by Gen. Dodge, who was constantly in the field with his mounted force, keeping in check the approach of the enemy. During his rangings, he took young Win-ne shick,* son of the chief Win-ne-shick, who was detained as a hostage for some time. No farther disturbances of a serious character took place that season; and in the succeeding autumn, Gens. Atkinson and Dodge held a council or treaty with the Winnebagoes. After this, we had no more Indian troubles till 1832.

Notwithstanding the country was in a great measure abandoned in the summer of 1827, during the Indian alarms and disturbances, yet in the fall it began to fill up again, and in the spring of 1828, the flow of immigration here was almost inconceivable. Mining and smelting were engaged in, upon quite an extensive scale;

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* Horace Shead, a pioneer, who resided near Galena in 1827, states in conversation, that Win-ne-shick, was brought to Galena in charge of Jesse W. Shull and about four others, and was taken to Dr. Muir's, whose wife was a Winnebago woman, and was detained about two weeks, when the alarm subsiding, he was escorted by a party some distance towards the Indian country, being afraid to venture among the whites alone, and then set at liberty. He still lives, west of the Mississippi, in Minnesota. the head chief of the Winnebagoes. L. C. D.

many made fortunes, and many lost them. The country presented a hurly-burly business aspect. The inhabitants were a heterogeneous mass, thrown together from all parts, and in all shapes and conditions; but the whole were characterized by some leading or general features. Honesty, hospitality, generosity and kindness were predominent characteristics of the entire community, although in some, they might have been alloyed with indolence and recklessness to some extent.

I removed my family to the mines in the fall of 1827, and settled at New Diggings, now in La Fayette county. So intent were the new-comers on making money by mining, that they could not take time to erect for themselves and families even a comfortable dwelling place. Instead of houses, they usually lived in dens or caves; a large hole or excavation being made in the side of a hill or bluff, the top being covered over with poles, grass and sods. A level way from the edge of the hole at the bottom was dug out, some ten or twelve feet; and this gang-way being closed up on either side, was covered over on top, thus forming a sheltered entrance to the "*dug-out*," as such places were usually called. In these holes or dug-outs, families lived in apparent comfort and the most perfect satisfaction for years, bouyed up by the constant expectation of soon striking a *big lead*. To these miserable places of abode, men were compelled to carry upon their backs every thing they and their families required for food and fuel. The miners all lived in similar or worse places, or encamped upon the open ground.

What was then called *prospecting*, was the general business of the country. This consisted in digging "*succor-holes*," in all imaginable shapes and depths, and in all manner of places. When a *lead* was struck, then all would flock to that vicinity to mine; and hence, in the course of a few years, mining was concentrated, in some considerable degree, in certain localities, such as New Diggings, Hard Scrabble, Coon Branch, Fair Play, Platteville, Mineral Point, Dodgeville, Blue Mounds, &c., places still of considerable note. During these few early years, the mines

were worked chiefly by men from the Southern and Western States, who possessed and practised many of the noblest traits of our race. As an illustration of their innate integrity of character, it is perhaps only necessary to state, that locks and keys were unknown in the country; and all places of abode were always left unfastened, and open to the reception of all, who received a cordial welcome, and a free invitation to partake of every hospitality the dug-out or shanty afforded. Upon the return of the lone minor to his "hole in the ground," after a hard day's work, he would frequently be cheered with the sight of some weary prospecter, who had, in his absence, there taken up his lodgings for the night. Having passed a pleasant night, they would separate in the morning, perhaps never to meet again. Mining tools, and every thing of this description, were left out, and nothing ever stolen or disturbed.

Debts were contracted without reserve, at the first interview with a new comer, and he seldom ever failed to meet his promises of payment. The mode of doing business was something like this: A young man would enter a store, or go to a smelter, who usually kept miners' supplies, and would say: "Sir, I have just arrived in the mines, am out of money, and wish to go to mining; if you will let me have some tools and provisions, I will pay you as soon as I strike mineral, which I hope will be in a few days, or weeks at the most." The prompt had friendly reply would be—"Yes, Sir, you can have them;" and the pay, sooner or later, was almost sure to come. This custom was so universally prevalent, and men were so prompt to pay their debts, that I have often heard business men of that day declare, that they never knew debts so promptly paid, even in States where they had stringent laws to enforce their collection.

I did not remain long at New Diggings, but soon moved out to Pecatonica, and kept a tavern, which was, for a considerable time, the only house between Gratiot's and the Blue Mounds. I was myself strongly impressed with the idea that no collection laws were preferable; travellers would often make bills with me

without the present means of paying them, but almost invariably payment would some time or other be made. While living here, I had no neighbors nearer than twelve miles, except a family of Oneida Indians from the State of New York, the head of which afterwards served in Gen. DODGE's squadron during the Black Hawk war.

Removing, in 1829, to Mineral Point, I opened the first tavern ever kept in this place. Mineral Point was then the great center of attraction to all miners; some of the largest *leads* were there struck and extensively worked, and quite a number of mining and smelting establishments erected there and in that vicinity. Many merchants came and settled there, among whom were Messrs. WRIGHT and GUIARD, MORRIS, ANSLEY, and others; and among the principal smelters were Capt. JAMES H. GENTRY, RICHARD H. KIRKPATRICK, and ROBERT C. HOARD, all three of whom served as officers in the Black Hawk war. Business was of the most animated character. The town grew up with great rapidity, and every thing wore the most pleasing and encouraging aspect. The anniversary of American Independence was this year celebrated at Mineral Point with great pomp and ceremony, under the direction of Gen. HENRY DODGE, of Dodgeville, as President, WILLIAM HEMPSTEAD, of Galena, Vice President, JOHN C. SCOTT, Marshal, and Dr. SNYDER, Orator of the day. I prepared the dinner, and at night a dance came off at my house. There were at least a thousand persons in attendance; the oration and ceremonies were as fine, as well timed, and all as happily adapted to the occasion, as any I have since witnessed in this country.

After this apparent prosperity, business very much declined, and in the fall and winter ensuing, the inhabitants experienced the severest times that they ever had in the country. Lead and mineral fell in value from a good price, to almost nothing—lead depreciating to one dollar or one dollar and a quarter per hundred, and mineral only brought no more than four dollars per thousand, and often but three. And not only was our great and

exclusive product so depressed, but provisions rose to a very high price. Flour commanded from fifteen to eighteen dollars per barrel, pork thirty dollars per barrel, coffee fifty cents and sugar twenty-five cents per pound. At these ruinous prices for lead and mineral, and high prices for provisions, it required a desperate effort on the part of the miner to secure even a scanty living. It took from four to five thousand pounds of mineral to pay for one barrel of flour; I gave four thousand pounds for a barrel. In consequence of the great depression of the times, many persons became discouraged and left the country, many more gave up business, and the country at that period, and during the years 1830 and 1831, presented a most gloomy and unpromising appearance, and was, in fact, any thing but flattering to inhabitants or strangers.

During all this time, the people were compelled to pursue the uncertain and precarious fortune of mining as a means of livelihood, the cultivation of the soil being expressly prohibited by the laws and regulations governing the mines. But in the spring of 1832, however, the Superintendent of the mining country, seeing the absolute necessity of the thing, signified to the inhabitants, that he would not take any measures to prevent them from cultivating the soil; but could not, under his instructions from the General Government, give them any special permission to do so. Up to this time, it was necessary, under the mining regulations, to procure a permit even to mine. The regulations governing the mines, were of the most rigid character, and they were sometimes rigidly enforced, sending officers with instructions to remove persons from certain localities. An instance of this kind, I believe, occurred, in which Gen. Dodge was the person sought to be removed. He was then mining at Dodgeville, a region to which the Indian title had not been fully extinguished. This was in the year 1828; but these instances were, however, quite rare.

In consequence of the inhabitants being partially permitted to cultivate the soil, there was an evident appearance of increasing

improvement and prosperity throughout the country, and the settlers everywhere were looking forward to a season of plenty and comfort. The county now began once more to hold out inducements to immigration, and the population was evidently on the increase from this source. But these fair and flattering prospects were soon over-cast by the sudden out-break of the Sauk and Fox Indians under the bold leadership of Black Hawk.

In the month of April, 1832, intimation was received in the mines, that Black Hawk, with a large force of his warriors, had crossed the Mississippi, at the mouth of Rock River, with the avowed intention of making war upon the inhabitants of this country. Upon the reception of this intelligence in the mines, the people were immediately called together by Gen. Dodge, at Mineral Point, which council or meeting was numerously attended. The result was, that it was deemed expedient to send a messenger with dispatches to Dixon, on Rock River, and ascertain correctly, the strength and intentions of Black Hawk's party. I was chosen the messenger, and proceeded immediately upon my mission, with dispatches from Gen. Dodge, in behalf of the inhabitants of the Mining District, to Mr. John Dixon, at Dixon, who was a particular friend of the Sauks and Foxes, and also to Col. Henry Gratiot, the Agent of the Winnebago Indians, who was said to have proffered assistance to Black Hawk. Col. Gratiot, upon the reception of Gen. Dodge's dispatch, proceeded immediately to Black Hawk's camp, which was then at the Prophet's village, on Rock River, to ascertain the facts in the case. On arriving there, he was at once taken prisoner by Black Hawk, and retained for forty eight hours, when he was ransomed by Col. Cubbage, his clerk, for ten plugs of tobacco. This information I afterwards obtained from Col. Gratiot. The result of my mission was, to confirm the reports previously received in the mines. Black Hawk's efficient force at this time, was supposed to have been about five hundred warriors, which was subsequently augmented by Winnebagoes and others, to reach, as was supposed, about eight hundred warriors.

Immediately upon my return to the mines, after an absence of three days, with intelligence substantially confirming the alarming reports we had previously received, Col. Dodge (as we shall now designate him,) collected and organized a mounted company, of which James H. Gentry was chosen Captain, Henry L. Dodge, (son of Col. Dodge) first Lieutenant, and Paschal Bequette, (afterwards son-in-law of Col. Dodge) second Lieutenant. This company consisted of about fifty men, and was kept constantly in the field, with Col. Dodge at their head; and, with this company, he made an expedition to Dixon, for the purpose of securing some additional force from Gov. Reynolds, of Illinois, who had arrived there at the head of what was called the first "Sucker Army;" as well also, to ascertain, if possible, something of the probable movements and designs of Black Hawk, and whether any marauding Indian parties had been sent out upon our frontiers. For this movement Col. Dodge has been censured by some, but I think without any good reason. It always seemed to me, that this step was a judicious one, fully warranted by the circumstances attending it. He failed, however, to obtain any additional force, and found none of the enemy upon our southern border.

Col. Dodge returned to the Mining District, bringing the intelligence of *Stillman's defeat*, at the mouth of Kish-wau-kee, on Rock River, about thirty miles above Dixon, which was on the 14th of May. This information at first threw the inhabitants into considerable alarm and confusion. But fortunately there were, in the country, quite a number of men of some wisdom, discretion, and experience, as connected with Indian difficulties, of whom Col. Dodge seemed to be the chief. Many others might be mentioned, as being well calculated to counsel and direct in such times of danger—such as Col. Wm. S. Hamilton, Maj. Richard H. Kirkpatrick, Capt. John H. Rountree, Capt. Robert C. Hoard, Capt. James H. Gentry, Capt. Robert Dickson, Capt. Clark, Capt. John Moore, Lieut. Charles Bracken, Dr. Loughborough, and many others. By the wise counsels and untiring exertions of these men, and those associated with them, the country was

quickly put in a state of defence, by the erection of stockades at the most prominent points—such as the Blue Mounds,* Dodge's, Mineral Point, Fort Defiance (now my place), Fort Hamilton (now Wiota), Gratiot's, White Oak Springs, Elk Grove, Diamond Grove, and others.

These places of safety for the families of the settlers being completed, three additional mounted companies were organized in the Mining District, commanded respectively by Capt. JOHN H. ROUNTREE, of Platteville, Capt. CLARK, of White Oak Springs, and Capt. BEON GRATIOT, of Gratiot's Grove, a brother of Col. Gratiot, Agent of the Winnebagoes. Some changes afterwards took place in the commands. During the organization and equipment of these companies, Col. DODGE, Col. GRATIOT, and others, proceeded to the Four Lakes (now Madison),† for the purpose of holding a council with the Winnebagoes, whose friendship and good faith towards the whites, were very much doubted. But in this council, they gave every assurance, so far as kind words and fair promises could go, of maintaining their friendship and integrity.‡

Upon Col. DODGE's return, he was joined by the other newly raised companies, and all were immediately put in motion for the Blue Mound Fort, upon which, it was apprehended by Capt. JOHN SHERMAN, who commanded there, that the Indians designed making an attack. When within about three miles of that fort, Col. DODGE was met by an express conveying the pleasing intelligence of the delivery of the two Misses HALL, who had been made prisoners at the massacre on Indian Creek, near Ottawa, for whose ransom Gen. ATKINSON had offered the generous reward

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* This was commenced on the 10th of May—vide BEAUCHARD'S Narrative in SMITH'S Wisconsin.

† Gen. SMITH states, that this conference was held on the 25th of May, "at the head of the Four Lakes," which was probably at WALLIS ROWAN'S old trading establishment, some six miles a little north of west of Madison, a short distance below the mouth of Pe-e-na, or Pheasant Branch; and where in the times of 1837, a paper "City" was attempted to be manufactured. Capts. GENTRY and ROUNTREE, with fifty mounted volunteers, accompanied Cols. DODGE and GRATIOT. L. C. D.

‡ Col. DODGE'S "talk" to the Winnebagoes, on this occasion, may be found in SMITH'S Wisconsin, 1, 416, 417. L. C. D.

of two thousand dollars. The captives were brought into that fort* by a band of Winnebagoes, headed by the chief White Crow, or *The Blind*, as he was usually called, who had got them from the Sauks for that purpose.

After the matter of the captive girls was arranged and both whites and Indians had taken up their quarters for the night, a scene of some alarm and confusion took place. The White Crow had told Capt. Beon Gratiot, that he was friendly towards him, as his brother was the Winnebago Indian Agent; that he did not wish to see him killed, and that he had better leave Col. Dodge and go home; that the Sauks and Foxes would kill all the whites; that the whites could not fight, as they were a soft-shelled breed; that when the spear was put to them they would quack like ducks, as the whites had done at Stillman's Defeat; and he proceeded to mimic out, in full Indian style, the spearing and scalping in the Stillman affair; and that all the whites who persisted in marching against the Indians, might expect to be served in the same manner. Besides this conversation, the Indians acted and conducted themselves in many respects very suspiciously, so much so as to greatly alarm Capt. Gratiot, and others, who confidently believed that the Indians meditated an attack in the night with a large force.

Upon this information being conveyed by Capt. Gratiot to Col. Dodge, who had retired for the night, he instantly jumped up, and said, with great emphasis—"Be not alarmed, Sir; let them come; we will show them, Sir, that *we are not* of the soft-shelled breed;" and immediately went out, and took the White Crow and a few others into custody, and next morning marched the whole body off to Col. James Morrison's farm, where he held a council with them in the presence of Col. Gratiot, their Agent. But such was Col. Dodge's suspicions of them from this conduct, that he retained one or two of their principal chiefs as hostages for the good behavior of the nation; a course, I think, fully jus-

* On the 3rd of June, having been taken on the 21st of May preceding. L. C. D.

tifiable from all the attendant circumstances, though some have professed to think differently. These particulars about the White Crow, I give on the statements of my son Peter Parkison, Jr., who was with the troops at the Blue Mounds and Morrison's at the time.

From Morrison's place, Col. Dodge proceeded to Gratiot's Grove, halting a while at Fort Defiance. The second day after this, which was early in June, information was received by Col. Dodge while at Gratiots Grove, that a man had been killed near the Blue Mound Fort. Being on his route south, Col. Dodge dispatched a messenger with instructions to Fort Defiance and Mineral Point, to raise what force could be mounted, and proceed to the scence of the murdered man. Just at that time, a number of French ponies had been brought down from Prairie du Chien for the use of the inhabitants of the Mining District. These ponies were immediately mounted by a company formed of about thirty men, among whom I was one. When we arrived at the Mounds, we found that the man, whose name was William Aubrey,* was just buried. We remained there one day reconnoitering the country, but could discover no traces of Indians; but we were confident at the time, that Aubrey was killed by the Winnebagoes. The company, which was commanded by Capt. John F. O'Neil, of Mineral Point, returned by way of Fretwell's Diggings to Fort Defiance.

About this time, the people of Fort Defiance and Mineral Point became very much alarmed, in consequence of Capt. James B. Estes coming under whip and spur, at the best speed of his horse, announcing successively at Fort Defiance and Mineral Point, that he had seen a large body of Indians about seven miles below Fort Defiance, making their way towards that fort; adding at Mineral Point, that he had no doubt but that Fort Defiance was then in possession of the Indians. In reading over Capt. Estes' narrative in Gen. Smith's History, I was not a little surprised that he had

* Aubrey was killed on the 6th of June.

made no mention of this circumstance; he may, however, have concluded that he was mistaken, as I believe he was.

Immediately upon Capt. Estes announcing this intelligence, Capt. Hoard, who commanded at Fort Defiance, ordered me with three others, Lieut. M. G. Fitch, John Ray, and Reasin Hall, to make a reconnoissance and ascertain the facts. We did so, but could find no Indians, or signs of any. The fort was not attacked, and the inhabitants of Mineral Point learning this fact, resumed their usual quiet and confidence. These false alarms were not uncommon in these critical times. Many men seemed to possess eyes of a powerfully magnifying character, torturing every thing seen into an Indian, and thus many a well run race has been made when there were no Indians probably within many miles, and nothing to justify the flight more than a tree, stump, or clump of weeds. But notwithstanding there were a few of these flighty gentlemen, the most of the men then in the country, were of that bold and resolute character, who could readily distinguish between trees or bushes and Indians, as their conduct upon all occasions so well testified.

After Col. Dodge left Gratiot's Grove, as my son, who was of the party, informs me, he proceeded with his command to Kirker's farm, and there halted for noon; and while there, the Colonel addressed his men in a very spirited manner, saying that they were then fully in the enemy's country; that every thing depended upon their success; that the public eye was upon them, and that every thing that could be expected of valiant and daring soldiers, would be expected of them; that their families, as well as the country, looked to them for protection; and closed by reminding them of the importance of vigilance and determination, and of perfect subordination to their officers while in the field.* In the afternoon, they marched to the scene of the murder of St. Vrain, Hale and Fowler, whose bodies they found and buried; Hawley, who was supposed to have been killed near the same

*This address may be seen in full in Smith's History of Wisconsin, vol. 1, p. 420.

time, was never found, nor anything entirely satisfactory ever heard of him.

The next night, Col. DODGE's party encamped at Hickory Point, where five of their horses were stolen by the Indians. Early the next morning, a detachment under the command of Capt. GENTRY started in pursuit, and followed them nearly the whole day, retaking some of the lost horses, together with some others, which the Indians had evidently stolen from the whites. The Indians eluded them by abandoning the horses, and fleeing through or into swamps on foot.

This night we encamped at Rock River, where Gen. HUGH BRADY* was in command. Learning that Gen. HENRY ATKINSON was at Ottawa, on the Illinois river, Col. DODGE, with twenty-five men, accompanied Gen. BRADY to that point, where Col. DODGE had a conference with Gen. ATKINSON,† formed a plan for the future movements of the army, when Col. DODGE returned the next night to Dixon about mid-night. Early the next morning thereafter, Col. DODGE's command was put in motion for the Mining Country, where they arrived after a two day's march, much worn down and fatigued. This expedition from the commencement occupied about eight days, during which the troops had been almost constantly, day and night, upon the march. Upon their return to Gratiot's Grove, owing to the worn down condition of the horses, having had nothing but grass to subsist on, it was deemed expe-

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*Gen. BRADY was born in Pennsylvania, in July, 1768, and entered the army in 1792, and served as an Ensign in Gen. WAYNE'S campaign against the Indians; and in the war of 1812-'15, he commanded a regiment, and particularly distinguished himself at Lundy's Lane, and in the battle of Chippewa, in which latter sanguinary contest his regiment was almost annihilated, and himself severely wounded. In 1825, he was stationed at Detroit, in command of that military department, and contributed greatly to preserving peace on the frontier, during the patroit disturbances in Canada, in 1837. He entered with spirit into the Black Hawk war, and exclaimed, "Give me two infantry companies mounted, and I will engage to whip the Sauks out of the country in one week;" but sickness soon came upon the veteran, and his services were lost for the campaign. He received from his native State, the present of a sword, and attained the brevet rank of major-general. He died, at Detroit, April 15th, 1851, in his eighty-third year. A life of purity, rigid temperance and systematic activity, had given a hardiness to his frame, and an elasticity to his step, which continued to the day of his death. He was a younger brother of the celebrated partizan in Indian warfare, Capt. SAMUEL BRADY, of the Upper Ohio Valley L. C. D.

†This was on the 11th of June. Gen. ATKINSON was engaged in organizing three brigades of of Illinois volunteers at Ottawa. L. C. D.

dient by Col. Dodge to dismiss his men to their respective forts for a few days, for the purpose of recruiting their horses; subject, however, to be re-called into service at a moment's warning.

The mounted men had just arrived at Fort Defiance, when the sad intelligence arrived by David Gilbert as express, that five men had been killed at Spafford's farm, on the Pecatonica, six miles south-east of Fort Hamilton.* A dispatch was immediately sent to Col. Dodge, and all the men at the fort that could be mounted, were soon in readiness to proceed to the scene of the murder. This detachment consisted of R. H. Kirkpatrick, Chas. Bracken, who was first Lieutenant at Fort Defiance, Samuel Black and Peter Parkison, Jr., who had just returned from Col. Dodge's expedition to Ottawa, and belonged to the mounted force, Levin Leach, Dominick McGraw, Matthew G. Fitch, Thomas H. Price, Samuel Bunts, Benjamin Lawhead, Highton, Van Waggoner, and myself,† who belonged to the Fort Defiance company—making thirteen in number. Previous to our departure, some dissatisfaction was expressed by some of the men relative to being placed under the leadership of Lieut. Bracken, who was entitled to the command of those who belonged to the fort company. Capt. Hoard consulted me as to the best course to be pursued, and I advised placing the men under the command of R. H. Kirkpatrick, who afterwards became Major; and this was accordingly done, and the men proceeded under him. I state this in justice to Maj. Kirkpatrick, who is now dead, and in consequence of seeing Gen. Bracken's statement in Gen. Smith's history, claiming to have commanded this detachment. It is a matter of some surprise to me, that Gen. Smith should have so far disregarded the truth and impartiality of history, as to have given Gen. Bracken's statement, and at the same time suppressed others relative to this affair and Pecatonica battle, which I know were placed in his hands. Other mistakes there are in his history, but

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*This occurred on the 14th of June, 1832. L. C. D.

†Gen. Bracken gives the additional name of one McConnell. L. C. D.

they may have been made inadvertently, without having the proper lights to guide him.

In consequence of this momentary dissatisfaction about the command, Lieut. Bracken, with Benjamin Lawhead started in advance of the detachment, but we overtook them previous to reaching Fort Hamilton, where we arrived about midnight, and remained till morning. We found the fort and its occupants in the greatest confusion, with no quarters or refreshments for us, and we had to shift as best we could. Some others here joined our party, and some further altercation occurring about the command, an election was regularly held, and R. H. Kirkpatrick was chosen. The detachment then proceeded to the scene of the murder, under the guidance of Bennet Million, who was one of the party attacked, and had almost miraculously made his escape, after a chase of fifteen miles, and having swam the Pecatonica five times during the chase, and at length arrived at Fort Hamilton, in full lope, about an hour by sun.

The first thing that presented itself to us at the scene of murder, was the headless body of the unfortunate Spafford, who, it seems from Million's statement, was killed at the first fire of the Indians, and was found near where the attack was made. Except where shot, and the decapitation, there were no mutilations of the body; we found the missing head on the bank of the river, some hundred yards from the body, with pretty much all the hair taken off, which was of a fine glossy appearance, and hence the reason of their taking it all. The bodies of Searls, McIlwaine, and an Englishman called Johnny Bull, were found upon the opposite bank of the river, most shockingly mangled and mutilated. The body of Spencer, who was supposed to have been killed at the same time, could no where be found. The other four bodies were brought together, and buried in one common grave, presenting a most appalling spectacle, such as only men of nerve could have witnessed with any degree of composure. While these solemn obsequies were being performed, a force was constantly reconnoitering the surrounding country in search of the

yet unfound body of SPENCER, and to see that there were no Indians lurking in our vicinity, to take us by surprise. After burying our unfortunate friends, who had fallen victims through their anxiety to raise a crop of corn, we continued the search for SPENCER's body till evening. I must bear my testimony to the prudent, cautious and sagacious manner, in which this expedition was conducted by Maj. KIRKPATRICK, the officer in command.

When at night we returned to Fort Hamilton, we found Capt. GENTRY there with a portion of his company, when our detachment fell under his command. After some refreshments, the first of which we had partaken since leaving Fort Defiance, a council was held, in which it was determined, that in the event of Col. DODGE failing to arrive by eight o'clock next morning, the force then under command of Capt. GENTRY, would pursue the Indians, and make a further search for the body of SPENCER. The night passed without any unusual occurrence. Just as our men were about starting the next morning, in pursuance of the arrangements agreed on, Col. DODGE arrived in company with THOMAS JENKINS and JOHN MESSERSMITH, Jr., the Colonel, in point of fact, having out-ridden the others, arrived some ten or fifteen minutes ahead of them.

It seems, that upon receiving the express at Dodgeville, Col. DODGE with JENKINS and MESSERSMITH, had started for Fort Hamilton by the way of Blue Mounds, where were some fresh horses and men—a portion of Capt. GENTRY's command; and leaving orders for them to proceed immediately to Fort Hamilton, Col. DODGE continued his route, by way of Fretwell's Diggings, and arrived at Fort Hamilton as before stated. But a little previous to his arrival, he had left the main road, and taken a by-way, which somewhat shortened the distance; and on coming into the main road again, he met one APPLE, a German, who had a good horse, which Capt. GENTRY that morning was about to impress into the service, when APPLE promised him, if he would allow him to go to his cabin after his blankets, he would accompany us on our expedition. This was by many supposed to be merely an excuse to get away,

and thus avoid going himself, or letting his horse go. However, he had proceeded but a short distance, after leaving Col. Dodge, when he fell into an ambuscade, and was literally shot to pieces. It appeared afterwards,that the Indians had first way-laid the path by which Col. Dodge approached the fort, which passed through quite a thick point of woods; but, in the morning, seeing some of the men from the fort pass up to the field for some grain, by the way of the main road, which kept round more in the open ground, they changed their position and went there. Thus had Col. Dodge arrived half an hour earlier, or had he kept around the main road, he would undoubtedly have fallen a victim instead of the unfortunate German.

Almost at the same moment of Col. Dodge dismounting at the fort, the horse of Apple came running up near Capt. Gentry's command, who were some distance from the fort, Capt. Gentry directed my son, who was then a mere boy, to run and bring Apple's horse to him, which he did. Upon seeing the horse with a bullet hole through his ear, and one through the top of his neck, the saddle bloody, and recollecting the report of guns a few moments before, there could be no mistake as to what had taken place; all called out at once that Apple was killed. All was instantly wild excitement and disorder, and but for the stern, determined will of Capt. Gentry, aided somewhat by Maj. Kirkpatrick, Lieut. Bracken and myself, instead of the successful pursuit and defeat of the Indians, a failure might, and I think would, have been the consequence. In a company of thirty or forty men, there are almost invariably some who possess so excitable and enthusiastic temperaments, as to lose all presence of mind, or self-control, though brave it may be, even to a fault. This was the case in the present instance. When it was ascertained that Apple was unquestionably killed, quite a number of men of this description mounted their horses without orders, and were upon the act of rushing indiscriminately after the Indians. Captain Gentry rushed to their front, and ordered them, in the most peremptory manner, as their captain, to halt, reminding them of

STILLMAN'S *Defeat* being brought about perhaps by similar movements and insubordination, and then declaring, that he would shoot the first man who attempted to advance until ordered to do so by Col. DODGE, who would be there in a few moments.

Upon his arrival, Col. DODGE ordered the men to mount and form in line, when he addressed them to this effect: "Fellow soldiers! we shall immediately follow the Indians, whose hands are now reeking with the blood of one of our neighbors and fellow citizens whom they have just slain. We must overtake them, if possible. Their numbers are unknown; but numerous as they may be, I shall charge them sword in hand; and if there are any among you who think you cannot do this, you will fall back now, as I want none with me, except those upon whom I can rely, with the utmost confidence, in any and every emergency." The order was then given to advance at full speed, but none fell back. We were soon upon their trail, passing the mangled corpse of APPLE, which we left in the hands of the fort men for interment.

The trail led through an almost impassable thicket of underbrush, tree-tops, prickly ash, grape vines, briars, and every thing calculated to retard our speed. We finally succeeded in dislodging them from the thicket, and making our way through it; but when we came to the open prairie, the Indians were far in advance of our front, our line being extended for perhaps half a mile in length, owing to the difficulty of the men getting through the thicket. The pursuit was somewhat promiscuous, every one taking his own course. Col. DODGE, Capt. GENTRY, Lieut. BEQUETTE, JOHN MESSERSMITH, Jr., JOHN HOOD, and I, formed the advance. We came pretty nearly up to the Indians on the open prairie, about two miles from the timber; when I suggested to Col. DODGE the propriety of commencing an attack upon them; but before the remainder of the command, who were close at hand, and coming up at full speed, had joined us, the Indians had crossed a deep creek in the prairie, of which we knew nothing, and which was of difficult passage for horses. This retarded us a

little, which enabled the Indians to reach the main Pecatonica, and were crossing it just as we came up in full view of them again; and some shots were exchanged here, but without effect, the distance being too great.

Just after the Indians had effected a passage of the river, which was then much swollen, Capt. GENTRY and I effected a crossing by swimming our horses. ASA DUNCAN made the same attempt, but did not succeed. This placed Capt. GENTRY and myself upon the same side of the river with the Indians, where we could command a full view of their movements, and which perhaps decided them upon making no further attempts to escape, but to prepare to fight. They then marched leisurely into a grove in the bend of the river, and secreted themselves under the bank of a deep slough, which had no doubt at some former period, been the bed of the river. This embankment was surrounded and sheltered with thick under-brush and trees.

In the meantime, Col. DODGE had, with the remainder of the men, effected a crossing higher up the river, at a ford on an old Indian trail, and were dismounted at the head of the grove in which the Indians were concealed. Capt. GENTRY said to me, "Col. PARKISON, you may remain here, if you will, as you are on a fleet horse, and I will go to Col. DODGE, and conduct him this way to the Indians, and then you can join us." I consented to this arrangement; but before Capt. GENTRY reached Col. DODGE, he mired his horse in a slough, which he was attempting to cross, and lost his gun. Col. DODGE had made one advance through the grove, and came out in sight of where I was posted. I then conducted him to the point where the Indians entered the grove, and found their trail; upon which we marched in an extended line, keeping the trail at the centre of our line.

When we had advanced upon the trail about two hundred yards with death-like stillness, the enemys' whereabouts was suddenly announced to us by a volley of fire arms, accompanied by the most terrific yells. But we were not in the least daunted, and Col. DODGE instantly gave the order to charge, which was prompt-

ly obeyed, and in less than two minutes every Indian was killed and scalped. In their first fire, they shot three of our men, mortally wounding BLACK and MORRIS, and slightly wounding THOMAS JENKINS. In the charge upon the bank, WELLS was mortally wounded. Thus ended this short but sanguinary conflict. The entire war-party was exterminated, leaving not one to bear the sad tidings to their Chief and people, that Col. DODGE and his warriors were not, in fact, of "*the soft-shelled breed.*" *

All our men behaved well, indeed valiantly, without distinction. Col. DODGE, in his official report of the engagement, says: "The volunteers under my command, behaved with great bravery and gallantry; it would be impossible for me to discriminate between them." This battle was fought on the 16th of June; and the names of the persons who participated in it, are: Col. DODGE, Lieut. BEQUETTE, Lieut. BRACKEN, Lieut. D. M. PARKISON, Lieut. PORTER, R. H. KIRKPATRICK, Dr. ALLEN HILL, surgeon, THOMAS JENKINS, W. W. WOODBRIDGE, JOHN MESSERSMITH, Jr., ASA DUNCAN, BENJAMIN LAWHEAD, SAMUEL PATRICK, WILLIAM CARNES, JOHN HODD, LEVIN LEACH, ALEXANDER HIGGINBOTHAM, SAMUEL BLACK, DOMINICK McGRAW, PETER PARKISON, Jr., SAMUEL BUNTS, VAN WAGGONER, WELLS, MORRIS, and RANKIN. Capt. GENTRY joined us just as the firing ceased; and M. G. FITCH and another man were posted as sentinels, to watch the retreat of the Indians, should they attempt any.

We then conveyed our wounded men, partly by litter, and partly by wagon, to Fort Hamilton. On our way there, we met EDWARD BEOUCHARD,† and a number of Winnebagoes, Sioux, and

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* Some idea of the brief space of time occupied in this desperate hand-to-hand conflict, may be gathered from the graphic description of one of the volunteers, JOHN MESSERSMITH, Jr., as related in Gen. SMITH'S History:—"I fired my yager; let it drop—drew out my left pistol; fired it at an Indian—let the pistol fall—drew out my right pistol; fired at another Indian—was pouring powder in my hand to re-load, when one of our company said, 'They are all dead!'" L. C. D.

† BEOUCHARD, in his statement in Gen. SMITH'S History, claims to have reached the battle just as the firing commenced, and to have taken part in it; and he gives the additional name of DEVIES as one of the participants, and Gen. BRACKEN speaks of one DEVER—doubtless the same person. Gen. BRACKEN also gives the name of THOMAS H. PRICE as one of Gen. DODGE'S party. There were four men in charge of the horses, two of whom, according to Gen. BRACKEN, were PRICE and a youth named TOWNSEND.

Menomonees, with whom Col. HAMILTON had arrived about the time of our fight with the Sauks. These Indians had come down for the purpose of assisting us in fighting the Sauks and Foxes; but after a few days talking and counselling with Col. DODGE, Col. GRATIOT and Col. HAMILTON, and eating up a great deal of our beef, they became discontented and departed, frightening the inhabitants of the country through which they passed. Col. DODGE was anxious to have retained them as spies, but I think we were better off without them, as they were a cowardly and treacherous set of miserable fellows.

About this time, some of these Indians, with some of the white men of the fort, went to the house of Mr. B. MILLION, the father of the young man who made his escape from the Indians at SPAFFORD'S farm, for some provisions, where they were thrown into the greatest consternation by the appearance of a man rushing frantically from a corn-crib towards them. He proved to be SPENCER, supposed to have been killed at SPAFFORD'S farm. He said, that in the affair at SPAFFORD'S, instead of attempting to cross the river as the others did, he ran down the stream, and hid in the mouth of a branch, until an Indian came near him on horseback whom he shot, and then fled across the bottom in the the direction of the fort, but finding two Indians pursuing him, he secreted himself in a thicket until the day after the battle of Pecatonica, when he ventured up in sight of the fort. Seeing it surrounded by Indians, and having heard our firing, he concluded that the fort had evidently fallen into the hands of the enemy, and fled with terror to the woods, where he would remain quite hidden during the day, and in the night would venture out to this deserted house of MILLION'S, to seek provisions. In his rambles

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and four others, according to Col DODGE'S account, and BEAUCHARD'S statement, were placed so as to watch the enemy, should they attempt to escape. In one letter, Col. DODGE speaks of eighteen men, and in another, twenty-one, being actually engaged in the charge. Gen. BRACKEN states that the charging party numbered twenty-one, including Col. DODGE. If, then, there were twenty-one in the charge, four holding horses, four videttes or spies, and Capt. GENTRY belated in miring his horse and losing his gun, we have just thirty; which is precisely the number whose names are given by Col. PARKISON and Gen. BRACKEN, to say nothing of BEAUCHARD, and the man who was a vidette with M. G. FITCH—as this unnamed vidette may have been one of the thirty already indicated. L. C. D.

during the night, he ran upon an Indian, shot at him, and then ran himself. In the succeeding winter, he became so frenzied and flighty in consequence of his frights on this occasion, that he wandered off—no one ever knew where.

After the battle of Pecatonica, the volunteers returned to their respective forts. The wounded men, WELLS and MORRIS, were left at Fort Hamilton, where they both died in about two weeks; SAMUEL BLACK, a noble and brave young man, was taken to Fort Defiance, among his friends, where he died in about nine days, lamented by all who knew him.

On the 18th of June, the fifth volunteer company was formed, of which I was chosen captain, and SAMUEL PATRICK and MATTHEW G. FITCH respectively first and second lieutenants. After the formation of this company, I accompanied Col. DODGE, with a portion of Capt. GENTRY's company, to the Blue Mounds, for the purpose of burying Lieut. FORCE and Mr. GREEN, who had been killed* about two miles from the fort by a party of about forty Indians, supposed to have been partly Winnebagoes. We buried FORCE—GREEN had been interred before our arrival. I made a reconnoissance in the direction of the head waters of Sugar Creek, but not finding the trail of the Indians, we returned to the fort the next day, when Col. DODGE with Capt. GENTRY's company returned to Fort Union, his head-quarters, near Dodgeville. I was left with my company to guard the fort at the Blue Mounds, where I remained four days, during which I reconnoitered the surrounding country for some distance. While there, I received for myself and company, the kindest hospitality of Col. EBENEZER BRIGHAM. I was then ordered to return to Fort Defiance, and make immediate preparations for an expedition against BLACK HAWK, who was then said to be encamped, with his entire force, on Kosh-konong Lake.

Previous to this time, numerous depredations had been committed by the Indians, and some bloody conflicts had taken place.

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* On the 20th of June.

A man had been killed near Kellogg's Old Grove; and St. Vrain, Hale, Fowler and Hawley were also killed, while their companions, Alexander Higginbotham, Aquilla Floyd, and one McKinney, made their escape after being hotly pursued nearly the entire day. Two men were killed near the Sinsiniwa Mound; the fort at Apple River was attacked, one man killed, and quite a number of cattle driven off; Capt. Stephenson had a severe conflict with a party of Indians on the head of Yellow Creek, in which he lost three men, and was himself wounded, and compelled to abandon the field; and Capt. Snyder and Gen. Whiteside had a small conflict with them near Buffalo Grove.

On the 25th of June, while Maj. John Dement was encamped at Kellogg's Old Grove, with the spy battalion of Gen. Posey's brigade, some three or four Indians were discovered near the encampment, when many of the excitable and enthusiastic volunteers, without consideration, commenced a disorderly pursuit, despite the remonstrances of Maj. Dement. The result was, that they were led into an ambuscade, some of them killed, and the rest generally so frightened by the yells of the Indians, that a tumultuous retreat commenced; and the Indians, flushed with victory, pursued them to the very verge of their encampment, which was composed of some substantial log houses. Here the whites rallied, and kept off the Indians, but while the contest lasted, some twenty or thirty horses, belonging to the volunteers, were killed. It is said, and I believe with truth, that Maj. Dement acted with great bravery, and made every exertion to rally his men upon the prairie, so much so as to attract the admiration of Black Hawk himself, who afterwards said, "The young chief talked much and loud, in trying to rally his men, and deserved much credit for his bravery."

About the 28th of June, all the forces under Col. Dodge's command, rendezvoused at Fort Hamilton, where they were met by Gen. Posey's brigade, preparatory to commencing an expedition to Kosh-ko-nong Lake, where, according to the plan previously devised, we were to meet Gen. Atkinson, with the other two

divisions of the army. Maj. DEMENT's battalion and some others of POSEY's brigade, were anxious that Gen. DODGE should take the command of all the forces in that division of the army; an election was held, but the Illinois volunteers, as a matter of State pride, still preferred Gen. POSEY, who was elected by a small majority. The division was then put in motion for the point of destination. Col. DODGE's command then consisted of five companies, numbering about two hundred men, including Capt. STEPHENSON's Galena company.

We encamped the first night, at the East Pecatonica, which we had much difficulty in crossing, having to swim our horses, and raft over our baggage. The second night our encampment was at DEVEE's old smelting establishment, on Sugar River, where Capt. STEPHENSON's company joined us. We then proceeded by way of the Four Lakes, where we were joined by the Winnebago chief WHITE CROW. Col. W. S. HAMILTON had joined us the night before, with some Indians and some white volunteers, who were designated as the scouting party of Col. DODGE's command. Capt. STEPHENSON, in the meantime, had been elected Major of Col. DODGE's command; and the Colonel's staff consisted, at this time, of Maj. R. H. KIRKPATRICK as aid, W. W. WOODBRIDGE Adjutant, and JAMES P. COX, Sergeant-Major.

The WHITE CROW proffered to conduct us to BLACK HAWK's encampment, which, he said, was on Rock River, near the Kosh konong. Under his guidance, we advanced for several days over almost impassable swamps, until within a short distance of the locality as described by WHITE CROW, when we were met by an express from Gen. ATKINSON, ordering us to proceed immediately to his encampment on Bark River. Col. DODGE felt somewhat vexed to be thus thwarted in his purpose, and remarked, that he was crippled in every movement he wished to make, by untimely expresses. In obedience to orders, we proceeded to head quarters. The night previously, a volunteer had been killed, and Gen. ATKINSON thinking the enemy near at hand, was desirous of

concentrating all his forces, preparatory to a general engagement, which he contemplated bringing on the next day.

But when Col. HAMILTON and his scouts reconnoitered BLACK HAWK's camp the next morning, it was ascertained that he had decamped, with his whole force. It was discovered that he had occupied a most advantageous position for defence—a high declivity sloping to the river, which at that point was full of large boulders, rendering its passage extremely difficult; and from the apparent anxiety of the WHITE CROW and his party to lead us there, it was, with much reason supposed, that he was acting in concert with BLACK HAWK, to bring on an engagement at that point, with the left wing of the army. Had this succeeded, the volunteers must, if not beaten, at least have suffered severely.

At this time, and at Gen. ATKINSON's encampment, Capt. CHARLES DUNN, since Chief Justice of Wisconsin, and now a member of the State Senate, while acting as officer of the day, and going around to relieve the guard, was unfortunately shot by one of the sentinels, and dangerously wounded. He was so disabled, as to be compelled to return home, being conveyed to Dixon by an escort.

Gens. HENRY and ALEXANDER, and Col. DODGE, with their respective commands, were ordered to Fort Winnebago for provisions, and Gen. POSEY's brigade was ordered to the Mining Region for the protection of the forts and settlements in that quarter. Arriving at Fort Winnebago, Col. DODGE ascertained, through the Winnebagoes, that the Sauks and Foxes had moved up Rock River, and were then at the Rapids. He immediately called a council of his own officers, and those of the other two commands, at which he communicated the intelligence he had derived from the Winnebagoes, and proposed to return to Gen. ATKINSON's camp by way of the Rapids. Gen. ALEXANDER objected, stating that it would be a violation of Gen. ATKINSON's orders, which were to return immediately; and Col. DODGE rejoined, that as there was no route specified in the orders, he thought they might return by any route they should deem proper. Gen. HENRY co-

ncided with this opinion, and he and Col. Dodge agreed to return with their commands, by way of Rock River Rapids, leaving Gen. Alexander to take the back trail.

Preparations were immediately made for proceeding. All the worn down horses that were regarded as unfit for the expedition, were sent home to the Mining country, and Maj. Stephenson's company, with himself at their head, nearly all leaving, thus reducing Col. Dodge's effective force to about one hundred and fifty; and Gen. Henry's force was also greatly reduced, so that both commands did not, at this time, exceed six hundred men.—Taking Mr. Poquette with us as interpreter, and some Winnebagoes as guides, we set out, and on the third day arrived at the Rapids, (now Heustisford;) but, to our great surprise, found no Indians there, except some emaciated Winnebagoes, who told us that the Sauks and Foxes had moved farther up the river, to the Cranberry Lakes. We thereupon encamped for the night, posting both a double guard, and a double picket guard; dispatching, meanwhile, an express to Gen. Atkinson, borne by Adjutant Woodbridge of Dodge's battallion, and Dr. Merriman, one of Gen. Henry's adjutants, with a Winnebago for a guide. When they had proceeded about eight or nine miles, they came across one of the main trails of the enemy, plainly pointing out their route as making towards the west. They at once returned, and as they approached the camp, they were fired on by one of the picket sentinels, and Adjutant Woodbridge was barely missed.

This new information entirely changed our plan of operations, for instead of marching up the river as we intended, we marched down it early the next morning, and at a rapid pace. The express was continued to Gen. Atkinson, by the same men selected the previous day for that service. We advanced rapidly upon the trails, which consisted of three—one main center, and two flanking trails. The first night we camped on the trail, we were literally drenched with rain; and it was with the greatest difficulty that we were enabled to make any fire by which to cook our supper. The second night, we encamped on the east end of

Third Lake; and, previously to our arriving there, our scouts discovered a large force of Indians, who made a feint to attack us, when we at once formed into order of battle. Seeing this movement of ours, they made a precipitous flight into the woods surrounding the lake. We then advanced a short distance, and took up our encampment. That night our scouts discovered many Indians, and it appeared from information received the next morning from a Winnebago, that about one half of the main body of the Sauks and Foxes took post near the crossing of the Catfish, on the eastern confines of the city of Madison, with the intention of there attacking us, should we attempt a night pursuit; but as we did not, they left about midnight.

The next morning—the memorable 21st of July—we were upon their trail by sunrise, with every expectation of overtaking them soon. The march or pursuit was consequently rapid. On the bank of the Third Lake, near where the Lake House in Madison now stands, our advance guard killed an Indian, who, the Winnebago Indian before alluded to, informed us, was sitting upon the grave of his wife, who had perhaps died of fatigue, hunger* and exhaustion, and her disconsolate companion had resolved to await the advancing foe, and die there also; and he boldly bared his naked breast, and presented a full front, as a willing target for the balls of the scouts. He but too soon met the death he coveted. This may be thought to have been cruel on the part of the scouts; but it will be recollected, that our motto was, "*no quarters;*" and besides, in such an exciting pursuit, there was little time to deliberate as to their course of action in such a case, even had they then been aware of the attending circumstances.

In our pursuit, we passed an encampment on what is now called Pheasant Branch, at the head of Fourth Lake, where was

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* Black Hawk, in his auto-biography, mentions, that in the region of the Four Lakes, he and his people "were hard put to, to obtain enough to eat to support nature;" that they were forced to subsist on roots and bark of trees—hence the name of *Bark* River, above Kosh-ko-nong; and that several of their "old people became so much reduced, as actually to die with hunger." He adds, that after crossing the Wisconsin, his people were in a desperate condition, starving from hunger, and that on the route to the Bad Ax, several old men and children perished from that cause. L. C. D.

a freshly made Indian grave, where a squaw was buried, supposed to have died the night before. About five miles from this place, our scouts killed an Indian, who said he was a Winnebago; and when in the act of falling, he fired his rifle, wounding one of the volunteers of Capt. CLARK'S company. From this point, our scouts were continually chasing the Indians, and being in turn chased by them. Consequently the march became almost a flight in pursuit of the enemy. Upon one occasion, we were thrown into order of battle, but the enemy immediately receded, and a running fire was then kept up almost constantly by our scouts and the rear guard of the Indians*, until the main battle was fought. It was brought about by the chasing of our scouts, who were commanded by Capt. JOSEPH DICKSON, now of Grant county, by a large body of the enemy who had been secreted in the low bottom of the Wisconsin River. While they were pursuing the scouts up a long slope, the advance portion of our men were rapidly ascending from the opposite side, and, as a consequence, we met near the top.

Here we had barely time to form ourselves in battle order. Col. DODGE'S command, of which my company formed a part, and Col. Wm. L. D. EWING'S formed the front, and were barely faced about, when the enemy commenced firing upon us. We returned the fire with great rapidity, and with deadly aim, as it was ascertained that forty-eight of the enemy were killed in this charge. My orderly sargeant, JOHN MCNAIR, was wounded in this onset, by a shot in the thigh, but was not conscious of it until the firing ceased, and the enemy had fled. By this time, the remainder of Gen. HENRY'S command, except the command of Col. FRY, a part of whom were dragoons, was brought into line of battle, and which was within ten minutes after the firing commenced.

As an act of justice to Gen. HENRY and his command, I would

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* BLACK HAWK states that this rear party consisted of only *twenty* warriors, commanded by NE-A-POPE; but no reliance can be placed in his statement of his own numbers, for he says he had only fifty warriors altogether in the battle that ensued, the rest being engaged in assisting the squaws and children in crossing the river—and that they only fought at all, which was doubtless true, in order to gain time for their squaws, children and old persons to pass the river. L. C. D.

here remark, that Gen. SMITH's historical narrative of the march after we left the Four Lakes, and of the battle, is not altogether correct. The General says: "The advance was commanded by Col. WM. L. D. EWING, but Col. DODGE's command becoming dissatisfied with what they considered a tardy march, broke off to the right and left, and took the front;" and, furthermore: "The position of Col. DODGE was maintained under a constant fire from the Indians for fully an hour before the line of battle was formed by the arrival of Gen. HENRY with the rest of his brigade." Now, according to my recollection, and which I am confident is correct in this particular, the facts are, that Col. DODGE's command marched in front *all that day*, as well as on all the previous days of the pursuit; that Gen. HENRY's entire command kept close in our rear, and were there when the engagement commenced, and were in line of battle, in ten minutes at most after the first firing. But it is true, that Colonels DODGE and EWING's commands alone received the fire of the first charge of the enemy.

After the line of battle was now fully formed, which was upon a high eminence, and in open ground, considerable firing was kept up by the Indians, who had taken shelter in some underbrush upon the brink of the opposite declivity, by which seven of our brave volunteers were wounded, and one killed—two of the wounded belonged to Capt. CLARK's company, and the others to Colonels JONES and COLLINS' regiments; and the man who was killed, was named SHORT, and belonged to Col. JONES' command. It was Col. JONES who had his horse shot from under him, and not Col. COLLINS as stated in Gen. SMITH's History. Seeing that our men were suffering more in this firing than perhaps the enemy were, though we were not idle, I stepped to Col. DODGE, and suggested the propriety of a charge; and he immediately suggested it to Gen. HENRY, when the charge was at once ordered. The enemy were at once dislodged from their hiding place, and in their flight, twenty more of them were slain and scalped, making in all sixty eight of the enemy killed in the battle. This is my recollection of the matter, and which is corroborated, I believe,

by Gen. ATKINSON's report to the War Department*. We pursued them to the bottom of the Wisconsin, where we reached the tall grass, which was wet, it having rained nearly the entire afternoon of that day, and it being now nearly dark, the pursuit was continued no farther.

We returned to camp, and just after supper, we were cheered by the arrival of Adjutant WOODBRIDGE and Adjutant MERRIMAN, who, it will be recollected, had been sent from the Rapids of Rock River, as an express to Gen. ATKINSON, on Bark River. With them came Capt. JAMES B. ESTES, who claims to have been in the battle, but was, according to my recollection, about two hours too late. Our interpreter, Mr. POQUETTE, and our Indian spies who had accompanied us from Fort Winnebago, left us immediately after the battle. This turned out to have been an unfortunate event; for that same night, the silence of our camp was broken by the loud shrill voice of an Indian from the summit of one of the highest peaks in that vicinity, haranguing, as we supposed, his warriors preparatory to an attack upon us.

Although we were well posted, and surrounded with a double guard, yet it naturally produced some excitement, and was well calculated to test the coolness and material of our officers and men. We then thought that BLACK HAWK's entire force was being brought to bear upon us in a night attack—the most to be dreaded of all attacks, especially when made by an Indian enemy. Our material proved good; no man showed the white feather, and our commanders, in concert with the Indian orator, harangued their men in the most stirring manner. Gen. HENRY, in particular, addressed his men in a most patriotic strain, reminding them of

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* In Gen. ATKINSON'S report of the battle of Bad Ax, he says: "It is ascertained from our prisoners, that the enemy lost in the battle of the Wisconsin, sixty-eight killed and a very large number wounded." Capt. ESTES, in his narrative in Gen. SMITH'S work, states the Indian loss at sixty-eight. BEAUCHARD states, that he learned after the war from some of the Sauks, that BLACK HAWK lost sixty-nine in the battle, and that thirteen died on their way to the mouth of the Bad Ax. Gen. BRACKEN speaks, not of his own knowledge, but of those who had better opportunities of knowing, that the Indian loss was between forty and fifty killed on the field, and the number wounded unknown, as they were carried away. Yet, strange to say, BLACK HAWK, in his narrative, admits the loss of only six killed in the battle. L. C. D.

the discredit already brought upon the Sucker arms by the defeat of Maj. Stillman, and other similar disasters, appealing to them in the name of their Sucker mothers, to vindicate the valor of the Suckers and the Sucker State. In fact, it was often remarked afterwards, that he made a great Sucker speech, under the impulse of which, his men, no doubt, would have well vindicated, as they had the preceding day, the valor of the Sucker arms.

It was afterwards ascertained, however, that the Indian Chief was making propositions of peace, instead of urging or cheering on his warriors to battle, which no doubt would have been accepted, had the Winnebagoes been in camp. The proposals were said to have been, that the Sauks and Foxes would surrender themselves all up, at discretion, and only asked protection for the lives of their women and children. But hearing no response, and supposing the Winnebagoes were with us, they concluded that their proposals were not acceptable, and no mercy would be shown them; and consequently every effort was then made to remove as fast as possible out of the country.

The next day we buried our slain companion, Short, and made litters for the conveyance of the wounded. Expresses were sent to Gen. Atkinson, and to Prairie du Chien, after having marched in the morning to the Wisconsin, and ascertained that the Indians during the night had all effected a crossing. The following morning, the whole command marched for the Blue Mounds, where we arrived at night, after one of the most fatiguing days that was experienced during the war. The difficulty of conveying our wounded men on litters for thirty miles, over almost impassable creeks, through swamps, over hills, and through thick woods, by a winding path, was attended with fatigue and difficulty of which no one can well conceive.

Here I must relate an amusing, and withal, at the time, an alarming incident of the day—one which I can never forget. Although John McNair's wound was a flesh one, yet it was so excruciatingly painful, that it was only with the greatest difficulty he could be conveyed in any way. Being my Orderly Sergeant,

and much attached to me, he particularly requested me to stay with him, saying the boys would kill him almost, if I were not along. Desirous to gratify him, I placed my company under command of my lieutenant, MATTHEW G. FITCH, and remained constantly with him. After having carried him in my arms through several creeks, we at length arrived on the top of the East Blue Mound, which is almost a mountain. The litter, by this time, had become so broken, by the horses, between two of which it was swung, having to wind and twist along the narrow and devious path by which we ascended the Mound, that it would no longer answer to carry him. Here was a dilemma; the litter was broken up, it was dark, and MCNAIR declaring that he could not ride on horseback; and the company was far in advance, with all the provisions and necessary materials for camping. How we could best extricate ourselves from the difficulties besetting our situation, was a question of no easy solution, and yet it must be done. I at length said, "Boys, bring the horses and fragments of the litter to the foot of the Mound, and I will carry MACK down, and then we will mend up the litter so that it will carry him on to the encampment."

I took him up in my arms, although he weighed about one hundred pounds, and after going down the Mound, which was quite steep, I was compelled to lay him down. It seems that I either laid him on, or so near, a large yellow rattle-snake, as very much to disturb his snakeship's equilibrium, and he set up such a terrible rattling or whizzing as to frighten me much—the boys all fled precipitately, and I jumped back several paces. The poor fellow cried out in the most supplicating manner, "O, Captain, for God's sake, don't leave me here to be devoured by these d——d snakes!"—for, by this time, there were evidently two of them; and from the noise, in the stillness of the night, and in the midst of a dense forest, there seemed to be legions of them giving their fearful notes of warning. Recovering from my momentary fright, and feeling the necessity of instant action, I "pitched in," as politicians say, caught the poor fellow by the heels, and dragged him

unceremoniously out of so dangerous a proximity to a ten times more frightful enemy than BLACK HAWK and all his warriors—and, remarkable to relate, the poor fellow never uttered a groan. After the panic was a little over, I broke the silence by asking—"MACK, don't you think you can ride on horseback *now?*" To which he instantly replied: "O, God! yes—ride, or any thing." And thus, in due time, we reached the camp of our company.

Having partaken of some refreshments, I was relating McNAIR's conduct on the field of battle—how, when I directed him, after it was discovered that he was wounded, to fall into the rear, he replied, "O, God! Captain, I must have another shot;" and contrasted this with his adventure with the rattle-snakes. He very meekly replied, "Well, Captain, I always was d—d afraid of snakes." Poor MACK, he never fully recovered from the effects of his wound; as slight as it seemed to be, he was lame for life. He was an honest and worthy man, and was at the time of his death, which was nearly four years since, and had been for many years, the Treasurer of Iowa county. The adventure with the rattlesnakes was always considered a standing joke sufficiently good, to call out a treat from MACK at any time when related. This incident took place on the 23d day of July, the battle having been fought on the 21st.*

The next morning after arriving at the Mounds, Col. DODGE's command were dismissed to their respective forts for a new supply of provisions, and Gen. HENRY's troops also obtained a supply.

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*We find in the *Mineral Point Tribune* of October 21st, 1852, the following notice of Col. McNAIR: "Died in this village on Thursday morning, the 14th inst., of apoplexy, Col. JOHN McNAIR, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. He was a native of Fayette county, Kentucky, and migrated to the Lead Mines in 1827, and has been for upwards of twenty-four years, a citizen of Mineral Point and its vicinity. He served as an officer of the 17th Regiment of U. S. Infantry, in the war of 1812, also as a volunteer under Gen. HENRY DODGE in the Black Hawk war in 1832, and was severely wounded at the battle of the Wisconsin, for which he drew a pension from the Government. At the time of his death, he was Treasurer of this county, and was nominated, but a few days before his death, for re-election. He was a man of kind and humane feelings, ever ready to search out, and contribute to the wants of the poor. Always faithful in the discharge of every duty, both public and private, he had endeared himself to all who knew him, and his loss will long be felt and mourned by a large portion of our community."

L. C. D.

Gen. Atkinson,† who had broken up his encampment on Bark River, soon arrived with his troops, so that on the 26th of the month the entire army rendezvoused at Helena, on the Wisconsin, and soon crossed the river, and took the Indian trail, which was down the valley, and was rendered quite offensive by the stench of numerous dead bodies of the enemy, who had no doubt died in consequence of their wounds received in the battle of Wisconsin. On the 2nd of August, the Indians were overtaken, and most disastrously beaten. Here, as at the battle of Wisconsin, Col. Dodge's command occupied the front rank, the engagement having been brought on by Capt. Dickson, who still commanded the spies, and who was wounded in the conflict. It was more a massacre than a battle, as the Indians only fought as they were compelled to; many of them were killed as they were crossing the river, women and children as well as men. This was the closing conflict of the war. Black Hawk was soon after taken prisoner, and conducted through the principal cities of the Union. I may add, in this connection, that in consequence of the illness of my wife, I changed commands with Capt. Hoard; and what I relate of the movements of the army after its departure from Helena, I have derived from Capt. Hoard, and one of my sons, who also served on the expedition.

Thus ended all our Indian difficulties, and from that period the progress of Wisconsin has been rapid, unexampled and astonishing; and if in future her laws shall be made and executed by wise, honest and discreet men, she must soon attain an eminence of great distinction. Having migrated here at an early period, and having been actively engaged in sanguinary conflicts, and in repelling savage invasions, for the safety and preservation of our infant settlements; and having moreover, taken some humble part in the early councils of Wisconsin, I cannot but feel

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† Gen. Atkinson was a native of North Carolina; he entered the army in 1808, and served with credit during the war of 1812, and during the Indian troubles in Wisconsin, as we have seen in 1827 and 1832. He was stationed long on the western frontier, and the Indians called him the White Beaver. He died at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, June 20th, 1842, aged about 60 years. L. C. D

a deep and abiding interest in the welfare and prosperity of the State of my adoption. And if the brief and imperfect sketch of my pioneer life, together with my recollections of the Winnebago and Black Hawk Indian wars, shall enable the future historian to glean any thing worthy of being perpetuated, my fullest desire will have been accomplished.

APPENDIX No. 10.

PEKATONICA BATTLE CONTROVERSY.*

BY GEN. CHARLES BRACKEN AND MAJ. PETER PARKISON, JR.

WALNUT GROVE, Oct. 3, 1852.

o Gen. WM. R. SMITH, State Historian:

DEAR SIR—In accordance with my promise, I herewith trans-it to you an account of the murder of SPAFFORD and others, uring the *Black Hawk war*, together with the details of the Battle of the Pekatonica," fought on the 16th day of June, 1832, the Horse Shoe Bend, on that stream, and on Section Eleven, own Two, Range Five East, in this County.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

CHARLES BRACKEN.

BATTLE OF THE PEKATONICA.

About sundown, on the 14th of June, 1832, a horseman with-it a hat, "bloody with spurring," was seen approaching Fort efiance, a stockade post situated on section twenty, in Town ur North, Range three East, commanded by Capt. ROBERT C. OARD. The rider was DAVID GILBERT. He communicated the

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*This series of valuable papers appeared originally in the *Mineral Point Tribune*, in the latter part 1852, and early part of 1853, and well deserve a more permanent repository. The discrepancies of mory between the writers are not, after all, very numerous or of much importance; while their oral narratives will prove of lasting interest to Wisconsin history. L. C. D.

melancholy information that, on that day, SPAFFORD, SPENCER, BENNETT MILLION, McILWAINE and an Englishman called JOHN BULL, had been surprised by the Indians while at work in a corn field on a farm owned by SPAFFORD and SPENCER, situated on the main Pekatonica, about six miles south-east of Fort Hamilton (now Wiota,) and that all the party had been murdered, except MILLION, who had by his fleetness on foot made his escape.

Captain HOARD at once dispatched an express, communicating the information to Gen. DODGE, at Dodgeville, and I, being second in command, was ordered to repair to the scene of the murder, with eleven men, all that could be mounted on horseback. Arriving at Fort Hamilton late at night, we halted at that post until morning, when accompanied by MILLION and some others from that place, making a party of about twenty men, we proceeded to SPAFFORD's field. On our arrival there, the first object that presented itself was the headless body of SPAFFORD, who had died facing his foes! Cool as he was brave, he at once saw from the number and position of the Indians, that flight was useless. Seizing his rifle, he calmly awaited their approach, and his unerring aim sent one of his foes to eternity before him; then, like the lion at bay, he died covered with an hundred wounds.

While the Indians were thus partially checked by SPAFFORD, the others fled under cover of a ravine, which appears to have been an ancient bed of the Pekatonica, to the river. On reaching the shore, McILWAINE and JOHN BULL attempted to escape across it, and were shot in the water; their bodies were taken out of the river by us; they had been scalped and most horribly mutilated. MILLION stated that on reaching the shore, he and SPENCER turned down the river, keeping under its bank; that they had got some three hundred yards before they were perceived by the Indians, who were for an instant engaged in despatching McILWAINE and JOHN BULL. On seeing them, the Indians raised the war-whoop, and commenced the pursuit; SPENCER continued on down the river bank, and MILLION plunged into the stream, which was about fifty yards wide at that point, and never raised his head

above water until he struck the opposite shore. Young, brave, cool and active, and flying for life, it would appear almost incredible that, with his breath exhausted by diving across the river, his clothes saturated with water, that, at one bound he should spring from the slippery shore to the top of a perpendicular bank fully twelve feet high; yet from his foot prints, it was evident that he did so. Gaining the bank, unharmed amidst a shower of balls, he continued his flight, pursued by the Indians, who, after a hot chase of about five miles, gave up the pursuit.

It appeared that SPENCER was pursued by two Indians, one of whom was mounted on the horse with which SPAFFORD'S party had been ploughing their corn, and was far in advance of the other; and he having his gun which he had snatched up in the flight, SPENCER turned and shot the mounted Indian, which enabled him to escape by secreting himself in a thicket.

On the day of the battle of the Pekatonica, SPENCER ventured to approach the fort, and saw, from a distance that it was surrounded by Indians. They were friendly Sioux and Menomonees, who had joined us that day after the battle, and who were yelling and pow-wowing over the scalps which we had taken. Supposing these Indians to be foes who had captured the fort, and murdered all within it, he was horror struck, and fled some six or seven miles to a house where he found some provisions, and secreted himself under a hog-pen, where he was found some ten days afterwards. Within a year he became deranged, and wandered off, none knew whither.

Having performed the melancholy duty of burying the dead, we returned to Fort Hamilton, where we found Captain GENTRY, and Lieutenants. BEQUETTE and PORTER, with a few men. At a council held that evening, it was agreed that if Gen. DODGE did not arrive at the fort by eight o'clock the next morning, the officers and men that were present would take the trail and pursue the Indians.

On receiving the express at Dodgeville, Gen. DODGE accompanied by THOMAS JENKINS and JOHN MESSERSMITH, jr., started for

Fort Hamilton by the way of the Blue Mounds, where a company of men were stationed, whose horses were fresh and fit for service. Leaving orders for them to follow, he continued on his route by the way of Fretwell's Diggings; having out-ridden Jenkins and Messersmith, he was approaching the fort alone just after sunrise. On arriving at Hamilton's farm, about one mile from the fort, he left the wagon road and turned into a pathway, which shortened the distance. On regaining the road, he met Apple, a German, who proposed to accompany us on our scout, and was going to his cabin near by, to procure a blanket for the expedition; after making a few inquiries of him, the General continued on to the fort. Apple had not proceeded more than one hundred yards from where he met Gen. Dodge, when he fell into an ambuscade and was literally shot to pieces. It afterwards appeared, that the Indians had first ambushed the pathway, but seeing our men on the prairie, south of the road, looking for their horses, and that the travelling was on the wagon road, they removed to it. Had the General arrived half an hour earlier by the pathway, or kept round by the wagon road, he must have been the victim of the ambuscade instead of Apple.

Almost simultaneously with the General, the horse of Apple reached the Fort with the saddle bloody, and a bullet hole through his ear. All were ready! the order was given to mount, and in less than ten minutes we were formed in a line near the dead body of the murdered man.

The Indians, in their retreat, appeared to disperse in every direction through a thicket which lay north of the road, and which was composed of a thick growth of vines and bushes, principally prickly ash. Through this we advanced in line, until a very intelligent dog, owned by R. H. Kirkpatrick, struck the trail on the extreme left. We then advanced in single file, following the trail, the left in front, until we reached the open timber. Here the trail was well defined, and the pursuit was then pell-mell, the General taking the lead. The trail struck the prairie on a branch running east from William Burritt's, and continued down it,

crossing and re-crossing it two or three times. On our advancing into the thicket, I was the extreme right hand man of the party. As the left discovered the trail and advanced along it, I was thereby thrown in the rear. On emerging from the thicket into the open woods, being well mounted on a fleet and sure-footed horse, I gave him the spur freely until I came in sight of the Indians with the General close in their rear, and not more than five men with him. At the same time I overtook a youth aged about eighteen, named Samuel Black, who lived in my family. He said that his mare, a fine active animal had fallen with him on the smooth prairie, and that it was a sign he would be killed in the coming battle. I suggested as the cause that she had stepped into a badger hole. He said she had not, for he had examined the ground. I then advised him to go back, as there were enough of us to whip the Indians without him; he said, "I will die first!" The omen proved too true. He fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire we received on entering the thicket. I make this digression, that you may pay a just tribute to the memory of one of the bravest youths that ever fell in battle.

The Indians re-crossed the branch at a point where it turned abruptly to the north, and ascended the hill. The General and those with him crossed after them, and bore to the right towards some timber, as if to cut them off from it. Seeing this movement I halted, and was at the same time joined by Fitch, Higginbotham and Devee; I said to them, that movement of the General will turn the Indians to the left; if you will follow me, we will get the first scalp. They agreed to do so. Turning up a hollow to the left, we ascended it to the ridge overlooking the east Pekatonica; turning then to the right and looking down a hollow parallel to that which we had ascended, my surmise proved to be correct. They were moving at what might be called common time, their chief, a grey-headed warrior, was walking backward, and appeared to be earnestly addressing his young men. After observing them for a few moments, we fired, but I think without effect. My comrades, after discharging their guns, retreated

down the hollow we had ascended, and I turned westwardly up the ridge overlooking the east Pekatonica, keeping out of gunshot, but watching the enemy closely. They descended the hill to the creek, turned up it a short distance, and commenced crossing at some willows, a short distance below where the bridge now stands.

At this moment I advanced within gunshot. With the report of my gun, I sent forth a shout that told the General, and my comrades yet in the rear, that I had secured the first scalp; at the same time I received the fire of the Indians without injury.

The General and the principal part of our men having come up by the time the Indians had fairly crossed the creek, a running fight took place; the enemy being on one side of the creek, and we on the other, until they reached the thicket in the bend of the creek. Having effected a crossing at the Old Indian Ford, which is near Williams' Mill, and marching thence up the stream, we formed on the open ground to the north-east of the thicket, so as to hem the enemy in the bend of the creek. Parties were then, by order of the General, thrown out on the hills to give the alarm, if the Indians should attempt to escape from the thicket, when we entered it. The men were then told off in sections of seven, number *four* remaining on horse-back and holding the horses of the rest of the section, whose bridles were linked together. When dismounted and formed in front of the horses, our numbers were twenty-one men, including the General. They were Gen. Henry Dodge, commanding; Lieutenants Charles Bracken, Paschal Bequette and — Porter; Surgeon Allen Hill; Privates, Peter Parkison, Dominick McGraw, Samuel Black, Thomas H. Price, Levin Leach, R. H. Kirkpatrick, Asa Duncan, William Carns, John Hood, Thomas Jenkins, John Messersmith, Jr., Samuel Patrick, Morris, Wells, Rankin and Van Waggoner.

We were then ordered to renew our flints, reprime our guns, unbutton our shirt collars, and tighten our belts. All being ready, the General then addressed us: He said, "Within that thicket are the foe, whose hands are yet reeking with the blood of our

murdered friend! That it was his intention to enter it; in doing so, some of us must fall; that it might be his own fate; but that his mind was made up to whip the enemy or die in the attempt. If any feared to follow him, he wanted them to fall back then, and not when they encountered the Indians." The word was then given to advance, and in that little band, none were found who did not fear dishonor more than death! None faltered or wavered, as with a coolness becoming veterans they followed the footsteps of their gallant leader, resolved with him to conquer or die.

After advancing some distance into the thicket the trail of the enemy was found. Here the detachment was joined by Daniel M. Parkison, who was on horseback. The centre was ordered to keep on the trail. We then continued our advance slowly but firmly towards our hidden foe. The Indians had selected a most advantageous position for defence, had we fought them at long shot. It was the bank of a pond, once the bed of the creek.—On the edge of the bank was a natural breast work nearly three feet high, formed by one of those tumuli so numerous on our prairies; under this they awaited our approach.

When they fired on us, our position represented two sides of a triangle, they forming the base and we the hypothenuse; although we were close upon them, so dense was the thicket that we could not see the smoke of their guns. The General, who was on the right of the centre, and in front of the line, exclaimed, "Where are the Indians?" He was answered from the left, "This way!" The order was given, "*Charge 'em, boys, d—n them, charge 'em!*" My position was on the extreme right; in the charge we obliqued considerably to the left; when I got to the pond, I found no enemy before me, and at the same moment I heard the General, who was a little to my left, say, "There's an Indian, kill him!" I turned toward him, and heard a shot; as I came up, he said, "There, by G—d! I've killed him myself!" This was the Indian commander.

Passing on to the left, I mounted the natural embankment, and found myself in the midst of the Indians; after discharging my gun, I turned the breech, and struck at a warrior I saw lying under the bank before me; but seeing another very industriously snapping at me, I fell back and re-loaded. As soon as my gun was charged, I advanced with the brave but unfortunate WELLS on my left, and WM. CARNS, of Dodgeville, on my right. On coming up, hand-to-hand with the Indians, WELLS fell, mortally wounded. CARNS first shot, and then bayoneted the warrior that gave WELLS his death wound, and I put another in a condition to lose his scalp. At the same time, the only surviving Indian attempted to save himself by flight. He plunged into the pond, and was shot as he got out of the water on the opposite side.

Thus ended the battle; the enemy were completely exterminated! Not one was left to tell BLACK HAWK and his warriors, how "*Old Hairy Face*," (the Indian name for Gen. DODGE) and his warriors fought. Our trophies were seventeen scalps. Our loss was three men,—BLACK, WELLS and MORRIS, mortally, and THOMAS JENKINS, severely wounded

The annals of border warfare furnish no parallel to this battle. Never before was an entire war party exterminated with so small a loss on the part of the whites, when the numbers engaged were so nearly equal. Although on our advance into the thicket, we outnumbered the Indians some five men, yet, the advantage of their position, and ours having to receive their fire, equalized our numbers.

None of us, from the General down, had ever heard a hostile gun, or burned powder at a foe. The men had been promiscuously assembled, and were untrained soldiers. They, however, proved by their gallant conduct, that American volunteers, when individually brave, will collectively follow to their death, a brave and determined leader, in whom they have confidence.

There were individual acts of devotion and desperate bravery performed, which ought to have immortalized the actors. Our

surgeon, Doctor ALLEN HILL, fell into the line, and did duty as a private soldier. When the sections were told off, his lot fell number *four*, a horse holder. Number five, in the same section, was a sickly looking youth named TOWNSEND, about seventeen years of age. The Doctor exchanged places with him, remarking that he thought himself better able to perform a soldier's duty in the coming fight, than *he* was.

In the charge, LEVIN LEACH encountered a warrior armed with a spear; parrying the thrusts of the Indian with his bayonet, he dropped his gun, sprang upon him, wrenched his spear from him, and with it, ran him through the body.

The death of the brave but unfortunate WELLS, would have been a theme for the song of the minstrel, had it occurred in the days of chivalry. Like hundreds of other young and ardent spirits in that day, he came to the Lead Mines in pursuit of fortune. When the war broke out, he was among the first to take up arms, and fell, as I have stated, bravely advancing on the enemy. While lying on the battle ground, with his head on the lap of a comrade, who was assuaging the burning thirst caused by his wound, the surgeon examined it, and told him he must die! On hearing this, he expressed a wish to see the General. On his coming to him, WELLS said, "General, have I behaved like a soldier?" The reply was, "Yes, WELLS, like a brave one!" Looking up to his commander, he said, "Send that word to my old father." He further told that comrade, that he was engaged to be married to a young lady in Pike county, Illinois. He gave her name, and requested that she might be informed of the place and manner of his death, and that he died with his last thoughts upon her.

NOTE.—After a lapse of twenty years, the writer of the foregoing may have made some errors, particularly by omitting the names of those who were in the battle, and inserting the names of those who acted as horse holders, or watched the thicket from a distance. As the narrative is intended, for the State Historian, and will make a part of the early History of Wisconsin, he requests any of his surviving comrades who were in the action, to correct any errors he may have made.

Fayette, Nov. 29, 1852.

EDITORS OF WISCONSIN TRIBUNE:

My attention having lately been called to an account of the battle of the Peketonica, written by CHARLES BRACKEN, and published in your paper, in which I think there are some material mistakes, and having been requested by a number of persons to write my recollection of that affair, and point out wherein I think Mr. BRACKEN's recollection does not serve him correctly; I have thought proper, in justice to the dead as well as the living, and also in justice to the correctness of history, for which that account was intended, to comply with the request which has been made. In doing so, I do not wish to detract in the slightest degree from the merit of any one who acted in that affair.

I was quite young at the time, and it being the first engagement that I was ever in, every incident was almost indelibly fixed upon my mind. Mr. BRACKEN's relation of the affair at SPAFFORD's is correct, as I recollect it, until he says, "I being second in command, was ordered to the scene of the murder with eleven men." Mr. BRACKEN might have been ordered to the scene of the murder, but he certainly did not go in command of the detachment, nor in company with them, until within about four miles this side of Fort Hamilton, (now Wiota) where he and VAN WAGGONER* were overtaken by the detachment. They (BRACKEN and VAN WAGGONER) having left Fort Defiance in advance of the detachment. BRACKEN appearing to be displeased at some of the movements, mounted his horse and said, "It is time we were off; all that are going with me, come on;" upon which VAN WAGGONER joined him and they started off. In about half an hour the detachment were mounted and ready to march; upon which R. H. KIRKPATRICK was chosen the commander for the occasion. The detachment then proceeded to Fort Hamilton, and arrived there about twelve o'clock at night. Next morning, just as the detachment was ready

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*Col. D. M. PARKISON gives the name of BENJAMIN LAWHEAD, instead of VAN WAGGONER, as the person who accompanied Lieut. BRACKEN on this occasion,—see, *ante*, p. 344. L. C. D.

to proceed, some difficulty occurred about the command of the detachment; Mr. Bracken claiming the command by virtue of his Second Lieutenantship at Fort Defiance, which was objected to by D. M. Parkison, (which was the commencement of the memorable difficulty between these gentlemen—Bracken and Parkison.) Maj. Kirkpatrick then declined taking further command of the detachment, unless he was re-chosen, upon which an election was gone into, and Maj. Kirkpatrick (as he was commonly called) was unanimously elected. The company then proceeded to the farm, and found the murdered men, as described by Lieutenant Bracken, with the exception of the headless body of Spafford, which had no wounds upon it as I recollect. The position of the body, when found, indicated that he had been running, as the rest of his comrades, when he was shot. Whether he killed an Indian before he himself was shot, I think no one can tell. Million crossed the river at the same place and the same time that McIlwain and John Bull crossed it, and was immediately pursued by the Indians in hot chase—one of them on horse-back, and so closely was he pursued by the Indian on horseback,* that he, Million, was often compelled to swim the river to escape him. He swam the river five times during the chase, and was pursued to within five miles of the fort, which he reached in a full lope (using a western phrase) and in safety, after having been pursued by five Indians for ten miles, and having run fifteen miles without ever breaking the lope, as he said.

Spencer could not swim, consequently took down the river under its bank, till coming to the mouth of a branch, where he remained until an Indian (mounted on the horse with which they had been plowing) came upon him. He shot the Indian off the horse and made his escape across the river bottom into the woods, in the direction of the fort. The remainder of the history of this man, I believe, is correctly given by Lieutenant Bracken,

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* None of the Indians who pursued Million were on horseback, as will be seen by Million's statement, which will appear a few pages onward. L. C. D.

except that he told upon being found, that he had killed another Indian during his rambles in the woods.

The allusion that Lieutenant Bracken makes to the young man named Black, is correct; so far, at least, as his having a presentiment that he should be killed in the first engagement. He and I were about the same age, (he being one year older,) were friends and mess-mates. He communicated his forebodings of death to me the night we marched from Fort Defiance to Fort Hamilton—he and I having been made the advance guard to the detachment. I have no recollection of the falling of his mare. I presume, however, it was so. It was a horse, however, he rode.

The history of the matter, I believe, is very correctly given by Lieutenant Bracken, from the killing of Apple up to the point where he advanced within gun shot, and says, "with the report of my gun, I sent forth a shout that told the General and my comrades, *yet* in the rear, that I had procured the first scalp." Here, I think, Lieutenant Bracken's memory is greatly at fault, I was near the Lieutenant when he shot, and so was General Dodge and some eight or ten others, and the Indians were certainly from one hundred and fifty to two hundred yards distant. They fired back, it is true, but without effect, and if any scalp was taken, or even an Indian touched with a ball, I have no recollection of the fact. 'Tis true, they sometimes fell at the fire of the guns, but got up and went off, jumping and hopping in a taunting way.

At this point, while a short consultation was taking place, as to the best point of crossing, Capt. Gentry and D. M. Parkison swam the river on their horses, just in the rear of the Indians, and took a position upon a high eminence upon the opposite side of the river, so as to overlook the grove the Indians were making for. We were again joined by Parkison at the time Lieutenant Bracken speaks of. Capt. Gentry, in attempting to reach us at another point, mired his horse down in a swamp, got his gun wet, and was unable to rejoin us.

The next point at which I think Lieut. Bracken's memory is at

fault, is where the General is addressing his men, in which he is made to say among other things, "Unbutton your shirt collars, tighten your belts, &c." I have no recollection of any such orders, and from Gen. DODGE's usual coolness and discretion upon such occasions, I should think he would hardly give such orders. Again, I think his memory is at fault, when he quotes the General as saying, "Charge 'em, boys—*damn them*, charge 'em," and "There, by G—d, I killed him myself," &c. At another point I think his memory is more at fault than usual. That is upon the charge, where he would make it appear (if I read correctly) that he "advanced into the midst of the Indians, discharged his gun, turned the breech, and struck at a warrior he saw lying under the bank before him, but seeing another very industriously snapping at him, he then fell back, re loaded and advanced side by side with the gallant WELLS;" evidently conveying the idea that he had done all this before the gallant WELLS had got up at all. Now, all who were there well know that the gallant WELLS was among the first upon the bank, and was shot instantly upon his charge upon the bank. The charge was simultaneous, by every member of the detachment, and there could not have been more than a few seconds difference between any of the men's arriving upon the bank. All behaved well; in fact bravely—Lieut. BRAKCEN with the rest—but I have yet to learn that he behaved any better than any one else; in fact, I am certain there was no room for invidious distinction.

I write this with no unkind or unpleasant feelings towards Lieut. BRACKEN; but simply that justice may be done, history be correct, and that Lieut. BRACKEN's request (contained in a note appended to his account of the affair,) togother with the request of a number of other persons, may be complied with.

The Indian that was shot in attempting to make his escape across the pond, as spoken of by Lieut. BRACKEN, was shot by W. W. WOODBRIDGE, the Adjutant of Gen. DODGE's squad, with a pistol. I was standing near him at the time. The number of scalps taken

upon that occasion, according to my memory was fourteen, instead of seventeen, as Mr. Bracken has it.

Upon looking over the list of names which Mr. Bracken has, I do not see that of W. W. Woodbridge. This is an omission. It should be there.

The remainder of the narrative, I believe, is correct.

PETER PARKISON, Jr.

To Gen. W. R. Smith, State Historian:

In a late number of the *Wisconsin Tribune*, there was a communication of Mr. Peter Parkison, of Fayette, on the subject of the 'Battle of the Pekatonica.' I saw nothing in his statement calculated to change the general result of an action so honorable to all engaged in it, but I see that Mr. Parkison has (unwillingly perhaps) misrepresented me, and some of my action, on that occasion.

The officers composing the command at Fort Defiance at that time, were Robert C. Hoard, Captain; Charles Bracken, first Lieutenant; Daniel M. Parkison, second Lieutenant, and Wm. Burnett, Ensign.

Although in my account of the battle and events which led to it, I state that I was second in command at that fort, yet Mr. Parkison (in the face of record and living testimony which could be produced to sustain my assertion) depending on his own vivid recollection, reduces me to the rank of second Lieutenant, in virtue of which he states, I claimed a command to which I was not entitled.—His memory here certainly failed him, for the saddle was on the other horse! It is reasonable to suppose, that if Mr. Parkison, belonging to the same company with me, and associating together in the same stockade for some weeks, could not recollect my rank, that his memory cannot be relied on as to other facts wherein he differs from me.

Shortly after the *Black Hawk war*, when all the survivors of the battle were living, I published, in a Galena paper, an account

of the battle, which was uncontradicted. My late publication addressed to you through the Wisconsin Tribune, corresponded nearly word for word with my former publication. The late Mr. Matthew G. Fitch, some ten or twelve years since, also published an account of the same battle in the Mineral Point paper, in which he differs in no essential particulars from me. On data such as this, I think there is more reliance to be placed for the truth of history, than on the memory of Mr. Parkison, which is clearly at fault in the very first fact he states, and much more so in others.

CHARLES BRACKEN.

Walnut Grove, Dec. 30, 1852.

Fayette, Feb. 5th, 1853.

To Gen. W. R. Smith, State Historian:

Sir—I regret exceedingly that you should be annoyed with so many communications upon the subject of the battle of the Pekatonica, and particularly when those communications disagree so much as mine and those of Lieutenant Charles Bracken. Mr. Bracken in his last communication, seems to have departed entirely from his request, contained in a note appended to his account of the battle of the Pekatonica, in which he requests any of the survivors to correct any mistakes which he may have made; admitting that, after a lapse of twenty years, he might have made some. But when those mistakes are pointed out, and corrected, he claims, not only to possess a superiority of memory over me, but also that his account was written from data that could, or should be relied upon, more than my memory.

Now, had Mr. Bracken claimed in the start, to have written his account of that affair from such data as he refers to in his last communication, perhaps I should not have presumed to set up my memory in opposition thereto. But, as Mr. Bracken made no such claim, and evidently carried the idea that he had written

entirely from memory, I supposed I was doing him a kindness in complying with his request—in which it seems I was mistaken, judging from the tone of his communication.

However, as to the data to which Mr. BRACKEN refers, I have a word to say; and that is, that my memory differs with his as to what those accounts contain. If either of those accounts, particularly that published by Mr. FITCH, quotes Mr. BRACKEN as taking or having the command of the detachment from Fort Defiance, I will agree that I am mistaken as to what those accounts contain.

But as the question at issue is not what those accounts contained, but what are the facts in the case, I shall, without further cavil with Mr. BRACKEN, as to memory, proceed to lay before you the evidences which I have procured in support of the correctness of my memory, wherein I differ with him.

Upon seeing Mr. BRACKEN's communication to you, (in reference to this matter.) in a late number of the Wisconsin Tribune, I immediately addressed the following named gentlemen upon this subject, to wit: ROBERT C. HOARD, who was Captain of the company stationed at Fort Defiance at the time in question; THOMAS BEAM, who was a soldier at Fort Defiance; ALEXANDER HIGGINBOTHAM, who was a soldier at Fort Hamilton, and was with the detachment from the time it left Fort Hamilton until after the battle of the Pekatonica; BENNET MILLION, who was also with the detachment during the burying of the men who were killed at the farm of SPAFFORD and SPENCER, and the same that made his miraculous escape from the Indians.

From them I have received the following answers. I would here mention, that these are all the men (that is, MILLION and HIGGINBOTHAM) that had any connection with the burying of those men, or the battle of the Pekatonica, that I have any knowledge of in this country, except my father, Col. PARKISON, upon whom, from feelings of delicacy, I have not called, for his recollection of the matter.

Mineral Point, February 5th, 1853.

Mr. PETER PARKISON, Jr.:

Your communication addressed to me, asking my recollections about those eleven men who started from Fort Defiance to bury the dead at SPAFFORD'S farm, in 1832, was duly received. I recollect that when the express arrived, it was about sun-down, or after. After I had arranged the matter of express to Col. DODGE, I immediately commenced making arrangements to send a reinforcement to Fort Hamilton, and to assist in burying the dead at SPAFFORD'S field. There were many who volunteered to go. At the same time there were several men there from the mounted company, with Major KIRKPATRICK, (or afterwards Major KIRKPATRICK); Lieut. BRACKEN and Second Lieut. PARKISON were among the number who volunteered to go, and all the mounted men who were with Major KIRKPATRICK, I believe; consequently, those mounted men came there commanded by thier own officer, and neither Lieuts. BRACKEN or PARKISON could have any command over them. Lieut. BRACKEN certainly was the officer who held the rank at the fort; consequently, would have had the command, but I think there was some dissatisfaction among the men, who were preparing to go, I think, about who should command them. Lieut. BRACKEN started off with one man, I think, and he was one of the mounted men. I think about half an hour after Lieut. BRACKEN left, the rest of the squad started, with dissatisfaction about the command; before they got off, I requested Major KIRKPATRICK to take the command; and he did take the command as far as I knew.

Yours, &c.,

ROBERT C. HOARD.

Town of Wayne, Jan. 28, 1853.

Mr. PETER PARKISON, Jr.:

DEAR SIR—In answer to your favor of the 26th inst., I can say, that I was a soldier during the war with BLACK HAWK, and that

I was at Fort Defiance at the time that the express came there in relation to the killing of SPAFFORD and others, on the Pekatonica.

I can also say, without hesitation, that Maj. KIRKPATRICK took the command of the detachment from there, and I never understood but that he commanded it all the time until after the burying of those men.

Yours respectfully,

THOMAS BEAM.

Town of Wayne, Jan. 29, 1853.

Mr. PETER PARKISON, Jr.:

In compliance with your request of the 26th inst., I can say, that I do not recollect distinctly all that took place at Fort Hamilton, in relation to the command of the detachment that buried the men who were killed on the Pekatonica, at the farm of SPENCER & SPAFFORD, in the *Black Hawk war.*

I do recollect that there was some trouble about the command, between Col. PARKISON and CHARLES BRACKEN. I also recollect that Maj. KIRKPATRICK commanded the company on that occasion.

The next point, in relation to which you ask my recollection, is at the bank of the Pekatonica, where Lieutenant BRACKEN claims to have procured the first scalp. In relation to that point, I *can* say that I *am* sure there was no scalp taken, or any Indian killed dead, at that point. Some might have been hit, but no certainty of it. As to Lieutenant BRACKEN's being in the advance, I do not recollect distinctly. But from my recollection, I should say, we were all there pretty much at the same moment. As to the affair upon the bank of the pond, where the battle was fought, I agree with you precisely as you have given it in your account of that affair. I was right by WELLS when he was shot.

I have, according to your request, examined the account of that affair, written by both you and Mr. BRACKEN, and according to my memory, I agree with you in all the main particulars, where-

in you disagree with Lieutenant BRACKEN, after the detachment came to Fort Hamilton.

Your friend,

ALEXANDER HIGGINBOTHAM.

P. S.—I perceive that my name is not inserted, either by you or Mr. BRACKEN, as being in the battle. I claim no particular glory. I was, however, in the battle. The omission was, of course, unintentional.

Town of Wiota, Jan. 30, 1853.

Mr. PETER PARKISON:

DEAR SIR—According to your request of the 26th inst., I will state my recollection of the incidents connected with the burying of SPAFFORD, SEARLS and others, who were killed on the Pekatonica, during the *Black Hawk war*, the particulars of which you request.

In relation to what took place at Fort Hamilton, about the command of the detachment, I can state distinctly, that some trouble took place at Fort Hamilton about that matter. Some wished Col. PARKISON to take the command. But he objected, and said that the detachment had come from Fort Defiance under the command of Maj. KIRKPATRICK, and that he wished it to go on under his command. Maj. KIRKPATRICK then objected to, or declined taking farther command, unless he were re-elected. Upon which, an election was gone into, and Maj. KIRKPATRICK was elected. The detachment then proceeded under his command, and continued so, until they returned to Fort Hamilton.

The remainder of the incidents, until the killing of APPLE, are correctly given in your account published in the *Tribune*, (which I have seen,) except that no Indian on horseback pursued me.

Mr. BRACKEN is quite at fault, when he speaks of SPENCER'S diving the river, leaping the bank, &c*. I am the man, most

* This was plainly an error of the printer, in dropping MILLION'S name where it should have appeared in the narrative, which is now properly corrected. L. C. D.

certainly, who did that. After getting upon the bank, I found two balls had passed through my shirt—one through the body, the other through the sleeve. While upon the bank, two balls passed so near me that their force was visibly felt in my face. My hat was afterwards found, with a large ball hole near the band. The effort of diving the river, leaping the bank, and the effects of the two balls that passed so near my head, had so exhausted and addled me, that I thought I was shot; and after going about sixty yards, in a walk, I stopped and examined myself. Finding I was not shot, I took fresh courage, commenced my flight for life, and arrived safe at Fort Hamilton in about three-quarters of an hour by sun. Mr. Spencer could not swim, (as you say,) consequently did not attempt to cross the river. I claim no particular honor for what I did upon that occasion, and only mention these particulars to show that Mr. Bracken's memory should not be too much relied upon.

Upon perusing Mr. Bracken's account of that affair, I perceive many mistakes, but none of very great importance, except those which I have pointed out.

As to what took place after the killing of Apple, and at the battle, I know nothing, except from hearsay. I have always understood that all behaved well upon that occasion—that the charge was even-handed, and that no one man was entitled to more credit than another. As to Mr. Bracken's killing an Indian, or getting a scalp, at the crossing of the Pekatonica, I can say, without hesitation, that I never heard anything of it, until I saw it in his account of that battle.

Having, I believe, answered all your enquiries, I subscribe myself,

Respectfully yours,

BENNET MILLION.

From the above communications, it will be perceived at once, that these gentlemen, (who certainly have no interest in the mat-

ter, as between Mr. BRACKEN and myself, and who could only wish that justice should be done, and that history should be correct,) sustain my memory almost fully, in every particular, wherein I disagree with Mr. BRACKEN. Hence, I should think, from such testimony as this, there could be no reasonable doubt as to the facts in the case.

I regret exceedingly, that I have been brought into this cross-questioning with Mr. BRACKEN, against whom I certainly entertain no unkind feeling, and whom I certainly would not intentionally misrepresent. I only wish that justice should be done to all parties concerned, and that a proper impression should go abroad, and be handed down to posterity.

I did not like the impression to go abroad or down to posterity, that Gen. DODGE and his comrades in arms did, upon that occasion, and in two instances, lurk in the rear, and permit Lieutenant BRACKEN to go forward and encounter the enemy single-handed and alone—which impression Mr. BRACKEN's account certainly conveys.

In looking over my account of that affair, I perceive that I did, in one place, speak of Lieutenant BRACKEN as *Second* Lieutenant, which was a mistake, and it would evidently appear to the most careless reader, that the mistake was inadvertenly made. Mr. BRACKEN claims, in his account of that affair, to have been second in command at Fort Defiance, which I did not dispute, but only claimed that he did not go in command of the detachment, &c. Hence, having Mr. BRACKEN in my mind as second in command at Fort Defiance, it was easy for me to speak of him as Second Lieutenant, when I should have styled him as second in command. But, for this mistake, Mr. BRACKEN condemns my memory, as entitled to no consideration whatever. Were Mr. BRACKEN's memory to be condemned for similar mistakes, occasions would not be wanting; but these slight mistakes do not vary the result, and should not be harped upon.

However, with what I have already said upon the subject, I shall

submit the matter to an impartial public, and to you, to determine or decide as to the facts in the case.

Your obedient serv't,

PETER PARKISON, Jr.

To Gen. W. R. Smith, State Historian:

In October last I had the honor of addressing you a communication, through the columns of the *Wisconsin Tribune*, giving you the details of the "Battle of the Pekatonica," and the events that led thereto. In a note appended to that publication, I stated that I might, from the lapse of time, have made some errors, more particularly as to the names of those who were actually in the action. This was the case. I omitted the names of Alexander Higginbotham and Benjamin Lawhead, who were in the fight, and Thomas H. Price whom I placed in the line, was one of the horse guard.

Mr. Peter Parkison, Jr., one of the survivors of that battle, in a communication addressed to the Editor of the Tribune in November last, has given his version of the affair, for the purpose, as he avers, "of doing justice to the dead as well as the living, and also in justice to the correctness of history." In that communication Mr. Parkison negatives, or gives a different version to almost every fact stated by me. First, that I did not command the detachment from Fort Defiance, but that R. H. Kirkpatrick did; that "the next morning, before starting from Fort Hamilton for Spafford's field, a difficulty took place between D. M. Parkison and myself about the command," I claiming it, *in virtue of my second Lieutenancy*, which was objected to by D. M. Parkison, (which was the commencement of the memorable difficulty between that person and myself.) That Major Kirkpatrick then declining to take further command of the detachment unless he was *re-chosen*, upon which an election was gone into, and Major Kirkpatrick (as he was commonly called) was unanimously elected;" that this difficulty being settled, the party pro-

ceeded to the farm, and found the murdered men as described by me, with the exception of SPAFFORD. I stated that "we found his body with the head cut off, and, literally speaking, covered with an hundred wounds." Mr. PARKISON asserts most dogmatically, that "SPAFFORD'S *head was not cut off, and that he had no wounds that he recollects of.*" He denies that MILLION crossed the river at the point indicated by me, but "at the point where MCILWAIN and JOHN BULL crossed it," and then he gives us a Munchausen story of his swimming the river five times, and fleet as he was of foot, of his beating an Indian mounted on horseback after a hot chase of ten miles. And so determined does Mr. PARKISON appear to contradict my statements, and so closely does he go into particulars, that he makes BLACK ride a horse instead of a mare, as stated by me.

Although I reasonably account for the manner in which with FITCH, HIGGINBOTHAM and DEVEE, I got ahead of the detachment, by which I was placed within shooting distance of the Indians and secured the first scalp. Yet, as to this fact, Mr. PARKISON is sure my memory is at fault, because, as he asserts, "he was near me when I shot, and so was the General." When my little party encountered and fired on the Indians, they were near the top of the ridge that overlooks the Pekatonica. The General was then across the branch on the top of the opposite ridge, some three-fourths of a mile off, apparently engaged in forming the men in line as they came straggling up. Therefore, while I had not more than two hundred yards to advance, to place myself in contact with the Indians while they were crossing the creek; the General and Mr. PARKISON had more than three-fourths of a mile to traverse, with a muddy branch to cross, before they could come up with the enemy, who when they arrived, had crossed the creek and were advancing towards the thicket in the bend where the battle took place.

Mr. PARKISON also thinks, that "from Gen. DODGE'S usual coolness and discretion on such occasions, he could hardly have given such orders to the men as I represent." Had I attempted to laud Gen.

Dodge, I could not, had I ransacked the vocabularly of the English language, found expressions more suitable for the occasion, or given better testimony of his coolness and discretion on the eve of a battle. His mind was made up, as he stated, "to whip the enemy or die in the attempt." He therefore coolly and discreetly forewarned us, that there would be no snaps or flashes of our guns; he required us to gird tight our loins and unbutton our shirt collars, that our respiration might be free to sustain him in the desperate encounter that was before us.

Again, Mr. Parkison thinks my memory is at fault, when I make the General swear terribly. If I must confess the fact, he swore far more terribly than I have represented. If Mr. Parkison had been disposed to task his memory to do justice to my conduct in that battle, as much as he appears disposed to detract from it, it would have been no great tax on his memory to have recollected, that in my hand-to-hand encounter with the Indian at the pond, the breech of my gun had a sliver cut out of it, some three or four inches long, by the spear of the Indian. That gun I carried throughout the war, and Mr. Parkison as well as others has time and again seen that evidence of that encounter.

And Mr. Parkison has at this late day found it convenient to unlearn what he formerly knew, that from a fortuitous train of circumstances my actions on that occasion were such, that the General, by common consent, awarded me two out of the seventeen scalps taken, and I state it on good authority, that in the fall of the year after the war, when the annual firing of the prairie took place, and the woods and grass were destroyed, that the bones of fifteen Indians were found at the pond where the battle took place, those of another between that and the point where they crossed the creek, and those of another at the crossing of the creek which I alledge to have killed; a party of Menomonee and Sioux Indians, under the command of Colonels Hamilton and Marsh had arrived at the fort a short time after we commenced the pursuit. These Indians taking our trail, found and scalped the two latter, and overtook the detachment as we were returning with our

wounded to the fort. Even at this late day, if search were made, I am of the opinion, that the bones of seventeen Indians could yet be found bleaching on the battle ground, and between it and where the Indians crossed the Pekatonica;* among them the bones of the Indian I killed at the spot where they crossed. The shout I sent forth when I fired, was, "That's my hair!"—a cant expression then in vogue to denote a scalp.

In a subsequent communication which I addressed you in reply to Mr. PARKISON I did not deem it necessary to enter into a specific refutation of all the tergiversations contained in his essay, or to expose his mawkish attempt to make me an assailant of Gen. DODGE, and of his self election to the post of his defender. Although my memory might have failed me as to other facts touching the events of that day, it must be supposed that I could not well forget the rank I held; this Mr. PARKISON denied, which if uncontradicted must be construed as an impeachment of my veracity; I therefore confined myself in that reply, to simply correcting him on this point, and to infer from it that, if belonging to the same company and associated with me for some time at the same post, he could not recollect my rank, that his memory could not be depended on as to other facts wherein he differed from me, &c., &c. To this Mr. PARKISON has rejoined, by a communication addressed to you through the columns of the Tribune of the 10th of February, wherein he rather lamely concedes the question as to my rank as a first Lieutenant, but seems determined to pluck some of the feathers from my plume by proving *positively* that KIRKPATRICK commanded the detachment from Fort Defiance, to Fort

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*In EDWARD BEOUCHARD'S narrative, we find the following paragraph relative to the number of Indians slain: "After the battle, eleven Indians were found dead on the ground; two more, who were wounded, had got up the river-bank, and were tracked and finally scalped by the Winnebagoes; Colonel HAMILTON, sometime afterwards, found the body of another, after the prairie fires had passed over them; and late in the succeeding winter, a French trapper found three more, in the swamp near the battle ground, beneath brush-wood, under which they had crawled when wounded." The whole number thus accounted for, of the Sauks who fell in this fight, was seventeen; and at a subsequent period, when at Rock Island, after the termination of the war, BEOUCHARD understood from some of the Sauks, that BLACK HAWK had often spoken of a band of seventeen of his braves, of whom he had never received any intelligence, and he knew not what had become of them. BLACK HAWK, in his auto-biography, make no allusion to this affair. L. C. D.

Hamilton, and *negatively*, that I did not kill an Indian at the crossing of the Pekatonica, as asserted by me, and that in fulfilling his post "he cannot permit the impression to go down to posterity, that Gen. DODGE and his comrades in arms did upon that occasion, and in two instances, lurk in the rear, and permit Lt. BRACKEN to go forward and encounter the enemy single handed and alone."

But a few minutes before the express arrived with the intelligence of the murder, I returned to Fort Defiance from an expedition to the Rock and Illinois Rivers, where I had accompanied Gen. DODGE as a volunteer in GENTRY's company of mounted men. My horse and arms being ready, I was soon in the saddle on my way to Fort Hamilton accompanied by one man. I then heard of no dissatisfaction about the command, nor was there any; all in the fort were too much horror-stricken with the distressing intelligence just received, to be engaged in a squabble about a petty command in a night march. In my absence, the command of the party devolved on Lt. D. M. PARKISON, and subsequent events, shown by his attempt to supercede me who outranked him, proved that he had too much ambition to permit HOARD, had he held five times the rank he did, to reduce him to the ranks, and place a private soldier in command over him.

The officers of GENTRY's company were Messrs. BEQUETTE, PORTER and HENRY L. DODGE; it is not pretended that either of those officers were at the fort that evening, nor was there a solitary man of GENTRY's command there, nor could there have been. GENTRY with his company in full force accompanied Gen. DODGE to Rock River, and that day I separated from him and his company at Gratiot's Grove, they taking the route by KENDLE's and the forks of the Pekatonica to Mineral Point, the head-quarters of his company. R. H. KIRKPATRICK was at the time a private in that company, not having been elected Major until some two weeks after the battle of the Pekatonica; and maugre the certificate of HOARD and assertion of PARKISON—*he was not, nor had he been at Fort Defiance that day, that evening or that night! ! !*

I make this statement on the recollection of those whose memories are more to be relied on than HOARD's or PARKISON's, and their truthfulness far more so, particularly a lady who was in the fort at the time, who shortly after the war became the wife of Major KIRKPATRICK. To corroborate this fact I will state, that both PARKISON and HOARD admit there were but eleven men left the fort that evening; after some trouble and enquiry I have ascertained the names of all but one of those men. They were SWEET, D. M. PARKISON, PETER PARKISON, FITCH, MCCONNELL, VAN WAGGONER, LAWHEAD, MCGRAW, BLACK, PRICE, LEECH, making ten of the party, the name of the other I cannot recollect or ascertain, but he was a young man from Tennessee, who had been pursuing a certain PETER HOWARD (alias ROBT. C. HOARD) to the west, and found him in the commanding officer at Fort Defiance. And any other men, mounted or dismounted, of any other company that marched with the detachment that night, as stated by HOARD, were all "*dressed in buckram!*"

The next morning, when the detachment was paraded preparatory to starting for SPAFFORD's field, it was reinforced by some six or seven men from Fort Hamilton. DANIEL M. PARKISON, who had been a colonel in Illinois, who was my senior in years but junior in rank, claimed the command of the detachment on the plea, that *he had come with and commanded the party on the march from Fort Defiance the night before!!!* This attempt to supersede me was promptly resisted, and hence the difficulty between us.

R. H. KIRKPATRICK, who was one of the re-inforcement that had joined us at Fort Hamilton, was then in the ranks; the day previous he had left his company (GENTRY's) at Gratiot's Grove, and came by the way of Wolf Creek to Fort Hamilton. He was, at my suggestion, appointed to conduct the expedition to bury the murdered men at the farm, and not till then, *did he command the detachment, or any part of it!*

None, but one possessing the most morbid feeling towards me, could read my account of the battle, so honorable to the com-

mander and all engaged in it, and draw the inference from any one sentence it contains, that the General and my comrades were "lurking in the rear," while I was in front battling the enemy single handed.

Although Mr. PARKISON professes to have no unkind feelings toward me, or intentionally to misrepresent me, yet a man with half an eye, can see what kind of feeling he entertains toward me, in almost every paragraph of his communications. From the day that I indignantly spurned the attempt of his father to supercede me in command to which I was legally entitled by my rank, he has had no particular friendship for me, and it may be, that a little of the old leaven has worked upon him to seek this controversy, and "Feed fat the ancient grudge he bears me." * *

My account of the battle of the Pekatonica gives to General DODGE the credit of having conducted and fought the best battle with the Indians, since the introduction of fire-arms amongst them. Mr. PARKISON merely for the purpose of underrating me and my statements, reduces the number of Indians slain on that occasion over one-fifth, thereby attempting to deduct that amount from the well-earned fame of General DODGE acquired by that battle.

Very Respectfully,

Your Obd't Servant,

CHARLES BRACKEN.

APPENDIX No. 11.

STRICTURES UPON GOV. FORD'S HISTORY OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR,

BY MAJOR PETER PARKISON, JR.

MADISON, Sept. 10, 1854.

Mr. BROWN, Editor of the Argus & Democrat:

DEAR SIR:—Upon my arrival in this place, a few days since, my attention was called to a couple of chapters of Gov. FORD'S History of Illinois, published in your paper, purporting to be a true history of a portion of the *Black Hawk war*, in which the manifest object of the historian is so apparent, and the means made use of to accomplish that object are so unsupported by truth, that I (as one who was an eye witness to nearly all the circumstances pretended to be given in those two chapters, and one who is unwilling that the public mind should be misled upon this subject) am constrained to give them a passing notice.

In the first place, it is not true, as stated in Gov. FORD'S History, that Gen. DODGE endeavored to avoid going from Fort Winnebago to the rapids of Rock River (where the enemy was then supposed to be) in consequence of the worn down condition of his horses; neither did he refuse to go without written orders from Gen. HENRY. The facts are, that Gen. DODGE was the first to suggest and urge this course to Gens. HENRY and ALEXANDER—Gen. HENRY assenting, and Gen. ALEXANDER dissenting. This was the universal understanding at the time by all parties. I have since been informed by Col. DANIEL M. PARKISON, of Lafayette

county, who commanded a company under Gen. DODGE at the time, and who was an intimate friend of both Gen. DODGE and Gen. HENRY, that such was the fact, that he was present and heard the conversation.

Neither is it true, that Gen. HENRY's men and officers attempted to mutinize at this place. I deem it quite unfair as well as ungenerous in the extreme, to detract from the merit of Gen. HENRY's men and officers, and every body else, for the purpose of making a Gen. JACKSON of Gen. HENRY—a thing which Gen. HENRY would never have done; he was a brave and generous man, and no man esteemed him higher than I did. I had known him from my boyhood, and he had been one of my father's warmest and most intimate friends for more than ten years. But at the same time, many of his friends and officers were my friends and intimate acquaintances, and are yet living, and it is but justice to them that I should repel this slander.*

From this point Gen. DODGE was certainly the main-spring, the life and energy of the army, suggesting and planning all its movements; and none could be mistaken in this particular who were present, and unprejudiced. This was but natural, and can be said without any just prejudice to the reputation of Gen. HENRY. Gen. DODGE had acquired a high reputation as a military man, and as an Indian fighter. He was well acquainted with the country, with the Winnebagoes, (who were our guides), with Mr. POQUETTE, (who was our interpreter); and Gen. HENRY was not so vain-glorious, as to be unwilling to be governed by the suggestions of Gen. DODGE.

Many particulars on the march from this Point, (Fort Winnebago), to the Wisconsin, are very incorrectly given, and many omitted by Gov. FORD. But as it is not my purpose, upon the present occasion, to point out all of the mistakes of Gov. FORD, only where they effect the parties concerned, I will only notice

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*It would appear that there was, after all, something that squinted towards mutiny among a portion of Gen. HENRY'S troops. We have Gov. FORD'S statement corroborated by Gov. REYNOLDS, in his *Life and Times*. In Gen. BRACKEN'S strictures, allusion will also be found to it. L. C. D.

two, which are of the same note, and sufficient to satisfy any one that there is considerable guess work about his history.

First, he makes no mention of the killing of an Indian on the bank of the Third Lake, near where the Lake House now stands, a circumstance known to all of the first settlers of Madison. Second, he says two Indians were killed about noon of the day on which the troops marched from this place to the Wisconsin, when there was but one. The incorrectness of these particulars and many others that might be pointed out are sufficient to satisfy my mind that the main objects of Gov. FORD in writing this History of the *Black Hawk war* was, first, to make money, and next, to detract from the well earned fame of Gen. DODGE.

The particulars of the battle of the Wisconsin are as incorrectly given as any man could give them who knows nothing of them whatever. The Indians are said to have flanked to the right, when they most certainly flanked to the left. Gen. DODGE is said to have refused to charge the enemy, without reinforcements; when the facts are that he charged them, with his single squadron alone, and received almost their entire fire and killed many of their number, before any of the Illinois forces could be brought successfully to bear upon them. This was in consequence of his position in front, where Gen. HENRY had placed him for the purpose of receiving the first fire and terrific yell of the Indians; having, as Gen. HENRY expressed it himself, some doubts whether his men would stand the first fire and the frightful savage yell; and well he might have some doubts of this character, as the Illinois troops had, upon two occasions, fled at the first onset of the Indians.

Upon the second charge upon this occasion, it is most untrue, that Gen. DODGE and his men took no part in the charge, as the idea is clearly conveyed in the chapters published in your paper. This charge was suggested by Gen. DODGE to Gen. HENRY, as I am most credibly informed, and I know upon this occasion as upon all others, where I was with the army, that Gen. DODGE's squadron was the foremost, most prompt and energetic. To say

anything else of them is most ungenerous as well as most untrue. They were in their own country, defending their own immediate families and firesides, and it was expected of them that they would take the foremost rank at all times of danger, and in no instance was that expectation disappointed.

At the battle of Bad Ax, Gen. DODGE and his squadron are again grossly misrepresented by Gov. FORD's History, as I am informed by those who were there, and with whom I have conversed since seeing the publication in your paper, and in whom I have the utmost confidence, as their version of the affair corresponds with what I have always understood to be the facts. That here, as upon other occasions, Gov. DODGE and his squadron were in front, and in the thickest of the fight; Capt. DICKSON, of Grant county, commanded the spy company, and brought on the engagement between the scattering parties, while Capt. GENTRY, of Iowa county, with his company, brought on the engagement between the main bodies.

Again, it is not true that Gen. HENRY was placed in the rear, in charge of the baggage trains. First, there were no such trains upon this occasion, as every man carried his own provisions. Second, Gen. HENRY marched next in front to Gen. DODGE's command; and that Gen. ATKINSON had no wish to degrade Gen. HENRY, or detract in the slightest degree from the merit he was entitled to, as intimated in Gov. FORD's History, it is only necessary to mention the fact, that after the battle at this place was over, Gen. ATKINSON met Gen. HENRY and Gen. DODGE both at the same time, and taking each of them by the hand, said, with much warmth and feeling: "my brave fellows, you have forced me on to victory."

Without wishing to do the slightest injustice to Gov. FORD or his History, I am constrained in justice to all parties concerned, and in justice to the truth of history, to say, that the accounts which he gives of all, or nearly all, the incidents contained in the two chapters published in your paper, are very incorrect, and I hope I may be permitted to make the remark, that too many of our

histories are written by men, like Gov. Ford, who know nothing personally of the matters about which they write.

The killing of St. Vrain and his party, and the battle of the Pekatonica, are very imperfectly and incorrectly given by Gov. Ford. I was at the burying of Mr. St. Vrain and his party, at which Aquilla Floyd was also present, who had with two others of the party, made his escape, and his account of the affair certainly bears no analogy to that given by Gov. Ford. I was also an unimportant actor in the battle of the Pekatonica, and know the account given by Gov. Ford to be quite as I have stated. The affair at Pekatonica was the first defeat that the Indians had met with since the commencement of hostilities. They were a chosen band of fourteen, occupying the most advantageous position, under the bank of a slough completely covered, or concealed by thick under-brush. We were nineteen in number, and exposed to their cool and deliberate first fire, at which four of our men fell, leaving us but one superior to them in numbers. It was a hand-to-hand encounter, steel clashed against steel, the woods resounded with the most terrific yell of the savage, until the last one was exterminated; and had you been there, I am confident, Mr. Editor, you would have thought it a little more than a simple *killing* of a few red skins.

Up to this period, the Indians had been signally triumphant in every engagement. Maj. Stillman, at the mouth of the Kish-wau-kee River, about 30 miles above Dixon, on the Rock River, had been most shamefully defeated, by a force much inferior to his own. Soon after this, Col. (at that time Maj.) Dement, at Kellogg's Grove, suffered a most disastrous defeat by a much inferior force to his own; and, not long after this, Maj. Stephenson, commanding the most chosen troops of Illinois, was also signally defeated by the enemy.* Thus it will be seen, that the enemy had, in every instance, been victorious over the Illinois forces. Being em-

* Strictly speaking, Majors Stephenson and Dement's encounters with the Indians happened after the Pekatonica battle—the former on the 18th, and the latter on the 25th of June. L. C. D.

boldened by these decisive victories, achieved over much superior forces, and in quick succession, they conceived the bold and daring project of making themselves complete masters of this country, by at once attacking and destroying the defenseless inhabitants, which bold movement they carried into operation by a simultaneous attack upon the inhabitants of Apple River, Sinsinawa Mounds, in Grant County, Blue Mounds, and Hamilton's settlement. Gen. DODGE had just at this period, returned from an expedition to Ottawa, on the Illinois River, where Gen. ATKINSON was then at head quarters with the main forces of the army.

Gen. DODGE had made this expedition for the purpose of representing to Gen. ATKINSON, the exposed and defenseless condition of this country, and urge upon him the necessity and importance of prompt and energetic movements on the part of the army.

This was the second trip Gen. DODGE had made to the main army for this purpose, and for the additional purpose of obtaining some immediate force with which he could successfully keep the enemy in check, until the main body could reach this country. But failing of this last object, he hastened home, when, after almost incessant marching for eight days and nights, he arrived just in time to meet the threatened danger, and gave the first and effectual check to the audacity of the enemy in the battle of the Pekatonica.

Gen. DODGE's entire force at this time did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, and they were dispersed in every part of the country at their respective forts; but by the most prompt, energetic and persevering movements of Gen. DODGE, (aided by every one of his officers and men,) from one point of danger to another, the enemy was kept in check until the slow movements of the main army enabled it to reach this country. After its arrival here, so discouraged and disheartened were many of the Illinois troops with the slow and unsuccessful movements of their officers, that they sought to make Gen. DODGE their commander, (I say not this of Gen. HENRY's men, with him they were fully satisfied,) and it would no doubt have been fortunate for Gen. DODGE had this satis-

faction prevailed with the men throughout, for I am confident that it was the jealousy of the Illinois officers towards Gen. Dodge, growing out of this cause, which has given rise to the false statements respecting the conduct of Gen. Dodge upon the occasions alluded to in Gov. Ford's history. It is but just to say, and I do say it without the fear of successful contradiction, that after the main army reached this country, every prompt and energetic movement of the troops which had a tendency to overtake the Indians and terminate the war, was suggested and urged forward by Gen. Dodge; and if any particular credit is due to any one individual for the successful termination of the war, it is certainly due to Gen. Dodge. I am confident in my own mind, and I have heard the remark often from men in the Illinois forces, as well as men of this country, that if it had not been for the prompt and energetic movements of Gen. Dodge, the Indians would have made themselves masters of this country, despite Gen. Atkinson and the "*Sucker* army," as it was called. This was the universal impression and expression at the time of all unprejudiced persons.

All the historians who have written respecting this war, have given Gen. Dodge the credit of being the principal man in it. These men, or many of them, write from dates kept by them, in camp, kept from day to day, and not from information given them by jealous and unsatisfied officers, and had it not been for the superior sagacity of Gov. Ford, of Illinois, the extremely small and insignificant part which Gen. Dodge took, or acted, in the *Black Hawk war* would probably never have been known.—How long it took to make this discovery, we are not informed. But one thing is certain, that it never came to light until about 22 years after the circumstances took place, and not until after the author, and nearly, if not quite, all of his sources of information had passed out of existence.

I have not the least fears, but that a just and discriminating public will readily discover the true object of the historian. As to the secret connivance of Gen. Dodge and Doctor Philleo about

the publication of the battle of the Wisconsin in such a way as to rob General Henry of his merit in that affair, I know nothing, and moreover do not believe there is one word of truth in it. I know that the account published in that paper (the *Galenian*) of that battle, as well as all others, was substantially true, and I also know that Gen. Henry was too bold and daring a man to have passed unnoticed any such low and cowardly conduct. Neither would Gen. Dodge or Dr. Phlleo (who was a brave and warm-hearted man, and an old friend and acquaintance of Gen. Henry) have been guilty of any such meanness.

The letter which purports to have been written by Gov. Ford, to Gen. Dodge may have been written, but I am confident no such letter was ever received by Gen. Dodge—at least, I never heard of it.

Gov. Ford endeavors to throw disrespect upon Gen. Dodge for assuming to be Colonel commanding Michigan volunteers, when in fact he was only Major, as Gov. Ford calls him. If Gov. Ford had been correctly informed on this subject, as he should have been upon all others about which he wrote, he would have known that Gen. Dodge was in fact Colonel commanding Michigan volunteers. We were then under Michigan jurisdiction, and General Dodge was appointed Colonel by Gen. Cass, the Governor of the then Territory of Michigan, and his forces were Michigan volunteers.

I have already extended this communication much beyond what I contemplated in the out-start. I am well aware, that my communication is not written in the same interesting, racy and spicy manner as Gov. Ford wrote, but it contains facts derived mostly from my own personal knowledge, and the remainder from the most reliable sources, and as you no doubt had no motive in the publication of Gov. Ford's chapters, except that justice should be done to all, you will no doubt readily give this the same publicity.

I would here remark, that I have not been prompted to write this communication by any feelings of obligation to Gen. Dodge,

or any one else; but solely that justice may be done him, as well as others concerned.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

PETER PARKISON, Jr.

APPENDIX NO. 12.

FURTHER STRICTURES ON GOV. FORD'S HISTORY OF THE BLACK HAWK WAR.

BY GEN. CHARLES BRACKEN.

A STATEMENT OF THE MOVEMENTS OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS PRIOR AND LEADING TO THE BATTLES OF WISCONSIN HEIGHTS AND THE BAD AX.

Gen. Wm. R. Smith, Pres't of the Wis. State His. Society:

Sir:—Some time in the spring of 1847, Captain James H. Gentry called on me, as I understood, at the request of Gen. Henry Dodge, stating that Governor Ford had in some lectures delivered by him the previous winter before the Illinois Legislature at Springfield, in that State, made numerous mis-statements with regard to General Dodge, touching events in the *Black Hawk war*, requesting me, who had served on his staff,* and as one familiar with those events, to make a statement of them in writing; more particularly as to the means used by him at Fort Winnebago, to ascertain precisely the whereabouts of Black Hawk and his warriors, and to induce Generals Henry and Alexander to disobey the orders of General Atkinson, (which required them to return to his camp by the same route by which they had marched to the fort,) as by returning to Rock River in a more northerly direction, they would place the enemy between Atkinson and themselves, and thereby force them to battle.

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* Lieut. Bracken acted as aid to Gen. Dodge, and adjutant of Dodge's regiment, and was the only officer of Dodge's command who was mounted during the battle of Wisconsin Heights. Gen. Bracken has been long and prominently in public life, and served as representative in three sessions of the Territorial Legislature—1839-40. L. C. D.

Such statement I then declined making, which I now very much regret, because I put it out of the power of General DODGE to refute by any other than his own statement the many misrepresentations with regard to himself, which were summed up in a letter addressed by Governor FORD to him, dated from Versailles, Brown county, Ill., April 13th, 1847. I further regret that I did not make such statement at that time, because, if submitted to Governor FORD, it might have been the means of enlightening him on the subject, and thereby prevented him from publishing many misrepresentations that now appear in his book as history.

Having very lately perused Gov. FORD's history, and seen in it so many misrepresentations, I have come to the conclusion, that it is a duty which I owe to the future, and an act of justice which I owe to Gen. DODGE, to state what I personally know, more particularly regarding the movements under DODGE and HENRY from Fort Winnebago, by which the Indians were overtaken and defeated at the Wisconsin; wherein I differ materially from Governor FORD, as well as in some other matters touching that campaign.

It is my intention to place this statement in the archives of your Society, but before I do so, I submit it to the public in print*, so that if I have made any misrepresentations, they may be corrected. I will here state, that in my narrative of the war, published in your History of Wisconsin, at page 219 in the third volume, you say, "a detachment of some 250 men, consisting of the commands of HENRY, POSEY, ALEXANDER and DODGE." You should have said, "DODGE's command of about 250 men, together with HENRY's and ALEXANDER's brigades." I merely refer to this error in your history, because, if not corrected, there would appear to be a discrepancy between it and my present statement.

Every person who has read FORD's history of Illinois, will agree with the author of the introduction to the work, that Gov. FORD was "a man of strong feelings." I knew him personally, and can

* This article first appeared in the *Mineral Point Democrat*, April 30th, 1856. L. C. D.

bear my testimony, that if he possessed great bitterness of feeling towards those he disliked or considered his enemies, he was as warmly devoted to his friends; and saving his prejudices, he was truly an honest man. It must also be apparent to those who have perused his history, that it has been compiled principally from his recollection of men and things, and from information derived from others. This is particularly the case with regard to the *Black Hawk war*. Governor FORD did not serve in that war, was not present at any of the events of which he speaks, and consequently he has been made the instrument of some small men in Illinois, who are their own trumpeters, to laud their feats of arms and to detract from others.

About the first of July, 1832, the army commanded by Gen. ATKINSON, operating against BLACK HAWK and his warriors, moved up the valley of Rock River. The right wing, composed of the United States regular soldiers and HENRY's brigade of Illinois volunteers, commanded by Gen. ATKINSON in person, marched on the east side of the river. Gen. ALEXANDER's brigade formed the centre; and the left wing, consisting of POSEY's brigade and the miners under Gen. HENRY DODGE, rendezvoused at Wiota, and marched from that place about the same time for Kosh ko-nong Lake.

Gen. DODGE's command consisted of five companies of mounted men, commanded by Captains GENTRY, CLARK, DICKSON, PARKISON and JONES, and about twenty Menomonee Indians and eight or ten white men, commanded by Col. W. S. HAMILTON. On the march, near Sugar River, he was joined by Capt. JAMES W. STEPHENSON's company of about eighty men from Galena, which made his force fully three hundred men. Near the Four Lakes, the WHITE CROW, or *Blind*, a Winnebago chief, also joined him with about thirty warriors.

Before arriving at Kosh-ko-nong, the officers and men of DODGE's command became dissatisfied with POSEY's brigade. No one questioned Gen. POSEY's courage, and all admitted him to be a gentleman, yet he did not possess the firmness requisite to command

volunteers; and though he had under his command many intelligent and brave men and good officers, yet his want of decision rendered his men insubordinate and disorderly. Fearful if we should encounter the enemy, that they would desert us, and leave us to be overpowered by numbers, the miners to a man insisted on exchanging them for either HENRY's or ALEXANDER's brigade. This was effected on our arriving at Lake Kosh-ko-nong. After we had pitched our camp for the night at that place, Gen. DODGE repaired to ATKINSON's camp, which was about six miles distant, at the outlet of the lake, and procured an exchange of POSEY's for ALEXANDER's brigade. Gen. ALEXANDER having joined us early the next morning, we moved up the west side of Rock River, and on the second day joined Gen. ATKINSON at the Burnt Village on Bark River.

The provisions of the volunteers being nearly exhausted, DODGE's command, with HENRY's and ALEXANDER's brigades, were ordered to Fort Winnebago, about fifty miles distant, for supplies. Gen. DODGE with his command of between two hundred and fifty and three hundred men, proceeded in advance of HENRY and ALEXANDER. This was a movement fraught with the greatest danger to him and his command; the march was directly toward the enemy, who were estimated at from 800 to 1200 warriors. Had we encountered them, being beyond supporting distance from the Illinois brigade, we must have been overpowered. Fortune, however, favored us, and we reached Fort Winnebago on the evening of the second day, and shortly after were joined by HENRY's and ALEXANDER's brigades.

On arriving at the fort, Gen. DODGE at once set to work to find out the position of the enemy from a number of Winnebago Indians who were at that time at the fort. This he effected through PIERRE POQUETTE, a half-breed and their interpreter, over whom he had great influence. Through him he learned that the enemy were encamped on Rock River, at a place now known as Hustis' Rapids. Having ascertained the position of the enemy, his next object was to prevail on Generals HENRY and ALEXANDER to dis-

obey their orders from Gen. Atkinson, by varying the line of march in returning to his camp, so that, by striking Rock River above the enemy, they would place them between Atkinson and themselves, and as it was known that the Indians were encumbered with their women and children, they could be forced into a battle.

The negotiation on this subject was opened first with Gen. Henry by Maj. James W. Stephenson, of the Galena company, serving under Gen. Dodge. Between Henry and Stephenson the closest intimacy existed; they had been arraigned together at Edwardsville, Ill., for a high crime, of which, however, they had been honorably acquitted. Maj. Stephenson possessed great influence over Gen. Henry, and on this occasion he used that influence to induce him to embrace warmly the plans of Gen. Dodge. The co-operation of Henry being secured, the subject was then submitted to a council composed of the superior officers of the two brigades. Alexander and the officers of his brigade altogether refused to join the expedition, and the officers of one regiment of Henry's brigade also refused to march in that direction, but were finally prevailed on to do so.

Dodge and Henry having agreed on their line of action, preparations were immediately made for a march. All the men of of their respective commands who were riding horses that were unfit for the expedition, were discharged. In Dodge's command these amounted to about twenty-five men. He was not reinforced here by Craig's company from Galena; but that company, however, subsequently joined him and did good service after we had crossed the Wisconsin river in the pursuit of the enemy to Bad-Ax. Having secured the services of Poquette and a number of Winnebago Indians as guides, the expedition, numbering about seven hundred men, marched on the 15th of July, in the direction of the enemy on Rock River. Arriving at an Indian village on the river on the third day, no indications of the enemy were found other than some trails that appeared to be several days old. From here an express was dispatched to Gen. Atkinson; this express,

after proceeding a few miles down the river, fell in with a fresh trail of the enemy, evidently bearing towards the Wisconsin river, and immediately returned and reported their discovery.

Poquette and the Winnebago Indians, from the time we left the fort, at all our halts and encampments, invariably made their camp-fires close to that of Gen. Dodge. No man who knew him, ever suspected the honesty or patriotism of Poquette. He possessed unbounded influence over the Indians; treachery could not have existed among them in our camp without his knowing it; and none in that encampment ever heard before it was printed in Ford's History, that Major Murray McConnell had discovered that those Indians were treacherous; that he had single handed and alone, stopped more than a dozen of warriors in their flight from our camp, carried them to the quarters of General Henry, where they confessed their treason—and all this too without the assistance of Poquette, their interpreter, the only man in the camp who could render into English a single word they said!*

* Whether Gov. Ford has made some mistake in this matter, we know not, but Gov. Reynolds, in his recent *Life and Times*, seems to corroborate it. Reynolds states, that on the second day's march of Gen. Henry and Col. Dodge from Fort Winnebago, their spies seized two unarmed Indians who *said* they were Winnebagoes, but the whites considered them as Sauks, and spies of Black Hawk; and with this impression, they were confined. That upon the return of Adjutants Woodbridge and Merriman, and their Indian guide, a chief called Little Thunder, when Woodbridge narrowly escaped being shot by one of the sentinels in the dark, the two Indian prisoners, who had heard from Little Thunder that the trail of Black Hawk's band had been discovered, managed to effect their escape, but were re-captured in this wise: "Major McConnell," says Gov. Reynolds, "had been out about dark reconnoitering some distance from the main army with another person, and had found the Indian trail of Black Hawk. The individual returned alone to the army, and reported the fact. Just at dark—McConnell was still reconnoitering—two Indians came through some brush-wood, within ten yards of him, and one of them gave an Indian whoop, evidently showing great alarm. McConnell supposed the Indians were the enemy, and was about shooting, when one of them cried out in tolerable English, 'Good Indian, me!—good Winnebago!' McConnell immediately discovered that they were the two prisoners who had been marching with the army He captured them, and tied their hands behind their backs, and marched them to camp. In this enterprise with the Indians, and throughout the whole campaign, Major McConnell displayed efficiency and courage as a soldier and an officer, which won for him the approbation of the whole army. The Indian prisoners confessed their guilt, that they were spies for Black Hawk. They expected to be shot; but the General did not proclaim their guilt, and they were spared. The General acted with humanity, as the army was then nearly on the Indian trail, and the spies could do no injury to the whites, and to destroy two deluded, unarmed human beings, after their having been prisoners for some time, seemed to be a cruel act. The General was compelled to exercise much care over the Indians, or some volunteer might have shot them, if the fact had been known." Maj. McConnell still lives, and is a well known citizen of Illinois. L. C. D.

Having by the discovery of the express got hold of something tangible with regard to the whereabouts of the enemy, the pursuit commenced early next morning. It was rapid and persevering until we reached the Third Lake, early in the afternoon of the second day. Here Gen. Henry refused to advance, until a neck of land, formed by the junction of a creek with the lake, over which the trail of the Indians led, and which was covered with a heavy growth of underbrush, had been examined by our spies, under Capt. Jo. Dickson. After this was effected, it was deemed too late for a further advance that evening, and we encamped for the night on the bank of the lake.

Early the next morning the pursuit was renewed. An Indian who was sick and unable to travel, was shot the moment the eye of Capt. Fred. Dickson, of Capt. Jo. Dickson's company of spies, fell on him, he not being aware that the Indian was sick. This Indian was killed on the bank of Third Lake, within less than one half mile of where the Capitol now stands. Another sick or disabled Indian who begged for quarters was shot by Dr. Philleo during the pursuit. In falling, the Indian discharged his gun, and wounded a young man of Clark's company, of Dodge's command.

The advance, from the time we left Rock River, preceded by Capt. Jo. Dickson's spies, was led by Col. W. L. D. Ewing's battalion of Henry s brigade, the order of march being in two columns. Dodge's command becoming dissatisfied with the slow gait at which Ewing's battalion led the pursuit, reasoned among themselves that it was safer to dash ahead, overtake the enemy, and fight them on *terra firma*, than to suffer them to reach the islands of the Wisconsin, where if we advanced on them, we would be without cover and liable to be shot in the water. They therefore insisted on Gen. Dodge's taking the lead and engaging the enemy with his command. For this purpose the heads of our columns, striking off at a brisk trot, were inclined to the right and left of Ewing's battalion. On seeing this movement, that officer urged his men forward with blows and curses, and succeeded in keeping up with us, and held a position in our centre.

In this order we advanced rapidly, halting and forming once or twice to meet the enemy, who appeared in some numbers in our front, until we arrived near the Wisconsin bottom, where the horse guard was told off, and the men dismounted. This had scarcely been effected, when Capt. Dickson and his spies came galloping over a ridge a little in advance of us, pursued by a number of the enemy. The columns immediately advanced, Ewing's battalion forming the centre, to the top of the ridge, and formed in line by wheeling the heads of columns to the right. One fire from our line caused the Indians to retreat as rapidly as they had advanced. We occupied this position until the arrival of General Henry with Collins', Jones' and Fry's regiments, who, owing to our rapid advance, had been left far in the rear. During this delay, the enemy were concentrating their forces on a hill that commanded our position, about two hundred yards in advance of us, and kept up a constant fire on our line for fully one hour before Henry arrived, and arrangements were made to charge them. When the line of battle was formed, Dodge's command, including Ewing's battalion, formed the right wing; Fry's regiment was ordered to occupy a position on our right, to prevent the Indians from out-flanking us when we charged, consequently this regiment was not in the action. As I before remarked, owing to the delay of General Henry in coming up, the main body of the enemy had concentrated in front of Dodge's command. I have no doubt but that the Indian commander, who occupied a high mound which overlooked our position, was deceived by the movement of Fry's regiment to our right. He reasonably supposed that movement was to cut him off from his women and children at the river. He was distinctly heard giving an order to his warriors in a loud voice, who immediately retreated. That the Indian commander fell into this error, is confirmed from the fact, that just previous to the charge, the hill fronting the right wing was covered with Indians, and although our advance was over open ground and in full view of the enemy, yet we had none killed and but one man wounded, in reaching

the position occupied by them*. The action lasted but a short time after the charge. In front of DODGE's command the principal part of the Indians were killed. The greater part of the Winnebago Indians who accompanied us from the fort, hid in sink holes or sheltered behind trees, except the WHITE PAWNEE and the son of WHITE CROW, who together with POQUETTE fell into our ranks, and fought uncovered like white men. All the Indians, together with POQUETTE, started for Fort Winnebago immediately after the action.

I have, in as condensed a manner as possible, given the movements of General DODGE and the volunteers under his command, from the time we joined POSEY at Wiota, until the close of the battle of the Wisconsin. I have shown conclusively, if credit is due to any one for having overtaken BLACK HAWK and his forces, and defeating them at the Wisconsin, it is to General DODGE. He planned the enterprise, and owing to the generous support he received from Gen. HENRY, carried it out. If he was not the actual commander, he was virtually so. He was the only officer holding the rank of Colonel (the highest rank to which he could be appointed under the Territorial law) commissioned by the Governor of Michigan west of the lake. He was from this appointment sole commander of the militia within the territory which was the seat of war, and from the extent of his command entitled to the rank of a Brigadier General. He had been appointed in the regular service as commander of United States Rangers, in which corps General HENRY had been appointed to a captaincy under

* The Indian commander was BLACK HAWK himself, if we may credit his own narrative of that affair. "I was mounted on a fine horse," says BLACK HAWK, "and was pleased to see my warriors so brave. I addressed them in a loud voice, telling them to stand their ground, and never yield it to the enemy. At this time, I was on the rise of a hill, where I wished to form my warriors, that we might have some advantage over the whites. But the enemy succeeded in gaining this point, which compelled us to fall back into a deep ravine, from which we continued firing at them, and they at us, until it grew dark. My horse having been wounded twice during this engagement, and fearing, from his loss of blood, that he would soon give out—and finding that the enemy would not come near enough to receive our fire, in the dusk of the evening—and knowing that our women and children had had sufficient time to reach the island in the Wisconsin, I ordered my warriors to return, in different routes, and meet me at the Wisconsin—and were astonished to find that the enemy were not disposed to pursue us." L. C. D.

him. He was by many years the senior of General HENRY, and had been a Major General in the State of Missouri, and held an important command on that frontier in the war of 1812, when General HENRY was in his boyhood*. That General HENRY virtually yielded the command, and implicitly entrusted himself and his brigade to the direction of General DODGE, are apparent from his declining to write letters, although urged to do so, claiming the honor of the expedition and victory.

General HENRY was truly a soldier, bravest among the brave! He was, however, young and inexperienced in warfare of any kind. Being patriotic and without vanity, and anxious to put an end to the war, he had the good sense to know, that he did not detract from his own merits by yielding to the guidance of one having the age and experience of Gen. DODGE.

Governor FORD states, that after the battle of the Wisconsin, General DODGE, in styling himself Colonel of Michigan volunteers, assumed a rank to which he was not entitled; he being the commander of a "small battalion;" and that he travelled out of the line of his duty when he addressed a letter to the commanding officer at Fort Crawford (now Prairie du Chien) informing him of the victory over the Indians, and advising him of the course that ought to be adopted, if the enemy attempted to reach the west side of the Mississippi by descending the Wisconsin River. I have heretofore explained the command Gen. DODGE held in the Michigan militia, consequently he assumed no rank to which he was not entitled; and in advising the commanding officer at Fort Crawford of the course he thought it proper for him to pursue to prevent the escape of the Indians, he did no more than his duty.

It having been ascertained, that our supplies of provisions were not sufficient to enable us to pursue the enemy across the Wisconsin, and being also encumbered with a number of wounded,

* And in that war, it may further be added, that Gen. HENRY'S father served under Gen. DODGE; and hence it is not strange, that Gen. HENRY should have paid great deference and respect to the opinions of Gen. DODGE, who was so much his senior in years, and his superior in military experience.

L. C. D.

it was thought advisable to return to the Blue Mounds, which could be plainly seen from an eminence near the battle ground. On our arrival there, DODGE's command, including STEPHENSON's company*, were ordered to their respective posts, with orders to rendezvous at Helena on the Wisconsin, as soon as General ATKINSON should arrive there with the regular forces.

Governor FORD asserts that General ATKINSON and the officers of the regular army, were so chagrined at the success of General HENRY in overtaking and conquering the Indians at the Wisconsin, that in the pursuit from the Wisconsin to the Bad Ax, Gen. ATKINSON placed the regular soldiers in the advance, and General HENRY and his brigade in the rear, to guard the baggage. This is very far from the truth. From the commencement of the march from the Wisconsin, DODGE's command occupied the post of honor, forming the advanced guard, supported by the regular soldiers under Col. Z. TAYLOR; Illinoisians, with HENRY's as the leading brigade, bringing up the rear. That HENRY's brigade may have marched next to the baggage train of the regular army is no doubt true, but not as its guard.

It cannot be questioned that Generals ATKINSON and BRADY, Colonels Z. TAYLOR and DAVENPORT, and the officers of the regular army serving under them, were well qualified to judge of the qualifications and merits of DODGE and HENRY—no newspaper puffs could impose on them—they well knew to whom to attribute the movement from Fort Winnebago, by which the enemy was overtaken and defeated at the Wisconsin, and those officers felt that the regular army was not degraded when the post of honor was occupied, in the pursuit to the Bad Ax, by General DODGE and the volunteers under his command.

From Governor FORD's account of the battle of the Bad Ax, it would also appear, as if the action was alone fought and won by HENRY and his brigade, while General ATKINSON, with the regular

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* Col. D. M. PARKISON, in his narrative, page 335 of this volume, states, that "nearly all" of Capt. STEPHENSON'S company, with himself at their head, left DODGE and HENRY at Fort Winnebago, and returned to the Mining country. L. C. D.

soldiers and DODGE's volunteers, were following an *ignis fatuus* up the river.

Early in the morning, the spies under Capt. Jo. DICKSON had a skirmish with the Indians, in which he had one of his men severely wounded. Later in the day, after the regular troops and DODGE's volunteers had formed in line and advanced nearly to the top of the bluff overlooking the Mississippi River, DICKSON again attacked the enemy on the river bottom. Directed by the sound of his guns, the regulars and DODGE's volunteers marched directly down the bluff to his support. When they arrived on the ground, they found DICKSON severely wounded, and Gen. HENRY, who with his brigade had followed the Indian trail down a ravine to our left that led to the river, was on the ground, supporting DICKSON. From the point at which DICKSON was wounded, the enemy was followed down the river some distance, when both the regular troops and DODGE's command were engaged with them; and that they had the severest encounter with the enemy is apparent from the number of men they had killed and wounded, which on the part of the regular troops amounted to seventeen,* and on that of DODGE's to seven more, to wit: Captain JOSEPH DICKSON, Sergeant GEORGE WILLARD, privates SMITH, HOOD, LOWERY, SKINNER and PAYNE; of these, SMITH, HOOD and LOWERY died of their wounds. In HENRY's brigade there were but five men killed and wounded.† On the part of the enemy, I saw but one dead squaw and one warrior; there were, however, a large number of squaws and children taken prisoners.

In the pursuit from the Wisconsin to the Bad Ax, it was evident that the Indians were greatly distressed by starvation and sickness; numbers of dead warriors, women and children were found along their trail. Their principal subsistence seemed to be roots and the bark of trees; where they killed a horse for food, there was no vestage of the animal left but the hair. The day

* Gen. ATKINSON'S official report states the loss of the regulars at five killed and four wounded and nine killed and wounded of the Illinois volunteers. L. C. D.

† The official report says seven killed and wounded. L. C. D.

before they were overtaken by the army, they were encountered on the Mississippi River by the steam-boat *Warrior*, on board of which were a number of United States soldiers, under Lieutenant KINGSBURY, with two pieces of artillery; these checked their retreat across the river until towards night, when the boat was compelled to fall back to Prairie du Chien for a supply of fuel. Having supplied herself, she returned the next day at the close of the battle. After transporting a detachment of United States soldiers under Col. Z. TAYLOR, to two large islands in front of the battle ground, where it was supposed there was a number of the enemy, she left next day, carrying General ATKINSON, his staff, and nearly all the U. S. troops and wounded down the river to Fort Crawford. A short time previous to her departure, the celebrated Sioux chief WA-BA-SHAW, with a number of warriors, reported himself to Gen. ATKINSON. He was immediately dispatched in pursuit of the enemy, and the little remnant of BLACK HAWK'S band of men, women and children who had escaped into their own country from starvation and the bayonets and bullets of the white man, were nearly all exterminated by that chief and his warriors, their hereditary foes.*

CHARLES BRACKEN.

April, 1856.

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*BLACK HAWK thus speaks of this needless cruelty: "On my arrival at Prairie du Chien, I found to my sorrow, that a large body of Sioux had pursued and killed a number of our women and children, who had got safely across the Mississippi The whites ought not to have permitted such conduct—none but *cowards* would ever have been guilty of such cruelty, which has always been practised on our nation by the Sioux."

Another incident of the war, which is nowhere mentioned in the narratives of the Wisconsin survivors of the war, was this—gathered from BLACK HAWK'S autobiography, and Gen. ATKINSON'S report of Bad Ax battle. That after the battle of Wisconsin Heights, a party of BLACK HAWK'S followers descended the Wisconsin, hoping to escape to the west side of the Mississippi, that they might return home. But Capt. LOOMIS, who commanded the garrison at Prairie du Chien, and Gen. STREET the Indian Agent, had placed a detachment, a short distance above the mouth of the Wisconsin, under the command of Lieutenant RITNER, who fired upon the distressed and forlorn Indians—capturing thirty-two women and children, and four men, and killing some fifteen men; and BLACK HAWK adds, that "others were drowned, and the balance escaped to the woods and perished with hunger; among this party were many women and children." It is stated in the *Galena Gazette*, of August 6th, that on the 4th of that month, "a party of fifteen men from Cassville, under command of Captain PRICE, were reconnoitering the country between that place and the Wisconsin, and fell upon a fresh Sauk trail, making towards the Mississippi. They rushed with full speed of horses, and soon came upon, killed and took prisoners to the number of twelve." This party of Sauks were probably some of those who had escaped from Lieut. RITNER'S attack.

L. C. D.

APPENDIX No. 13.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ADVENT OF THE NEW YORK INDIANS INTO WISCONSIN.

BY GEN. ALBERT G. ELLIS.

The Holland Land Company had, for many years, held the pre-emption right of purchase from the Indians, to most of the land of Western New York, having derived it from Massachusetts originally, subsequently confirmed by the State of New York. A large purchase was made of the Indians, by PHELPS and GORHAM, of nearly all the lands east of Genesee River. Of the balance, lying *west* of that river, a large cession was made to that company, at a council of the Senecas, held at Geneseo, in Sept. 1797; *excepting certain reservations.* These reservations were large, and included the most choice parts of the whole.

"In 1810, the Holland Land Company sold all their pre-emptive right to the Indian reservations to DAVID A. OGDEN, for fifty cents per acre." Mr. OGDEN and his associates in this purchase were afterward known as the "Ogden Company." Up to 1817, they had succeeded in extinguishing but a part of the Indian title; the large reservations of Cattaraugus, Alleghany, Tonnewanda, Tuscarora, and Buffalo, still remaining. The anxiety of the company to effect the extinguishment of the Indian title to these reservations, and the removal of the Indians, had exhibited itself in various forms, and sundry unsuccessful efforts, for years. In this year, a new plan was conceived, and its accomplishment set on foot, to wit:—to secure in the West, by consent and aid of the

General Government, an extensive grant of lands from the western tribes, as a home or hunting ground for the several tribes holding the reservations in Western New York. This plan was pondered with great care, thoroughly matured, decided and acted upon by the Ogden company, with equal skill and vigor. One of the first steps, was to secure the consent and co-operation of the War Department, which was obtained.

A band of Indians, known as the Stockbridges—more properly the Mo-he-kun-nucks—had moved from Massachusetts at an early day, having obtained a cession of some five by seven miles square from the Oneidas, on the southern border of their reservation, in the county of Oneida, N. Y. The Mo-he-kun-nucks sold off a small tract on their southern border, to a few associated Indians from the remnants of various bands of New England tribes, now known as the *Brothertowns*. These two tribes had resided for several years on their new possessions near the Oneidas.

About the year 1817, a young leader, chief of the Mo-he-kun-nucks, Solomon U. Hendrick, a man of much more than ordinary energy and talent among the Indians, succeeded to the head of affairs. He regarded the languishing condition of his people as a reproach to the former name and glory of the old Mo-he-kun-nucks, and used all his eloquence to persuade the young men to arouse, and make at least one effort to retrieve their name and character. He argued, with equal force and sound reason, that their then paralyzed condition was owing to their confinement to a small space of ground, and being surrounded and preyed upon, by the white inhabitants, from whose pernicious contact and example, especially with regard to drunkenness, they were sustaining a loss of all moral and physical energy and action; and urged, that their only hope for the future lay in *emigration westward*, and the securing of such an extent of country, as would enable them to form new settlements, at such distance from the whites, as to escape from grog-shops and whiskey.

Their resident missionary, Rev. John Sergeant, fell in with and seconded the views of the young chief. In a short time the whole

tribe was indoctrinated with the new scheme, and anxious for its consummation. The American Board of Missions gave their influence and aid; through whose suggestions the late Dr. Jedediah Morse, of New Haven, became deeply interested in the plan. This gentleman counselled the Indians and their friends to take immediate measures to have a visit paid, by some discreet agents, to the Western tribes, to select a proper point for location, and open negotiations for a cession of lands. Dr. Morse himself was thought to be the very person to undertake such a mission. Application being made to the Secretary of War, Dr. Morse was commissioned to make a general tour among the North-Western Indians, with a view to forming a better understanding between those tribes and the Government. Under this appointment, this gentleman spent the summer of 1820 in visiting several of the North-Western tribes. Whatever other purposes may have occupied the attention of this commissioner, it is certain that of securing a western retreat for the Stockbridges and other New York Indian tribes was a leading one; though the writer has no evidence of any collusion in the matter, at this date, with the Ogden Land Company. Green Bay was a point specially visited by Dr. Morse, where he spent nearly three weeks, and preached the first protestant sermon ever delivered at that place.*

It must not be omitted here, that a part of the same tribe, adhering to a chief of much influence, named John Metoxen, about the same period, sought a western asylum among the Miami Indians, on White River, in Indiana, and actually moved out to that country in 1817 and 1818†. The United States Government, however, purchased out the Miamies, and with that purchase fell the expectations of Metoxen and his adherents to a

* Dr. Morse remained fifteen days at Green Bay, from the 7th to the 23d of July, 1820, as we learn from his Report. He was the guest of Col. J. Smith, then commandant of that garrison. L. C. D.

† The Miamies had, many years before, given the Stockbridges a large tract of land on White River, and confirmed it in July, 1817, and that summer two Stockbridge families moved there and took possession of the land, and the next year a large body migrated, but before their arrival, the Miamies had ceded their country to the Federal Government. L. C. D.

home in that country. The whole party moved to Green Bay in 1822.

A remarkable personage appeared among the Oneida Indians in the year 1816–17, no other than Eleazer Williams, a descendant of Rev. John Williams, of Deerfield memory, but who more recently claims to be the Dauphin of France—Louis Seventeenth. It is no part of the present purpose to discuss his claims to be Dauphin, nor even to enter into his former history previous to his appearance at Oneida, further than to account for his location with that tribe. As a descendant of Rev. John Williams*, he was sought out by the friends of the family, at the age of fourteen, and placed with Dr. Ely, of Long Meadow; he remained among the people of New England five years, after which he returned to his father, Thomas Williams, one of the St. Regis' Indians. Arrived at that village from his studies in New England, he was soon approached by the Roman Catholics, who proposed to him to accept authority from their Bishop as teacher to the Indians of his tribe. This was in 1811. The war of 1812 called him to a new sphere. By invitation, he joined Gen. Brown's army, under good pay, in *confidential* service; collecting through the Canada Indians important information of the movement of the British troops, and thereby, in several instances, rendering very important service to the American interests. He was in the affairs at Plattsburg and Sackett's Harbor, leading the French and Indians in those engagements, in one of which he received a wound from a splinter in the left side.

After the war he returned to St. Regis. Of an ambitious turn of mind, he did not long remain quiet in that village. In the summer of 1816, he made a tour in the State of New York, among the several tribes of the Six Nations. The Oneidas received him with kindness and attention. They were more inclined to civili-

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* The Rev. John Williams and family were captured in 1704, and taken to Canada, and his daughter, Eunice, remained, became a firm Catholic, and married an Indian, by whom she had several children. With her Indian husband, she subsequently visited Deerfield, dressed in Indian style, and all efforts to regain her were ineffectual. From her descends Eleazer Williams. L. C. D.

zation, and a party of them to christianity, than any other tribe of the Six Nations. Making his observations and reflections on their condition, after a short visit, he went to New York, sought an interview with the late Bishop HOBART, gave him an account of the condition of these Indians, and submitted to him a plan for their christianization, and the engrossing of the whole tribe in the Episcopal Church. The Bishop readily fell in with the suggestions of Mr. WILLIAMS, and immediately commissioned him as Catechist and Lay Reader to the Oneida Indians. WILLIAMS, besides being tolerably versed in the christian system and in theology, was thorough master of the Indian language, his mother tongue, besides being a natural orator and most graceful and powerful speaker, the *sine qua non* of persuasion and success with Indians.

He found at Oneida a nominal christian party, and the name only of a church under the patronage of the Presbyterians, a Mr. JENKINS being missionary. JENKINS was weak, inefficient, without influence; and his *cure* partook of the like character; the numbers were small, and the congregation on the decline. WILLIAMS saw at a glance his vantage ground. He told the Oneidas, it was a mistake in that order of christians to intrude themselves among Oneidas, and called to their recollection the fact, that two venerable missionaries of the London Missionary Society of the Church of England had many years ago planted the gospel among them. That old Dr. BARCLAY and Dr. OGILVIE,* of that church, had been specially commissioned by the Great Head of the church, to baptize the Oneidas, and that he, WILLIAMS, had been sent by the same divine authority to remind them of the claims of that church, and to bring them back to their allegiance. Instant success attended these addresses. Many of the older Indians of both sexes remembered Dr. BARCLAY and Dr. OGILVIE, and confirmed the statements and claims of the young Catechist:

*Rev. HENRY BARCLAY and Rev. JOHN OGILVIE were both, at different periods, missionaries to the Mohawks—the former at Fort Hunter in 1735, and the latter in 1756–'62; notices of them may be seen in Doc. Hist., N. Y. ii, 714, iii, 1152, iv, 310. L. C. D.

the whole christian party very soon forgot JENKINS, and hung on the teachings of WILLIAMS.

But his views went further; four-fifths of the whole tribe were Pagans, and held christianity in utter abhorrence; and the conversion of this part of the tribe now engaged his attention. Assuming a tone of authority, and demanding of them to listen to a message to them from the Great Spirit, he assembled them in the open air, and challenged them either to obey or refute the Gospel. In a few weeks the Pagan party made a formal renunciation of paganism, and recognized christianity as taught by the Protestant Episcopal Church as the true faith, and announced their determination, as a tribe, to receive it and encourage its promulgation among the people. The following winter, the chief of this party, taking WILLIAMS and their interpreter, repaired to Albany, and there treated with the Governor of the State for a cession of a part of their reservation, for the express purpose of building a Protestant Episcopal Church, and providing a small fund for the support of a minister. The church was built in course of the year—a very neat edifice, about thirty-six by fifty feet, with a small tower, tastefully painted, and otherwise fitted up in an appropriate manner for a place of worship. WILLIAMS entered it as minister, though not as yet ordained; and the worthy Bishop was called to consecrate it, and confirm about fifty communicants.

The eclat of this sudden success of the Gospel at Oneida, under the efforts of Mr. WILLIAMS, sped far and wide, and brought him suddenly to great notice, and to a dizzy height. Had he been content to have continued in the work there, he might have been very useful to the Indians, and an honor to the Church. But the field was quite too small for his vaulting ambition: the little band of some fifteen hundred Oneidas, too incomparative to compensate his time and talent.

Whether Mr. WILLIAMS borrowed the idea from Dr. MORSE,* the

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* "This was a plan of Dr. MORSE'S," said Rev. JOHN SERGEANT in a letter, dated Dec. 16, 1821; and Dr. MORSE appears to have been in correspondence with Mr. SERGEANT about it, as early as June, 1818.—See MORSE'S *Indian Report*, appendix, 115, 118. L. C. D.

Mo-he-kun-nucks, or the Ogden Land Company, or whether it was, as he stoutly maintained, original in his own mind, certain it is, that some time in 1818, he began to broach cautiously among his Indian people a proposition of removing all the Indians of that State, as well as many of those of Canada, and the Senecas at Sandusky, to the neighborhood of Green Bay, and there unite them in one grand confederacy of cantons, but all under one federal head; the government to be a mixture of civil, military, and ecclesiastic, the latter to be pre-eminient. Grand, imposing and fascinating in the extreme were the plans and designs of the new government, which he conceived and embodied, to lay before the Indian Chiefs. With some of the younger men, the thing took deeply; but with the older and more sober minded chiefs, it had no charm, and his late popularity, so high, now descended more quickly than it had risen.

Seeming to withdraw his proposition, he however adroitly plied his ingenuity with the younger men of note and talent in the tribe, and very soon succeeded in drawing into his plans some four or five of the young hereditary chiefs. Having secured this point among the Oneidas, he visited the other tribes of the Six Nations, and by holding out dazzling promises of future glory and aggrandizement, he enticed a few young men of each tribe to enter into his scheme. He next addressed the War Department, in imitation of the Stockbridges, soliciting its countenance and assistance to enable a delegation of twenty from the several tribes of the Six Nations to visit the Western tribes, for the purpose of obtaining a cession of country for a new home. The response of the Department was favorable, having doubtless been influenced by other parties moving for the same objects.

Thus, it is to be observed, that whether singular or not, there was a combination of influences, dissimilar in motive but perfectly consonant in purpose, all operating at the same moment in urging a removal of the New York Indians to Green Bay. Each one of the parties claimed the eclat of originating the scheme: we incline to the belief, however, that they all, the Land Company, the

Mo he-kun-nucks and Mr. WILLIAMS, might, and probably did conceive, at pretty near the same period of time, the idea of a new home for these Indians in the West. But to proceed: In the winter of 1819 and '20, the application of the Oneidas, Tuscaroras, Senecas, Onondagas, St. Regis and Stockbridge delegates (the latter acting independent and separate) was made to the War Department, for permission to visit the Indians in the neighborhood of Green Bay. The response of the Department was made by granting them a copy of an order to the several Superintendents of Indian affairs, and Commandants of military posts, to issue to the delegates, not exceeding twelve, certain amounts of rations, blankets, powder, lead, &c., and to facilitate their movements on their journey. The Superintendent of Indian affairs at Detroit was moreover ordered to make a requisition, on the naval officer stationed at that place, for a U. S. vessel, should one be at that post fit for service, to be put at the disposal of the delegates to take them across Lake Huron and Michigan to Green Bay. Thus equipped, in July of 1820, the delegation repaired to Detroit*, and paid their respects to Gen. CASS.

As Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Gov. CASS received the party courteously; but it was soon apparent that as Governor of Michigan, the project of New York's quartering her Indian tribes on his territory, would receive no special encouragement, beyond the line of his duty, in obedience to the orders of his superiors. By him the delegates were furnished with the blankets, powder, lead, rations, &c.; but were informed that no Government vessels

* In the *Detroit Gazette* of Friday, July 28, 1820, we find the following mention of Mr. WILLIAMS' arrival and mission: "Rev E. WILLIAMS, who has for several years past been officiating as a preacher for the Oneida Indians, in the State of New York, arrived here in the steamboat *Walk-in-the-water* last Saturday. He is accompanied by some of the men of the tribe, who constitute a delegation to visit the Indians in this Territory, for the purpose of ascertaining the prospect of success in the endeavor to christianize them. We learn that it is a further object with the delegation, to find a suitable tract of country within the Territory, to which the Oneida Indians, or a part of them, will remove—for this purpose the country in the vicinity of Green Bay will be visited. No doubt can be entertained of the importance of this project. The influence which the example of Indians who are in a great measure civilized, will have over the habits of their more unfortunate brethren, will, perhaps, have much more effect in weaning them from their savage modes of living, than all the theoretical lessons which can be given them by white men." L. C. D.

were fit for the service.* They were further informed, (and the news was astounding enough,) that their proposed journey to Green Bay, if for the purpose of treating with the Menomonees, would be quite unnecessary, as that tribe had a few days before ceded to the United States, Col. JOHN BOWYER, Indian Agent at Green Bay, acting as commissioner, *forty miles square* of their land in the immediate vicinity of Fort Howard. The eye of their intended purchase, the key to the country they sought—this purchase by the United States frustrated all their plans, defeated their dearest hopes. Chagrined but not discouraged, the delegates retraced their steps to New York. That State took the cause of its Indians in keeping. BOWYER's treaty was rejected by the Senate, and the ground again cleared of the impediments.

A new order was issued from the War Department to the Superintendents of Indian Affairs, and the commandants of military forts in favor of the delegates, for a renewal of their effort in 1821. Fourteen delegates went, three from the Stockbridges, four from the Oneidas, one from the Onondagas, two from the Tuscarora's, three from the Senecas, and one from the St. Regis, and arrived in Detroit in July of that year. Gov. CASS again received them courteously, but informed them that the French inhabitants at Green Bay were hostile to their intentions. The steam-boat *Walk-in-the-water* being expected in a few days on her trip to Green Bay, with a detachment of United States troops for that post, it was determined by the delegates to take passage in her. Gov. CASS added to the party, CHARLES C. TROWBRIDGE, clerk in his Indian Bureau, to superintend the negotiations for the United States. The party arrived at its destination early in August, 1821.† No Indian Agent was found at Green Bay, Colonel

* From HANSON'S *Lost Prince*, it appears that Gov. CASS was absent holding a treaty, as he says, with the Pottawattamies at Maumee River—but really on his exploring expedition to the copper region of Lake Superior—and Lieut. Gov. WOODBRIDGE, with whom they conferred, declined furnishing them aid, as he said he had no authority to assist them. L. C. D.

† The *Detroit Gazette* of July 13th, 1821, thus notices the arrival at Detroit of Mr. WILLIAMS and his delegation: "Arrived yesterday morning in the steamboat *Walk-in-the-water*, the Rev. ELEAZER WILLIAMS, missionary to the Oneida Indians, with a deputation of the Six Nations, who are on their way to

Bowyer having died the winter before, and the vacancy not having been filled.

The Menomonees and Winnebagoes having been apprised of the intended visit of their *grandfathers*, the *Not-ta-ways*, but a few days delay occurred before they appeared on the bank of Fox River, to meet their Eastern brethren. The reception of the delegates was cordial by the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, and had there not been a third party to interfere, the New York Indians would probably very soon have accomplished their object. The French inhabitants and half breeds settled at Green Bay, numbered about five hundred souls*; their alliance with the In-

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visit their brethren in the vicinity of Green Bay. The object of those who compose this mission, is (under the auspices of the General Government,) not only to endeavor to plant the gospel among the Western Indians, but to treat with them for a tract of their territory, with a view hereafter to locate themselves, and such of their brethren as may be disposed to remove to that region. Thus it appears that our Government is not only willing, but is using practical means to ameliorate the condition o this unhappy people, and by an effort to concentrate and christianize them, rescue them from gradu.. extermination, their name from oblivion, and render them happy here and hereafter."

Mr. Williams and his party left Detroit on the 31st of July, in the *Walk-in-the-water*, with upwards of 200 passengers, mostly connected with the army, and arrived at Green Bay on the 5th of August. A corporal of the U. S. Infantry, who was a passenger in the boat, was drowned in attempting to swim the Fox River at Green Bay.

On this visit to Green Bay, Gen. Ellis accompanied Mr. Williams. In Hanson's *Lost Prince*, we find it stated, "As the mission at Oneida has suffered greatly in consequence of his [Mr. Williams] absence in 1820, he procured immediately on his return from the West, in the fall of that year, the services of a young gentleman of the name of Ellis, to act as lay reader. The health of Mr. Ellis was weak, and, in the spring of 1821, Mr. Williams determined to take him with him to the West for the benefit of his health." For some time Mr. Ellis acted as sch ool teacher for the mission school of the New York Indians, near Green Bay. Remaining in the countr y, Mr. Ellis has proved himself a useful citizen. He executed, at Green Bay , in 1827, the first printing i n Wisconsin. It was printing tickets for a lottery scheme, which was done on brevier type, and instead of a press, a "plainer" was used to take the impression. When the *Green Bay Intelligencer*, the pioneer newspaper of Wisconsin, was commenced, Dec. 11th, 1833, by J. V. Suydam, Mr. Ellis, after two or three numbers were issued, became connected with it; and twenty years later, we find him establishing the *Pinery* newspaper at Stevens Point, high up the Wisconsin. In the first Territorial Legislature, in 1836, he served as one of the representatives of Brown county, and again in 1840, '41, '42 and '43. He is now Register of the U. S. Land Office at Stevens Point. L. C. D.

* The French inhabitants consisted of two classes. 1st. Of former clerks of the old North West Fur Company, who had located there in early times, for the express purpose of Indian trade. These were generally men of good common education, intelligent, shrewd and of great influence with the Indians, among whom they had married. 2d. Of such men, engagees in the Indian trade, as had from age or infirmity become disabled from pursuing the voyaging business, and had retired, taking up small patches of land, and finding subsistence in a kind of mixed life of agriculture and hunting; they, too, were all married with Indian women, had half breed families, and exercised a strong influence over the natives. A. G. E.

dians, particularly the Menomonees, was very close, and their influence with them very strong, almost potential. Some of the more shrewd among them very soon penetrated the ambitious design of Williams, which was no less than a total subjugation of the whole country, and the establishment of an Indian government, of which he was to be the sole dictator. The French and traders immediately organized into an opposition to the whole programme of the delegates. They were familiar with the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, present at their debates, counselled and advised with them in their deliberations, and when the answer of the Menomonees and Winnebagoes was given, it was a deliberate and decided refusal to cede them an inch of soil west of Lake Michigan. It was plain to all, that the French and half breeds had answered, and not the Indians. The delegates expressed as much in their reply and affectionately requested their brothers to re-consider the matter, and answer for themselves, independent of the French and half breeds.

Several days were spent by both parties in out-door discussions; the French and half breed interest, finding their position not safely tenable, counselled a kind of compromise, which being adopted, resulted in proposing a cession to their Eastern brethren, the Not-ta-ways, of a strip of land five miles in width, running across the Fox River at Little Chute as a centre, and thence to the North-west and South-east, equi-distant with their claims or possessions. In offering this cession to the delegates as their ultimatum, these tribes urged their limited possessions, the poverty of their hunting grounds, and their inability in consequence to subsist their people! The possessions of the Menomonees then reached from the mouth of Green Bay to the Milwaukee River, North and South, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, South-east and North-west. Those of the Winnebagoes included all the remainder of what is now known as Southern Wisconsin, except the inconsiderable tract west of Sugar River, claimed by the Sauks and Foxes. They were very much crowded, of course! The delegates saw that the object was, by placing them on a

great thoroughfare, the Fox River, between these two tribes, to establish such a surveillance over them as effectually to prevent any design or movement the New York Indians might ever attempt, contrary to the wishes or interests of the grantees, or the French inhabitants. After much deliberation, and a good deal of hesitation, it was concluded on the advice chiefly of HENDRICK, the Mo-he-kun-nuck chief, to accept the grant. A treaty was accordingly drawn up by Mr. TROWBRIDGE, and signed by the parties on the 18th of August, and witnessed by the citizens and U. S. officers at the post. Five hundred dollars were paid the Menomonees and Winnebagoes at the time, and fifteen hundred dollars stipulated to be paid in goods the following year, in full for the cession.

On returning to New York, Mr. WILLIAMS found a more formidable opposition to his proceedings, than he had met with at Green Bay. The Oneidas had held several councils disapproving of the whole plan of removing to Green Bay, condemning Mr. WILLIAMS' movements in the most severe terms, formally and solemnly repudiating the purchase at the West, and announcing, in the most earnest manner possible, their determination never to remove. All the other tribes, except the St. Regis, very soon took corresponding action on the subject, and censured in the severest manner the young men, delegates, who had assumed as such, to pledge the several tribes to their Western brethren. These proceedings were duly laid before the War Department. The Oneidas immediately divided into two parties on this question, as did also the Onondagas and Tuscaroras. The Senecas, as a body, all remained under the influence of their head chief, steadily opposed.

The tact and skill of WILLIAMS among the Indians, and the Ogden Land Company with the Department, enabled the friends of the measure to prosecute it still farther; all the old delegates in all the tribes remained true, and induced considerable numbers of their immediate friends to join them. They had no idea of remaining satisfied with the trifling cession obtained of the

Menomonees and Winnebagoes in 1821, but determined on a renewed effort the next year for its extension. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the opposition, a new order was obtained from the War Department, providing for another visit to Green Bay. The delegation was still larger than the former year. JOHN SERGEANT, Jr., was commissioned by Gov. CASS to superintend such further negotiations as might be had, on the part of the United States. The party arrived at the Bay on the 1st of September, 1822, and took possession of the old Indian Agency House, on the west side of the Fox, which had been vacated by the decease of Col. BOWYER.

In about ten days the Menomonees and Winnebagoes assembled to greet their new friends the *Not ta-ways*, as they called the New York Indians, and to receive the $1500 payment, in goods, on the cession of 1821. Such an assemblage of wild Indians, young and old, women and papooses, was seldom seen. Of the two tribes, there could not have been less than five thousand souls, besides the New Yorkers, the French, half breeds, and Americans. The best specimen of Indian character, and especially of a war dance, ever seen by the writer, was there given for several days. The Winnebagoes, of that day at least, exhibited the largest, most perfectly formed set of both men and women, almost ever seen anywhere. The great display of action and muscle in these dances, struck the beholder with admiration and terror. The ring round the dancers contained several thousand, all singing in chorus to the lead of the chief drummer; the voices of the Winnebago women prevailing in clarion tones above the whole.

The payment of the fifteen hundred dollars worth of goods, was made with as much ceremony as possible by the delegates, accompanied by a set speech setting forth the great advantages that would be derived to their Western brethren by their settling among them. After the payment and the proper receipts of acknowledgment on the treaties, followed feasting, dancing, and a general hilarity for two days. The delegates then invited the Menomonees and Winnebagoes to a formal council, and renewed

the effort for a further extension of territory. Every argument and a most liberal offer in the shape of annuities for ten years, were proposed in vain. The Winnebagoes gave the answer, stoutly refusing further negotiations. That tribe soon left in a body to repair to their hunts. The Menomonees lingered, and were again got into council with the delegates, which conference continued for several days, and finally resulted in the great transaction which gave the New York Indians the foot-hold on Fox River, which they have in part maintained to this day. The Menomonees, for a trifling consideration, ceded to the New York Indians a *right in common* to the whole of their lands. Although some two of the principal chiefs were not present to join in this important cession, this treaty, as well as the one of the previous year, were approved by the President, and the New York Indians thereby recognized as joint owners with the Menomonees of all their immense territories comprising nearly half of the State of Wisconsin.*

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* This treaty or purchase included all the country, beginning at the Grand Kakalin, on Fox River, thence east on the lower line of the purchase of the New York Indians of the preceding year, to or equi-distant with the Man-a-wah-ki-ah (Milwaukee) River; thence down said river to its mouth; thence northerly, on the borders of Lake Michigan, to and across the mouth of Green Bay, so as to include all the islands of the Grand Traverse; thence from the mouth of Green Bay northerly, to the Bay de Noque, on Lake Michigan; thence a westerly course, on the heighth of land separating the waters of Lakes Superior and Michigan, to the head of the Menomonee River; thence continuing nearly the same course until it strikes the north-eastern boundary line of the land purchased by the New York Indians the year preceding, and thence south-easterly to the place of beginning. This appears to have been a complete cession of "all the right, title, interest and claim" of the Menomonees, to the country described, reserving, however, "the free permission and privilege of occupying and residing upon the lands herein ceded, in common with them—the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis and Munsee nations; *Provided nevertheless*, That they, the Menomonee nation, shall not in any manner infringe upon any settlements or improvements whatever, which may be in any manner made by the said Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, or Munsee nations." The consideration was one thousand dollars in goods to be paid in hand, and one thousand dollars more in goods the next year, and a similar amount the year following. This treaty was concluded Sept. 23d, 1822. But President MONROE did not approve, to its full extent, this purchase; his approval, bearing date March 13th, 1823, is thus qualified: "The aforegoing instrument is approved so far as it conveys to the Stockbridge, Oneida, Tuscarora, St. Regis, and Munsee tribes or nations of Indians, that portion of the country therein described, which lies between Sturgeon Bay, Green Bay, Fox River, that part of the former purchase made by said tribes or nations of Indians of the Menomonee and Winnebago Indians, on the 8th of August, 1821, which lies south of Fox River, and a line drawn from the south-eastern extremity of said purchase to the head of Sturgeon Bay, and no further; that quantity being deemed sufficient for the use of the first before-mentioned tribes or nations of Indians." This treaty, and that of the preceding year, may be found in full, appended to the Address of Hon. MORGAN L. MARTIN before the *Wisconsin State Historical Society*, Jan. 21, 1851. L. C. D.

The small immigrant party of some fifty of the Stockbridges, which came on this year, located late in the fall at the Grand Kakalin, on the east side of the Fox River. The year following, another tribe, which had joined the Mo-he-kun-nucks in the purchase, to wit, the Munsees, became identified in the interest, and a small party of the Brothertowns reached Green Bay the following year, and located at Little Kakalin, on the east side of the river.

The several tribes of the New York Indians now hoped to be able to occupy, without further hindrance or trouble, their new homes, jointly with the Menomonees; but subsequent events proved their wishes but half attained. The whites and traders at Green Bay saw that the Menomonees had been grossly overreached by their new friends, the New York Indians, in a bargain. They very soon showed that tribe, that in making the *Not-ta-ways* equal owners with them in their country, they could no longer control their own affairs, especially in the great business of treating with their great Father; that the New York Indians, if their treaties were to stand, would, in a short time, out-general them in tactics, and probably in numbers, and put them completely in the back ground in all public matters. The arguments had their effect, and in a short time the Menomonees repented of the bargain, and sought means to invalidate the treaties. The same ingenuity which had helped them to a dislike, found a ready pretext for denying and repudiating the treaties, especially the last one. It was said, that at the treaty of 1822, several of the chiefs highest in authority were not present, which, being true, gave the tribe a good reason for denying and with-holding sanction to the arrangement. As usual in such cases, the Menomonees separated into two parties, the one adhering to the treaties and the interest of the New York Indians, the other denying them and resisting their rights to any part of the country. The adverse party had the support of all the trading interest, together with most of the half breeds, and soon became the strongest, both in point of influence and numbers.

Things were scarcely more favorable to the New York Indians in that State than in the West. The opposition to the whole plan became stronger with time, and great bitterness of feeling evinced itself by every sort of evil, and often false and slanderous report, about the Western Indians and country. Not one of the Senecas, Tuscaroras, or Onondagas, would hear a word of emigration. A small party of Oneidas, together with a second one of the Stockbridges, came out in 1823—the former under the lead of NEDDY ATSIQUET, located at Little Kakalin, where they remained until 1825, when they removed to Duck Creek.

With the opposition of a large part of the Menomonees to the treaties, and that of most of the several New York tribes to emigration, the Stockbridges, and a few of the Oneidas, being the only ones who had come out, things wore on with a discouraging prospect for the ultimate success of WILLIAMS' grand scheme, and the views and interests of the Ogden Company, till the year 1827, when the matter of the rights of the New York Indians came up before the council, at the treaty of Butte Des Morts, Hon. LEWIS CASS and Col. THOMAS L. MCKINNEY, commissioners.* The second

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* It was at this treaty, that OSHKOSH, the present head Chief of the Menomonees, was first recognized. After the Council was opened, Gov. CASS said: "We have observed for some time the Menomonees to be in a bad situation as to their chiefs. There is no one we can talk to as the head of the nation. If anything should happen, we want some man, who has authority in the nation, that we can look to. You appear like a flock of geese, without a leader, some fly one way and some another. To-morrow, at the opening of the Council, we shall appoint a principal chief of the Menomonees. We shall make enquiry this afternoon, and try to select the proper man. We shall give him the medal, and expect the Menomonees to respect him." A. G. E.

From HANSON'S *Lost Prince*, or Life of Rev. ELEAZER WILLIAMS, we make the following notice of OSHKOSH, as related in that work in connection with the treaty of Butte des Morts, in 1827: "On August 7th, two young men were called in front of the commissioners (one named OISCOSS, alias CLAW, the other was called CARRON.) Col. MCKINNEY then addressed them, and put medals around their necks. OISCOSS or OSKOSHE, as the name is spelled in the printed treaty, was made head chief, and the future organ of communication with the Commissioners—and thus, by his instrumentality, the property of the New York Indians was given over to the United States. A short story, which Mr. WILLIAMS told me in conversation, will show who OISCOSS was, and what a 'proper person' was found in him. One morning, at dawn of day, about a year previous to the treaty of Butte des Morts, a young half breed Indian, who was a distant relative of MRS. JOURDAN, the mother-in-law of Mr. WILLIAMS, was paddling in his canoe down Hell Creek, a branch of the Fox River. It was still dark, so that objects could not be distinctly discerned. As he glided by the tall rushes growing near the bank, he observed them move, as if some animal was among them. Supposing it to be a deer, he fired at the spot where he saw the motion, and then paddled through an opening in the reeds to see the effect of his shot.

article of that treaty is in the following words, to wit: "Much difficulty having arisen from the negotiation between the Menomonee and Winnebago tribes, and the various tribes and portions of tribes of Indians of the State of New York, and the claims of the respective parties being much contested, as well with relation to the tenure and boundaries of the two tracts, claimed by the said New York Indians west of Lake Michigan, as to the authority of the persons who signed the agreement on the part of the Menomonees, and the whole subject having been examined at the council this day concluded, and the allegations, proofs and statements of the respective parties having been entered upon the journal of the commissioners, so that the same can be decided by the President of the United States; it is agreed by the Menomonees and Winnebagoes, that so far as respects their interest in the premises, the whole matter shall be referred to the President of the United States, whose decision shall be final. And the President is authorized, on their parts, to establish such boundaries between them and the New York Indians, as he may consider equitable and just." The United States Senate, in its ratification of this treaty, took care to save the New York Indians, by providing "that the said treaty shall not impair or effect any right or claim which the New York Indians, or any of them, have

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To his inexpressible horror, he found an Indian in his canoe, which was half drawn on shore, drooping lifelessly over the side of his bark, with a shot through his head. As the deed was accidental, he had no wish to conceal it, and putting the body in his own canoe, paddled down to Green Bay, to the encampment of Oiscoss, as the Indian killed belonged to his party. On landing, he went str it to Oiscoss, and informed him of what had happened, when Oiscoss, who was drunk at the time, drew his knife, and plunging it repeatedly into his body, continued stabbing him till he was dead. He was arrested for murder, but as he was a man of great influence among the Indians, was acquitted. But though he had escaped the law, there was another tribunal, of a different kind, to which he was still exposed. There is a traditional institution among the Indians, very similar to the avenger of blood. Mrs. Jourdan, as the relative of the slain, and a *medicine woman*, had only, according to the custom of the nation, to take a pipe and a war-club, and lay them down at the feet of any of the chiefs of the Menomonees, and pronounce the name '*Oiscoss*,' in order to insure a just and immediate retribution. When the day appointed for the council at Butte des Morts drew near, fearing that unless he was reconciled with her, his life might be taken, he proceeded to her house, acknowledged the murder, threw himself on her mercy, and implored pardon. It was granted, and the only punishment he received was the fierce invective which the eloquent tongue of an indignant woman can bestow." L. C. D.

to the lands, or any of the lands, mentioned in the said treaty," which was just equivalent to rejecting the second article of the treaty altogether.

In 1830, Messrs. Erastus Root and James McCall, of New York, and John T. Mason, Secretary of Michigan, were appointed commissioners by the United States to effect between the contending Indians an adjustment of the whole matter. They arrived at Green Bay in August, and immediately assembled the Menomonees and New York Indians. Eight days were spent in council, and great exertions used by the commissioners to bring the party to terms. The Menomonees were inflexible. Oshkosh, a powerful and influential chief, was at the head of the nation. He confessed to no knowledge whatever of the claims of the New York Indians; said as they were in the country, they could stay during good behavior, but must be regarded as tenants at will, and in no sense considered as owners or controllers of the soil. Several of the other chiefs held the same language. The commission broke up, effecting nothing.

Col. Samuel C. Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, was appointed Indian Agent to succeed Henry B. Brevoort, who had been removed. The new agent soon became acquainted with the relative position of the contending parties, and espoused the interests of the Menomonees, traders and whites, in opposition to the New York Indians. He affected to have examined the several treaties, and the whole ground of the claims under them, and told the Menomonees that they were without validity or force, and that duty to themselves and their children demanded an absolute denial of the whole claim. No advice could have gone farther to place him in favor with, and in the confidence of, this tribe. The Agent told the chiefs, that no other tribe of Indians in the United States was so poor as they were; that with a wide waste of lands entirely useless to them, they had not a dollar of annuity, while many of their neighbors received annually twenty to fifty thousand dollars; that, happily for them, he had been sent among

them, just in time to save them from the rapacity of Indian and white sharpers from New York, and that now they could in place of giving away their country to the New Yorkers, sell a small portion of it to the United States, and have heavy annuities for all time to come. It was unnecessary for him to repeat the argument. His plan was as much opposed by the French and traders as that of the New York Indians had been, but without the least effect. The Menomonees were for going to Washington and making a treaty to get annuities. STAMBAUGH applied to Gov. CASS, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, for permission to take ten of the Menomonee chiefs to Washington that fall—got a flat refusal, to which he paid not the least attention, but left Green Bay with fourteen Menomonees on the 8th November, 1830. Arriving at Detroit about the 20th, he was received with evident surprise and reserve by the Superintendent. Prolific in excuses, he soon made it fair weather with Gov. CASS, who sanctioned the proceeding, and added ROBERT A. FORSYTH, his special confidant in all Indian matters, and JOHN T. MASON, late Secretary of Michigan Territory, to the delegation.

Mr. WILLIAMS, and DANIEL BREAD, principal chief of the Oneidas, had followed up Col. STAMBAUGH to Detroit, and were by Gov. CASS also added to the party, all of which were now under Col. STAMBAUGH, as Indian Agent from Green Bay, travelling toward Washington at public charge. The 11th of December found the whole party at Washington, and duly recognized by Hon. Mr. EATON, the Secretary of War, and Gen. JACKSON, President of the United States. The occasion was one of intense interest to all parties concerned. JOHN W. QUINNEY, one of the Stockbridge tribe, (HENDRICK having died four years before) was in attendance for the Stockbridges. THOS. L. OGDEN, Esq., of New York, protected the rights of the New York Indians, and incidentally the interests of the Ogden Land Company, who had not yet abandoned the hope of procuring the proper location, and inducing several bands of Senecas to migrate to Green Bay.

The Menomonees were formally presented to the President, and

the chief speaker, GRIZZLY BEAR, or *Kaush-kaw-no-niew**, announced the object of their visit, to clear a friendly path between their lodges and the President's mansion, to cement a lasting and perpetual friendship between his people and those of his Great Father; and finally, to give him a small piece of their land, and to beg an annual remembrance of their Great Father in the shape of an annuity. In all this, not a word was said, or an allusion made, to the New York Indians, although they were present at the presentation. The President replied kindly to the speech, promised them every attention during their stay at the seat of Government, and referred them to Gen. EATON, Secretary of War, and Col. STAMBAUGH, whom he named as commissioners to treat with them, for an answer to their proposition to sell lands. The New York Indians and their friends watched the proceedings with painful, fearful interest. They saw their claims to the Menomonee country were to be put on trial before Gen. EATON and Col. STAMBAUGH as commissioners, one of whom, at least, they knew to be hostile to their dearest rights. They called separately on the Secretary, and made known to him briefly their position, and the ground of their rights. Gen. EATON was really candid, and well disposed to see full justice done them; and they were indebted to him alone for the meagre provision finally made for them in the treaty.

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* A Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Republican*, gives the following interesting anecdote of GRIZZLY BEAR, while on this visit to Washington: "We met Col. STAMBAUGH to-day in the rotunda of the Capitol, and while we were looking at the representations over the door-ways of the rotunda, the veteran Indian Agent told us, that in 1830, with a delegation of Menomonee Indians, he visited the Capitol, and explained the nature and design of the stone groups in the rotunda, when the chief, GRIZZLY BEAR, turned to the eastern door-way, over which there is a representation of the landing of the Pilgrims, and said: '*There Ingin give white man corn;*' and to the north, representing PENN'S treaty: '*There Ingin give um land;*' and to the west, where POCAHONTAS is seen saving the life of Captain JOHN SMITH: '*There Ingin give um life;*' and lastly to the south, where the hardy pioneer, DANIEL BOONE, is seen plunging his knife into the breast of one red man, while his foot rests on the dead body of another: '*There white man kill Ingin.*'"

Though the representation relative to BOONE is in fact without foundation, still the old chief's conclusions and sarcasm are expressed with sententious brevity and striking effect.

KAUSH-KAW-NO-NIEW or *the Great Speaker*, was a man of great personal dignity. His name of GRIZZLY BEAR was given him, for convenience sake, by Col. STAMBAUGH. He died about three or four years after the treaty of 1831. L. C. D.

After several delays, and much informal negotiation, in which the claims of the New York Indians were thoroughly discussed, the commissioners and the Menomonees finally met on the 8th of February, 1831, when the treaty, since familiarly known as the *Stambaugh treaty*, was definitely concluded, and signed by the parties. The New York Indians were not parties to the treaty. In order to a proper understanding of the subject, it is necessary to make copious extracts. The treaty sets forth the boundaries as claimed by the Menomonees, taking all the lands east of Fox River, Green Bay and Lake Winnebago, and from Fond du Lac south-easterly to the sources of the Milwaukee River, and down the same to its mouth—this tract was ceded to the United States. They claimed westerly and north-westerly, everything west of Green Bay from the Shoskonabie [Es-co-na-ba] River to the upper forks of the Menomonee, thence to Plover Portage of the Wisconsin, and thence up that river to Soft Maple River; west to Plume River of the Chippewa, thence down the Chippewa thirty miles; thence easterly to the fork of the Monoy or Lemonweir River, and down that river to its mouth; thence to the Wisconsin Portage, thence down the Fox to Lake Winnebago.

The first article of the treaty relates exclusively to the New York Indians, and is in the following words: "The Menomonee tribe of Indians declare themselves the friends and allies of the United States, under whose parental care and protection they desire to continue; and though always protesting that they are under no obligation to recognize any claim of the New York Indians to any portion of their country; that they neither sold, nor received any value, for the land claimed by these tribes; yet, at the solicitation of their Great Father, the President of the United States, and as an evidence of their love and veneration for him, they agree that such part of the land described, being within the following boundaries, as he may direct, may be set apart as a home to the several tribes of the New York Indians, who may remove to, and settle upon the same, within three years from the date of this agreement, viz: Beginning on the west side of Fox River,

near the 'Little Kackalin,' at a point known as the 'Old Mill Dam,' thence north-west forty miles; thence north-east to the Oconto creek, falling into Green Bay; thence down said Oconto creek to Green Bay; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning; excluding therefrom all private claims confirmed, and also the following reservation for military purposes: Beginning on the Fox River, at the mouth of the first creek above Fort Howard, thence north sixty-four degrees west to Duck Creek; thence down said Duck Creek to its mouth; thence up and along Green Bay and Fox River to the place of beginning. The Menomonee Indians also reserve, for the use of the U. States, from the country herein designated for the New York Indians, timber and firewood for the United States garrison, and as much land as may be deemed necessary for public highways to be located by the direction and at the discretion of the President of the United States. The country hereby ceded to the United States, for the benefit of the New York Indians, contains by estimation, about five hundred thousand acres, and includes all their improvements on the west side of Fox River. As it is intended for a home for the several tribes of New York Indians, who may be residing upon the lands at the expiration of three years from this date, and for none others, the President is empowered to apportion the lands among the actual occupants at that time, so as not to assign to any tribe a greater number of acres than may be equal to one hundred for each soul actually settled upon the lands; and if at the time of such apportionment, any lands shall remain unoccupied by any tribe of the New York Indians, such portion as would have belonged to said Indians, had it been occupied, shall revert to the United States. That portion, if any, so reverting, to be laid off by the President of the United States. It is distinctly understood, that the lands hereby ceded to the United States for the New York Indians, are to be held by those tribes, under such tenure as the Menomonee Indians now hold their lands, subject to such regulations and alteration of tenure, as Congress and the

President of the United States shall, from time to time, think proper to adopt."

After making provision for an extensive farming and educational establishment for their own benefit, (which, by-the-bye, proved abortive, the traders and Roman Catholics persuading the Indians to reject all its proposed benefits,) they return to the New York Indians again, in the sixth article, as follows: "The Menomonee chiefs request that such part of it as relates to the New York Indians, be immediately submitted to the representatives of their tribes. And if they refuse to accept the provision made for their benefit, and to remove upon the lands set apart for them, on the west side of Fox River, that he [the President] will direct their immediate removal from the Menomonee country; but if they agree to accept the liberal offer made to them by the parties to this compact, then the Menomonee tribe, as dutiful children of their Great Father, the President, will take them by the hand as brothers, and settle down with them in peace and friendship."

Thus were the long cherished schemes of one of the principal actors, Eleazer Williams, finally crushed forever. Those of the Ogden Land Company were also nearly forlorn. The tract of land set off for the New York Indians, was quite too limited, and by no means inviting for agricultural purposes. But the greatest objection of all was, the limitation of time to three years as the extent to which the tract would be open for occupancy. No reasonable hope could be entertained of getting the consent of the Senecas, and other Western bands, to whose reservations the Ogden Land Company's right of pre emption attached, to remove in so short a time. The treaty was therefore regarded as nearly a final bar to the whole enterprise, and given up in despair.

The New York delegates, however, kept up courage, and continued their remonstrances against the injustice and cruelty of the stipulation. They had the sympathy of the New York Senators and politicians generally. Col. Stambaugh soon found that he had over-shot the mark, and that the treaty would likely be rejected by the Senate, and further that his appointment as

Indian Agent at Green Bay, not yet confirmed, would be rejected. Acting under these apprehensions, he undertook a cure of the evil—a correction of his blunders. Accordingly, the Menomonees having been previously instructed, they were again brought before the commissioners, on the 17th of February, and the following supplementary agreed to, to wit:

"Whereas, certain articles of agreement were entered into and concluded at the city of Washington, on the 8th day of February, instant, between the undersigned, commissioners on behalf of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors representing the Menomonee tribe of Indians, whereby a portion of the Menomonee country, on the north-west side of Fox River and Green Bay, was ceded to the United States, for the benefit of the New York Indians, upon certain conditions and restrictions therein expressed: And whereas, it has been represented to the parties to that agreement, who are parties hereto, that it would be more desirable and satisfactory to some of those interested that one or two immaterial changes be made in the *first* and *sixth* articles, so as not to limit the number of acres to one hundred to each soul who may be settled upon the land when the President apportions it, as also to make unlimited the time of removal and settlement upon these lands by the New York Indians, but to leave both these matters discretionary with the President of the United States. Now, therefore, as a proof of the sincerity of the professions made by the Menomonee Indians, when they declared themselves anxious to terminate, in an amicable manner, their disputes with the New York Indians, and also as a further proof of their love and veneration for their Great Father, the President of the United States, the undersigned representatives of the Menomonee tribe of Indians, unite and agree with the commissioners aforesaid, in making and acknowledging the following supplementary articles a part of their aforesaid agreement.

"*First.* It is agreed between the undersigned, commissioners on behalf of the United States, and the chiefs and warriors representing the Menomonee tribe of Indians, that, for the reasons

above expressed, such parts of the first article of the agreement, entered into between the parties hereto, on the eighth instant, as limits the removal and settlement of the New York Indians upon the lands therein provided for their future homes, to three years, shall be altered and amended, so as to read as follows: That the President of the United States shall prescribe the time for the removal and settlement of the New York Indians upon the lands thus provided for them; and, at the expiration of such reasonable time, he shall apportion the land among the actual settlers in such manner as he shall deem equitable and just. And if within such reasonable time, as the President of the United States shall prescribe for that purpose, the New York Indians shall refuse to accept the provisions made for their benefit, or having agreed, shall neglect or refuse to remove from New York, and settle on the said lands, within the time prescribed for that purpose, that then, and in either of these events, the lands aforesaid shall be and remain the property of the United States, according to said *first* article, excepting so much thereof as the President shall deem justly due to such of the New York Indians as shall actually have removed to, and settled on, the said lands.

"*Second.* It is further agreed, that the part of the sixth article of the agreement aforesaid, which requires the removal of those of the New York Indians, who may not be settled on the lands at the end of three years, shall be so amended as to leave such removal discretionary with the President of the United States. The Menomonee Indians having full confidence, that in making this distinction, he will take into consideration the welfare and prosperity of their nation."

This relieved the treaty of two of its odious features in the view of the New York Indians. Still the country set off was objectionable both in *quality* and *quantity*, and they avowed their intention of opposing the ratification of the treaty. As was anticipated, the Senate refused to take up either the treaty, or the nomination of STAMBAUGH as Indian Agent at Green Bay, at that session of Congress. An expedient was resorted to by Col.

STAMBAUGH and the Secretary of War to save the treaty, which was to add a stipulation to it, whereby its conditions were to stand good till the next session of the Senate. This was done on the 15th of March. There was, of course, now a vacancy in the Indian agency at Green Bay. The President appointed STAMBAUGH special Agent to return to Green Bay with the Menomonees, and close up the accounts of the expenses of the expedition. The treaty was taken up at the next session of Congress.

The proviso added to it by the Senate, shows the influence the New York Indians had with that body. It is in the following words, to wit:—"*Provided*, That for the purpose of establishing the rights of the New York Indians on a permanent and just footing, the said treaty shall be ratified with the express understanding, that two townships of land on the east side of Winnebago Lake, equal to forty-six thousand and eighty acres, shall be laid off, (to commence at some point to be agreed on,) for the use of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribes; and that the improvements made on the lands now in the possession of the said tribes on the east side of the Fox River, which said lands are to be relinquished, shall, after being valued by a commissioner to be appointed by the President of the United States, be paid for by the Government: *provided*, however, that the valuation of such improvements shall not exceed the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars: and that there shall be one township of land adjoining the foregoing, equal to twenty-three thousand and forty acres, laid off and granted for the use of the Brothertown Indians; who are to be paid by the Government the sum of one thousand and six hundred dollars for the improvements on the lands now in their possession, on the east side of Fox River, and which lands are to be relinquished by said Indians. Also, that a new line shall be run parallel to the south-western boundary line, or course of the tract of five hundred thousand acres described in the first article of this treaty, and set apart for the New York Indians, to commence at a point on the west side of Fox River, and one mile above the Grand Chute on Fox River, and at a sufficient distance

from the said boundary line as established by the said first article, as shall comprehend the additional quantity of two hundred thousand acres of land, on and along the west side of Fox River, without including any of the confirmed private land claims on the Fox River, and which two hundred thousand acres shall be a part of the five hundred thousand acres intended to be set apart for the Six Nations of the New York Indians and the St. Regis tribe; and that an equal quantity to that which is added on the south-western side, shall be taken off from the north-eastern side of said tract, described in that article, on the Oconto creek, to be determined by a commissioner to be appointed by the President of the United States; so that the whole number of acres to be granted to the Six Nations and St. Regis tribe of Indians, shall not exceed the quantity originally stipulated by the treaty."

This proviso of the Senate was fully satisfactory to the Stockbridges, Munsees and Brothertowns, and silenced all objections from them; that for the Six Nations and St. Regis tribes, although satisfactory, fell so far short of the policy of Williams, and the Ogden LandCompany, that they abandoned the whole concern, and from that day, gave up all hope or attempt at a general colonization of the Six Nations at or in the neighborhood of Green Bay.

When the treaty came to be promulged, in July of 1832, with the proviso of the Senate thereto, a new difficulty arose with the Menomonees, who declared their intention never to permit a New York Indian to occupy a foot of land south of the Little Kakalin line, proposed by themselves in the treaty. It then became necessary to get *their assent* to the Senate amendment, or to make a new arrangement before peace could be had between the parties. For this purpose, Hon. George B. Porter, Governor of Michigan, was appointed commissioner, in the fall of 1832, to repair to Green Bay, and essay a final settlement of the difficulties. Gov. Porter was a man of indomitable energy and perseverance, of consummate tact and penetration, and brought to his task a firm determination not to leave the ground till the object was accomplished. Both parties soon found, that they had got past the

use of all dissimulation, braggadocia or humbug. A very brief discussion by Gov. PORTER brought all parties to an amicable understanding, and a final settlement of affairs. This arrangement, concluded by Gov. PORTER, Oct. 27th, 1832, is so important to this history, that the following extracts are herewith copied :

"*First.* The said chiefs and headmen of the Menomonee nation of Indians, do not object to any of the matters contained in the proviso annexed to the resolution of the Senate of the United States, so far as the same relate to the granting of three townships of land on the east side of Lake Winnebago to the Stockbridge, Munsee, and Brothertown tribes; to the valuation and payment for their improvements, &c., (ending with the words '*and which lands are to be relinquished by said Indians.*') They therefore assent to the same.

"*Second.* The said chiefs and head men of the Menomonee nation of Indians, objecting to all the matters contained in the said proviso annexed to the resolution of the Senate of the United States, so far as the same relate to the running a new line parallel to the south-western boundary line or course of the tract of five hundred thousand acres, described in the first article of the treaty, and set apart for the New York Indians, to commence at a point on the south-western side of Fox River, and one mile above Grand Chute, on Fox River, and at a sufficient distance from the said boundary line, as established by the said first article, as shall comprehend the additional quantity of two hundred thousand acres of land, on and along the west side of Fox River, without including any of the confirmed private land claims on the Fox River, to compose a part of the five hundred thousand acres intended to be set apart for the Six Nations of the New York Indians and St. Regis tribe, *agree*, in lieu of this proposition, to set off a like quantity of two hundred thousand acres, as follows : The said Menomonee nation hereby agree to cede, for the benefit of the New York Indians, along the south-western boundary line of the present five hundred thousand acres described in the first article of the treaty as set apart for the New

York Indians, a tract of land bounded as follows: Beginning on the said treaty line, at the old mill-dam on Fox River, and thence extending up along Fox River to the little Rapid Croche; from thence running a north-west course three miles; thence on a line running parallel with the several courses of Fox River, and three miles distant from the river, until it will intersect a line running on a north-west course, commencing at a point one mile above the Grand Chute; thence on a line running north-west, so far as will be necessary to include, between the said last line and the line described as the south-western boundary line of the five hundred thousand acres in the treaty aforesaid, the quantity of two hundred thousand acres; and thence running north-east until it will intersect the line forming the south-western boundary line aforesaid; and from thence along the said line to the old mill-dam, or place of beginning, containing two hundred thousand acres. Excepting and reserving therefrom the *privilege* of Chas. A. Grignon for erecting a mill on Apple creek, etc., as approved by the Department of War, on the twenty-second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, and all confirmed private land claims on the Fox River. The lines of said tract of land so granted, to be run, marked, and laid off without delay, by a commissioner to be appointed by the President of the United States. And that in exchange for the above, a quantity of land equal to that which is added to the south-western side, shall be taken off from the north-eastern side of the said tract, described in that article, on the Oconto creek, to be run, marked, and determined by the commissioner to be appointed by the President of the United States, as aforesaid, so that the whole number of acres to be granted to the Six Nations and St. Regis tribe of Indians, shall not exceed the quantity of five hundred thousand acres."

Of which terms and conditions, the several tribes of the New York Indians signified their acceptance and approval, in an article of agreement entered into with Gov. Porter, and signed by their headmen, on the 27th day of October, 1832, in the follow-

ing words: "So far as the tribes to which we belong are concerned, we are perfectly satisfied, that the treaty should be ratified on the terms proposed by the Menomonees. We further believe, that the tract of land which the Menomonees in the within agreement are willing to cede, in exchange for an equal quantity on the north-east side of the tract of five hundred thousand acres, contains a sufficient quantity of good land, favorably and advantageously situated, to answer all the wants of the New York Indians and St. Regis tribe. For the purpose, then, of putting an end to strife, and that we may all sit down in peace and harmony, we thus signify our acceptance of the modifications proposed by the Menomonees; and we most respectfully request, that the treaty, as now modified by the agreement this day entered into with the Menomonees, may be ratified and approved by the President and Senate of the United States."

This was a subtantial settlement of the whole question, and gave perfect satisfaction to all the New York Indians who had moved on, or were even expected to move on to Green Bay. The whole of the Stockbridges, Brothertowns, a part of the Munsees and some eleven hundred of the Oneidas, moved soon after on to their respective locations. The Stockbridges immediately abandoned their location at the Grand Kakalin, and occupied the new grounds assigned them east of Lake Winnebago; and the Brothertowns did the same. The Oneidas continued by accessions of small parties annually to augment the settlement at Duck Creek.

There was one interest, that of the Land Company, that was not appeased. As matters now stood, there was virtually no suitable home for such of the western tribes in New York as occupied the reservations to which this Company held the pre-emption right of purchase, and no prospect of their selling and removing West. With the vast amount at stake, the large sums of money locked up in these prospective rights, it was not to be expected that the Company would rest, or cease their exertions to purchase out and remove these Indians. A thousand plans were proposed and rejected, till at length an attempt was made to induce them to re-

move to the Indian Territory, south-west of the Missouri. The agency of the General Government was obtained, and a commissioner, Ranson H. Gillett, appointed on the part of the United States, to treat with the "chiefs, head-men and warriors of the several tribes of the New York Indians."

The treaty purports to have been made at Buffalo Creek, on the 15th of January, 1838. The United States are styled one of the parties, though in fact they had but a small share in the transaction. The ostensible object would seem to have been, the providing the several bands of the Senecas with a *home!* To a careful observer, the result sets forth quite a different purpose. But not to anticipate. The first article, after the preamble, contains a relinquishment or cession by the New York Indians of "all their right, title and interest to the lands secured to them at Green Bay by the Menomonee treaty of 1831." This cession purports to be made by the New York Indians, as if for those who had acquired the lands. But not one of the individuals subscribing this treaty, except Eleazer Williams as for the St. Regis, ever had any lot or part whatever in bringing about the Green Bay treaties. They were, one and all, of those who had always opposed and repudiated those treaties, and the acquisitions under them. The parties really interested in those treaties were all at Green Bay, and had no cognizance of this Buffalo Creek treaty.

However, as if sensible of this fact, and for a show of justice to the few Oneidas, and others there, this cession contains what purports to be a reservation, doubtless as if for their benefit; the reserving clause is, however, unintelligable, and in fact reserves nothing—vide U. S. Indian Treaties, p. 551. So then the New York Indians living on their reservations in that State, in 1838, affect to sell out their lands in Wisconsin! Then the United States for such a cession, are made on their part to stipulate, to provide all the New York Indians homes south-west of Missouri, to include one million eight hundred and twenty-four thousand acres of the best land in the West; and to pay them the sum of 411,000 dollars in cash, besides for sundry improvements some 50,000 dollars more!

The only consideration to the United States, for this immense stipulation in favor of the New Yorkers, is a cession of their pretended rights (which were void and valueless) to about 100,000 acres at Green Bay, worth at that day about ten cents per acre, say ten thousand dollars. It is clear, that this immense sum was not to be paid to the Senecas, Tuscaroras, Tonnewandas, and Onondagas, for their rights at Green Bay, the only consideration made in the deed of cession.

It is natural to inquire after the real consideration that these tribes were to offer for these 1,824,000 acres of choice land in Missouri, and the $411,000 in cash. It is proposed in this treaty to furnish them *homes* in the West. Had they no homes in New York? A little further on in the treaty, we find they had 117,469 acres of the best land in New York, probably under-estimated by the commission one quarter; call it, at least, 150,000 acres, worth ten dollars an acre at that day, making the snug little sum of one million four hundred thousand dollars for the reservations. Where did this go to? The reservations were all ceded by this hocus pocus legerdemain proceeding, called a treaty between the United States and the Seneca Indians, to Messrs. Ogden and Fellows, for the ostensible sum of two hundred and two thousand dollars. This treaty after all had but slight bearing on affairs at Green Bay; it left the bona fide settler from the New York tribes, in full possession of their lands, which, but for their own counsels, they they might have had to this day.*

It is necessary to allude to but one other transaction touching the New York Indian settlement at Green Bay. In February of the same year, 1838, under the advice of Rev. Solomon Davis, their missionary, the Oneidas resolved on having some money, and for that purpose negociated with the United States. They were the sole representatives of the large cession of the treaty of

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* It may be added, that this treaty of the Ogden Company with the Senecas, which was obtained by fraud and bribery, was so materially amended by the United States Senate, as to make it almost a new one, and still it was not satisfactory to a majority of the Senecas, who yet remain in the occupancy of their ancient and much loved domain. L. C. D.

1831, by the Menomonees, on the west side of the Fox River. This Mr. DAVIS, with four of the Oneida chiefs, repaired to Washington, and there with CAREY A. HARRIS, Esq., as commissioner appointed by the President on the part of the United States, signed a treaty of which the following is a copy:

"*Art.* 1. The First Christian and Orchard parties of Indians, cede to the United States all their title and interest in the land set apart for them in the first article of the treaty with the Menomonees, of February 8th, 1831, and the second article of the treaty with the same tribe, October 27th, 1832.

"*Art.* 2. From the foregoing cession there shall be reserved to the said Indians, to be held as other Indian lands are held, a tract of land containing one hundred acres, for each individual, and the lines shall be so run as to include all their settlements and improvements in the vicinity of Green Bay.

"*Art.* 3. In consideration of the cession contained in the first article of this treaty, the United States agree to pay to the Orchard party of the Oneida Indians three thousand dollars, and to the First Christian party of Oneida Indians thirty thousand and five hundred dollars, of which last sum three thousand dollars may be expended, under the supervision of the Rev. SOLOMON DAVIS, in the erection of a church and parsonage house, and the residue appertioned, under the direction of the President, among the persons having just claims thereto; it being understood that said aggregate sum of thirty three thousand and five hundred dollars is designed to be in reimbursement of monies expended by said Indians, and in remuneration of the services of their chiefs and agents, in purchasing and securing a title to the land ceded in the 1st article. The United States further agree, to cause the tracts reserved in the 2nd article, to be surveyed as soon as practicable.

"*Art.* 4. In consideration of the sum of five hundred dollars, to be paid to him by the chiefs and representatives of the said parties of Oneida Indians, JOHN DENNY, (alias JOHN SUNDOWN,)

their interpreter, agrees to relinquish to them all his title and interest in the tract reserved in the 2nd article of this treaty.

"*Art.* 5. It is understood and agreed, that the expenses of this treaty, and of the chiefs and representatives signing it, in coming to and returning from this city, and while here, shall be paid by the United States.

"*Art.* 6. This treaty to be binding upon the contracting parties when the same shall be ratified by the United States."

It was ratified by the Senate, and promulged on the 17th May, 1838. By it the possessions of the Six Nations were reduced to the present reservation of the Oneidas on Duck Creek, near Green Bay, being about eight by twelve miles, and containing some sixty one thousand acres. Some twelve hundred of these people now live there, and are slowly progressing in civilization. Several attempts have been made to curtail this reservation without success. Until some hungry white man shall gain their confidence sufficiently to make them abandon their own prudence, and go to Washington, they will probably remain there, and in the end possibly, become sufficiently enlightened to assume citizenship, and be lost in the general mass of our American people.

The Brothertowns have entirely laid aside the aboriginal character, been admitted to all the rights of citizenship, and remain quietly and prosperously pursuing the avocations of civilized men. The Stockbridges are not as fortunate. A premature attempt to imitate their neighbors, in 1834, resulted in a failure, and a division of the tribe, which has never been healed. Their affairs are in an unsettled state, and the Government has now pending a negotiation for a final adjustment of the difficulties between the citizen and Indian parties.

Written, as this article has been, in a remote part of the State, out of the reach of libraries, without a scrap of the records of the transactions, and only from recollection of events transpiring more than thirty years ago, this paper is unworthy the character of history; but the main facts narrated being true, it may serve

to point the future historian to the sources from which to draw the material for a more accurate and faithful account of the whole matter.

Stevens' Point, Jan. 5th, 1856.

APPENDIX No. 14.

A SKETCH OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF KENOSHA COUNTY WISCONSIN, AND OF THE WESTERN EMIGRATION COMPANY,

BY REV. JASON LOTHROP.

A full and complete history of Kenosha county is not pretended in this short account. Other statements have been made, particularly that of Hon. M. FRANK in his "*Sketch of the Early History and Subsequent Settlement of Southport*," which gives as correct and general a view of the first settlement as could be expected from one not on the ground at the time; for the author of that publication was not here till two of the most trying years had past. He evidently, however, took great pains to give a correct view of the whole series of events transpiring in the settlement of the place.

In the following narrative, it will be seen, that I was, from the first, acquainted with the formation and movements of the "*Emigration Company*" till its dissolution. Its connection with the interests of many others beside the stock-holders, created a large interest in its affairs in all this part of the new Territory. A very small portion of the facts known to me are here given concerning that Company, as they cannot interest the public so many years after the extinction of all its titles.

As the first settlements of any importance in Kenosha county were made by a company from Oswego county, N. Y., it will be most proper to give something of the history of "*The Western Emigration Company.*"

Early in the winter of 1834, a few persons indulging in a wish o emigrate to the West, made known to each other their deter-nination. Among these, and probably the first of them, were ohn Bullen, Jr., Charles W. Turner, Waters Towsley, James cott, Dr. B. B. Cary, Jason Lothrop, Hudson Bacon, Peter Woodin, Alfred Foster, Orlando Foster, William Bullen, George Bennett, and Sidney Roberts. After some occasional onversation upon this design, J. Bullen, Jr., invited the above amed persons to a supper at his house in Hannibal, and to spend he evening. Emigration to the West was the principal topic of heir conversation. The first object was to ascertain who would go; and the proposal was made to form a company, in order to ender the removal as cheap and pleasant as possible, and that he company so formed, might locate at some important point, and here make a town, and form a community of the right sort. Those persons present all appeared willing to share in such an nterprise. Such were the designs expressed on the occasion; nd a committee was appointed to draft a Constitution for the ompany, and a meeting was proposed to be held at the Hall, nce the Masonic Hall, for the transaction of further business. Notice of this meeting was widely extended by J. Bullen, Jr., who was then post-master at Hannibal.

The first meeting in the Hall, a pretty large number attended. The Constitution was presented by the committee consisting of C. W. Turner, W. Towsley, A. Cary and J. Lothrop. At the sug-gestion of J. Bullen, Jr., an article was inserted, as from his father, then in Albany, on temperance, which was rejected in the mended Constitution of Jan. 1st, 1836, which is here given.

Constitution of the Western Emigration Company as amended nd revised Jan. 1, 1836:

Art. 1.—For the purpose of aiding those disposed to emigrate o the Western States or Territories, in the purchase of land and he pursuit of agriculture, manufactures, mechanics and other ranches of industry, and the formation of a desirable community, re, the subscribers, do by the ratification and signature of this

Constitution, agree to and hereby do associate ourselves into joint stock company, to be called the "*Western Emigrati Company;*" and we do severally promise and agree to and wi each other, jointly and severally, to abide by and keep all a each of the stipulations herein contained—this instrument bei intended for all the purposes of legal or equitable liability, as contract between the parties thereto.

Art. 2.—The capital stock of the Company shall be eight th sand dollars, to be divided into shares of ten dollars each, to paid to such person as shall be authorized by the Company to ceive the same; on the payment whereof, scrip shall be issu signed by the chairman and secretary, certifying the amount stock to which the holder thereof shall be entitled.

Art. 3.—The capital stock, when paid in, shall be invested the purchase of lands, improvements thereon, and claims there in any of the Western States or Territories, and in such ot manner as the Company shall, in pursuance of their general ject, in regular meeting direct.

Art. 4.—The officers of the Company shall be a Chairm Secretary, Assistant Secretary, a Board of Directors to consis nine persons, a General Agent, a Treasurer, and a Committee Finance.

Art. 5.—The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of stock-holders, sign scrip, and do such other duties as the C pany, in regular meeting, shall from time to time direct.

Art. 6.—The Secretary shall keep all records of the Compa record the proceedings of all meetings of the stock-holders, scrip, and preserve all papers of the Company deposited w him.

Art. 7.—The Assistant Secretary shall keep a copy of records kept by the Secretary, and, in his absence, perform duty.

Art. 8.—It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to keep all mo and securities, and disburse the funds of the Company u proper vouchers; he shall, before receiving any such money,

security to be approved by the Board of Directors, for the faithful application of, and accounting for, all such moneys as shall come to his hands in the capacity of such Treasurer; and once in each year, and within ten days before the expiration of his term of office, he shall make a full report of his receipts and disbursements, accompanied by an account current, to the Board of Directors.

Art. 9.—The Board of Directors shall have the general supervision, management and control of all the Company's business, property and interests, subject to such regulations as the Company, in regular meeting, may from time to time establish by by-laws or otherwise; they shall have power to appoint officers, and fill vacancies in their own body, *ad interim*, which appointments shall continue valid till the next regular meeting of the Company, and no longer; they shall, at the annual meeting, at the expiration of their term of office, or the first thereafter, make a full report of all their doings, and of the state of the Company's business, accompanied by all reports from other officers made to them; and they shall elect one of their number as President of said Board.

Art. 10.—The General Agent shall have the immediate general superintendence of all the Company's affairs, and shall be subject to the control of the Board of Directors; he shall once in each year, and within ten days before the time at which the Board are required to report, make a full report to said Board of all his doings, and of the state of the Company's property and business, so far as they have come within his supervision or knowledge, specifying all purchases and other contracts for expenditures made by him; and he shall at any time, when required by the Company, on reasonable notice, make a similar report directly to them at their meeting.

Art. 11.—The Financial Committee shall consist of three persons, who, or any two of them, shall examine and audit all accounts of officers, or others with the Company, and no account shall be paid or allowed till it has been so examined and audited.

Art. 12.—All officers shall be stock-holders in the Company they shall be elected by ballot at the annual meetings, and shall hold their offices for one year, and until others shall be elected to fill their places.

Art. 13.—Each stock-holder shall be entitled, in all meetings, to one vote for each share of stock held by him, whether as an original subscriber or an assignee thereof: *Provided*, however That no one individual shall in his own right be entitled to more than ten votes.

Art. 14.—Assignees of stock shall not become vested with any of the rights of stock-holders, till they shall have subscribed the Constitution, or procured their signatures to be affixed thereto by some authorized person.

Art. 15.—All lands, or claims thereto, purchased by any stock-holder in the vicinity of lands held by and for the Company, shall be deemed to belong to such stock-holder and the Company jointly, and held by such purchaser as trustee of the Company, as to their share thereof; and the Company shall have the control and disposal of such lands, in the same manner as of other lands or claims; but they shall, when the same shall be sold, allow the said stock-holder one-half the profits, together with the original purchase price paid by him.

Art. 16.—The moneys arising from the sale of any lands, shall be distributed to stock-holders according to the amount of their stock, the Board of Directors to make such distributions, and the Treasurer to pay the same, on the order of the President of said Board.

Art. 17.—Whenever a stock-holder shall erect buildings, or make other improvements on any of the Company's land, or lands held in trust for them, except mill sites, and the said lands shall afterwards be sold to any other person, such stock-holder shall be paid the actual value of such improvement, and shall be allowed to retain possession thereof six months after such sale, and until such payment be made.

Art. 18.—Any stock-holder may authorize another to act and vote for him in any meeting of the Company.

Art. 19.—There shall be an annual meeting of the stockholders held on the first Thursday in June in each year, at Pike River, at which all officers shall be elected, and such other business done as the Company may think necessary. The extraordinary meetings of the Company shall hereafter be called by the Board of Directors, who shall publish a notice thereof for four weeks in a newspaper printed in Oswego, and the New York State paper, of the time and place of holding such meeting.

Art. 20.—This Constitution may be amended by two-thirds of the votes given at any regular meeting.

Art. 21.—All former Constitutions of this Company are hereby repealed, but all rights acquired, and liabilities incurred, under the old Constitution, are intended to be reserved and retained.

Art. 22.—No money shall be paid out by the Treasurer, except on the order of the President of the Board of Directors, which order shall state for what object the money is to be paid.

Art. 23.—The Company may, at any regular meeting, remove any of their officers, and elect others to fill their vacancies.

Art. 24.—In the absence of the Chairman and Secretary, and Assistant Secretary, from any regular meeting, such officers may be appointed *pro tem.*

Elder Woodin was chosen the first Chairman, and John Bullen, Jr., the first Secretary. Four hundred certificates of scrip were issued at $10 each, and signed by the officers. They read thus:

"No. ——. This certifies that Jason Lothrop, or his assigns, is entitled to one share of the stock of the

'*Western Emigrating Company*,'

after signing the Constitution of said Company, and in all respects complying with its provisions, and not otherwise.

Dated Hannibal, N. Y., March 9th, 1835.

By order of said Company,

PETER WOODIN, Chairman."

John Bullen, Jr., Secretary.

This scrip was in good demand, and nearly the whole of the four hundred shares were taken. Even poor persons, who either expected to remove West, or hoped to share in large prospective gains, paid their money and took shares.

Money being raised to commence operations, WATERS TOWSLEY, C. W. TURNER, and SIDNEY ROBERTS, being appointed *explorers*, left on the 25th of March, 1835, for the West. They proceeded first to Milwaukee, according to previous understanding. Each of them then took a portion of the money raised, and were to be allowed one dollar per day, and their fare paid, provided that their expenses and services did not exceed $100 each. Instructions were given them by the Company, as drawn up by WILLIAM BULLEN. Bonds were required of each of them for the money received. Elder WOODIN was constituted the other party in behalf of the Company, who, in all such transactions, was to represent it.

At the time of the appointment of the explorers, it was agreed that JOHN BULLEN, Jr., who could not then leave home, should go in the course of a few months, if money could be raised. He was to take the place of the four already mentioned, or serve in addition to them. After ascertaining that the four were soon to return, he was appointed and commissioned plenipotentiary from the Company to carry into effect what the first agents had commenced, and to take sole charge of the money raised from the four hundred more shares. It was thought that little more remained for him to do than to pay over the money on the contract supposed to have been made for an interest at Root River, now Racine.

The explorers, on coming West, made their first attempt to secure a location at Milwaukee, but finding SOLOMON JUNEAU, GEORGE H. WALKER, and others, on the ground, with whom they could make no compromise, they went south to Root River, where they also found claimants. To Capt. GILBERT KNAPP, WM. LUCE and Mr. HUBBARD, they made proposals, and supposed they were accepted. But, for some reason, they were rejected amidst unkind feelings. The fault alleged to them, was duplicity on the part of

the agents. TURNER was not inclined to return east with the other explorers, but tarried till the arrival of J. BULLEN, Jr., and went still farther south in search of a location either for himself or the Company. He and BULLEN fixed on the mouth of Pike River for a habitation. Differences arising between them, they did not long act in concert, but in opposition to each other. As early as the first of August, 1835, TURNER made his claim, and put up his house near the mouth of the river, where he resided till his death. His claim of 160 acres was allowed him by the Judicial Committee, and he had it surveyed into blocks and lots, and made sale of some of them. BULLEN made a claim south of him, near the present brick yard, and there made his first residence. But when the Government surveys were made, these two claims were supposed to be on the same quarter section.

From what I could learn on my arrival, BULLEN had hired the WOODBRIDGES to build him a log house on the claim since held by S. HALE, then supposed to be one with the KIMBALL claim; and that after this was built, they put up another about twenty rods west of it, since occupied as a shoe-shop, and sometimes as a dwelling house by E. WOODBRIDGE. BULLEN had put Mr. A. KELLOGG into the first named house before it had a door, floor, or window—a mere pen. After that, I finished and lived in it till January following. In consequence of this house being occupied, the WOODBRIDGES pretended to occupy their small shanty. On this a dispute arose between them and BULLEN, who, on raising the first frame, was opposed by E. WOODBRIDGE with his axe. The committee on claims were called upon to settle the dispute, but no decision was obtained from them. For a long time, the parties attempted a settlement, and finally the WOODBRIDGES relinquished all their claims to BULLEN—viz.: the KIMBALL claim, and those soon after occupied by W. BULLEN, J. LOTHROP, A. FOSTER, and eighty acres by S. DOOLITTLE, together with a quit claim of the other eighty, if JEROME would consent to relinquish it, which it appears he did not. For all, the BULLENS' paid, I think, about $400.

Hitherto no meeting of the Company had been held in this Territory, nor any business done in their name in Southport, except by their agent, J. Bullen, jr. Not long after this, however, Directors were appointed at Hannibal, N. Y., and some in this place, to transact business with the agent for the Company.

The first Constitution required of each member of the Company, that he should remove West to their location within a given time—by June, 1836; so that all calculated upon the Company, and the aid of all its members, whenever the home should be found. This encouraged some to remove, who would not otherwise have gone West, especially at so early a period. But on the change of the Constitution, those who had emigrated found too late that they were to bear all the burdens and expense of making and sustaining the location and the contiguous claims, while those behind were to share in the profits. This fact they saw early in the winter of 1836, and the newly appointed Directors in what afterwards became Wisconsin, resolved that to equalize the burdens, each one holding a contiguous claim be allowed $12 per month; but in the ensuing spring, finding no funds in the hands of the Company to meet the great expense of living here, it was again resolved, that all the contiguous claims should be surrendered to the holders of the same.

The Location.—On the 25th of August, 1835, Mr. Russell Allen, who was to start on his return to New York the next day, came out on the prairie where some of us were busily engaged, and stated that he was about to return, but that he did not like to carry back the report that the Company had yet made no location; that he understood that C. W. Turner had proposed to put in his claim at the mouth of Pike River, on condition that John Bullen, jr., would put in one, with certain others, and make a location suitable to invite the emigrators from the East, and worthy of the Company. We all went down to Bullen's, when J. Bullen, R. Allen and I went over to Wilson's and Bacon's, and after considerable conversation together, and privately, Mr. Allen delayed his journey, and a meeting of the friends of the

Company was called at Mr. Wilson's, and there the following persons surrendered their claims as common stock for the Company: O. Jerome, J. Bullen, jr., J. G. Wilson, H. Bacon, C. W. Turner and Russell Allen. But in the process of this business, it was named, that any member of the Company could cast as many votes as he might hold shares of stock. Upon learning this fact, Mr. Turner refused to surrender his claim, or to do anything about it. It was engaged by the Agent, that the offensive article in the Constitution should be so amended, as again to limit the vote to ten, even should stock-holders own more than ten shares. Mr. Turner still objected; but all the others, however, were disposed to abide by these proposals, some, if not all of them, reserving an acre or two for their own use, to be selected where they might choose. I wrote a letter to be conveyed by Mr. Allen to Hannibal, the purport of which was, that these persons had surrendered their locations for a home for the Company, thereby sacrificing what they had for the benefit and welfare of that body; leaving it with them to make such compensation as they might deem proper, when they should see what these claimants had endured to secure so good a location.

It was not, till many months after this, generally known that any security was given to any persons for the relinquishment of their claims to the Company. When the Directors were transacting different matters of business, they learned that Bacon and Wilson had notes against the Company to the amount of $1,500 and $2,000, from Allen and Bullen; and since then, that Dewitt Bullen had also a note from them for $1,500, for the Kimball claim. All this appeared to have been kept a secret as long as possible, for the purpose of deceiving C. W. Turner into a relinquishment of his claim; but when the Directors were consulting on the amount to be allowed to them for holding the same, it was ascertained that they even had a greater amount secured to them than some of the Directors were disposed to allow. On account of this, and other deceptions practised by the Agent about this time, Mr. Turner's refusal to surrender his claim was fully justi-

fied, especially by the Judicial Committee of the claimants in Racine county in their opinion on that trial.

The Result.—It has often been asked, what became of the money raised by the Emigration Company, by the sale of their scrip? It is difficult to tell. Perhaps some of the Agents, were they disposed, could cast some light upon the subject. We will make the best apology we can, in all charity. There was an early prejudice in all the surrounding country against the Emigration Co., not only because of the offence taken at Racine, but because there was a suspicion of monopoly which operated against all the doings of the Company. But the principal difficulty was early seen, that no company or corporation could obtain pre-emption on their lands. This cut off the expectations of the stock-holders, unless their claims to a portion of the location were given up. Attempts were made to obtain a special pre emption on two sections of land, which included the Company's claim, to be divided into lots, and sold at a fixed price for the purpose of building a harbor. The bill failed in the House of Representatives. Some portion of the location had been surveyed by the occupants; the Company could not, therefore, obtain the pre-emption. But there had been residents on the same, who had neither surveyed nor sold any part of the quarter section on which they had lived; therefore David Crossit obtained the pre-emption on the Kimball claim, and William Bullen on the Bacon claim. Those who had bought lots of the original proprietors, were secured in their purchase. As the matter stood, nothing was done to call the Directors to account, and the Agents not being called on, retained what they had and could safely hold. William Bullen had some funds to be divided among the stock-holders, not amounting, however, to more than about thirty-three per cent—a part of which he paid from his store. Thus ended the Emigration Company, which had its origin in good faith, but being conducted by bad policy, ended in the benefit of a few, and disappointment of many.

Claims and Claim Trials.—The generations to come will not understand the worth of their possessions, only as they see and

understand their cost. The object of all the emigrants, was to obtain lands for an inheritance for their children. As for themselves, the trials and labors incident to a new country were often too much for them; some, unable to endure the conflict, returned to the East; while others came prepared to buffet all trials and hardships, however severe. Much conflicting interest was manifest between the settlers, from the first, in making their claims. Some were greedy in securing at least one section of 640 acres for themselves, and some as much for all their friends whom they expected to settle in the country. Before the lands were surveyed, this often brought confusion and disputes with reference to boundary lines, and still greater confusion followed when the Government surveys were made in the winter of 1835–36. These contentions often led to bitter quarrels, and even blood shed. Dr. B. B. Cary, of Racine, probably carries to this day a ball thus received. Early meetings were called to devise measures to secure peaceable possession of each one's claim. It was found necessary to form a kind of protective union, and establish some rules that should be our laws for the security and protection of our claims. Accordingly a meeting was held at the store of Bullen & Co., at Pike River, on the 13th of February, 1836, when Austin Kellogg was chosen chairman, and Wm. C. Ethridge clerk, when a suitable preamble and resolutions were adopted, and delegates appointed to attend a similar and more general meeting at Racine. This Racine meeting was attended by delegates from the several settlements in then Milwaukee county, and resulted in the formation of the *Milwaukee Union*. Congress was petitioned to assist us by the enactment of suitable pre-emption laws. The proceedings of these two early meetings or conventions, are herewith appended. These proceedings I printed at the time—the former on a large slip or broadside, and the latter in a pamphlet of nine pages. I have but a single copy of each remaining—that of the Pike River meeting is a rejected proof, as all the good copies were taken away; I send both as specimens to the Historical Society for preservation. This printing I did on a rude pres

of my own construction, placed on a stump.* A wooden box was made, about twelve by twenty-four inches in size, with sides rising above the base on which the type were made to stand, of the height of the type; I made my own ink, and used the old fashioned ball with which to distribute the ink on the type, and then a roller passed over the paper on the form, resting on the sides of the box or table, that did the press-work. The whole expense of my printing materials, including type, could not have been ten dollars. It was with such limited accommodations that I executed this early printing at Pike River. By these simple materials I have printed some things, when and where no other printing could be had. At one time, I printed 250 copies of a volume of about 130 pages. When "*out of sorts*," I cast some of certain letters, made quads and spaces; and thus I managed to manufacture books, bound them myself, and *read them.* As some improvements have been made in printing since that day, I can very well dispense with my old establishment and business in that line. I may add, that my press and utensils for printing would now be a subject for sport, of which they have elicited an abundance; the type have probably been doing business in another form for years past.

I may truly say, that this old subject of claim is an unpleasant one; it creates hard feelings, and stirs up bad blood, which have not yet become entirely extinct.

Indians.—They were plenty among us, and through this county, in 1835. We had frequent visits from them, and saw them in all parts of the county. Deer were then plenty, so much so that in making a survey of twenty miles, more than fifty might be seen, and sometimes as many as twenty together. Where there was so much game, of course there were Indians, and they were often with us on our surveying excursions. In the autumn

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* This printing by Mr. LOTHROP must have been done in February and March, 1836, and his little printing establishment, we think, must have been the second in Wisconsin. The *Green Bay Intelligencer* was commenced Dec. 11, 1833; and the *Milwaukee Advertiser* not till July, 1836. The *Wisconsin Free Press*, at Green Bay, was published quite early—probably commenced in 1836. L. C. D.

of 1835, we had a long visit from them—longer than they wished to pay, or we receive. They were on their return from Chicago, where they had received their annual payment from the Government, when a storm drove them on shore with us, and about three hundred of them were weather-bound for nearly three weeks. At first they were peaceable and good customers, till our provisions ran short; when they pressed us hard, and sometimes alarmed the few who ought to have sold to them enough to have satisfied their wants. In their extremity, they took some hogs and cattle. The chief trouble arose from their constant desire for whiskey, which they seemed to suppose every white man must have on hand; and not getting it, they disturbed our nights as well as days. As the country had not yet been surveyed, there was some fear of them.

Burning the Prairies.—After the first frost, in the autumn of 1835, had killed the millions of tons of grass west of us, we began, at Pike River, to see the rising smoke at a distance. The Indians probably had fired the prairies as early as they could for hunting purposes. It was some time in the latter part of September. We began to see the advancing fire towards evening on the prairie, three miles west of us; and, before twelve o'clock, it became a serious affair. The wind was from the south-west, and pretty strong, and the fire progressed rapidly. The blaze and burning fragments being blown by the wind, caught the tops of the high grass, and the raging fire continued to advance so swiftly that a deer would hardly escape it. About nine o'clock in the evening it reached the woods, which extended back from the Lake half a mile, when the rich foliage and fallen leaves fed the flame to a great height. Some precaution had been used for the protection of our shanties and stacks of hay; but we saw, as the flood of flame poured in, that we were not sufficiently prepared. Coverlets and blankets were thrown into the water, and spread over the hay for its safety. The roaring terror came through the woods with awful grandeur. Large trees, as well as all smaller vegetation, quickly fell before the ruthless invader. This was when the

prairies were uncropped by the countless herds that now roam over them.

Fourth of July, 1836.—The first celebration of Independence day was, according to the age of our new settlement, a matter of some interest to nearly all our population, and numbers from Racine. The place chosen for this display of their loyalty to old custom, was in a beautiful grove near the north end of the Island, and near the lake. Some hundreds were addressed by the writer; and several good old songs were sung with much spirit, the whole people constituting the choir, making the grove resound with their patriotic sentiments in Auld Lang Syne. Pleasant Prairie sent a large delegation of men, women, and children, on a car drawn by twenty yoke of oxen, carrying flags suited to the occasion. A suitable dinner was furnished near the house of Mr. Resigne, on the bank of the Lake. Their toasts required the aid of neither rum nor party politics. At this period every settler was chiefly concerned in making and protecting his claim.

The Harbor and Piers.—For some years after the first settlement was made at Pike River, much difficulty was experienced in landing passengers and freight from the boats which called at the place. In 1835, schooners from the Lower Lakes ventured within a mile of the shore, and some a little nearer, and sent their lading on shore by their small boats, at the risk of hard labor and damage. Smaller craft came near land. Capt. Robinson, of the small schooner "*Hiram*," brought lumber in 1835; and the schooner "*Fly*" brought potatoes from Michigan. The steamer "*Detroit*," in 1836, was the first that ventured here with passengers and provisions; the "*Daniel Webster*" made us a call in 1837; and after this, all kinds of vessels called in good weather. In the summer of 1836, our first citizens provided a lighter, which considerably lessened the risk in landing; A. G. Northway deserves the credit of having built and managed this craft.

It had been observed by some of the early settlers, that where poles had been driven in the Lake, so as to penetrate firmly into the clay, they withstood the severe north-easters. This fact sug-

gested the possibility of being able to erect a pier or bridge into the Lake. R G. Otis, who came to this place in 1836, was the first to make a move for a pier. He proposed it in 1839, but was considered chimerical in his calculations. In 1840, he saw Mr. Cahoon, the well known nursery-man and horticulturist, and engaged him to prosecute the work; and on this, the middle pier, and on the warehouse, Mr. Otis expended not less than $2,000. The attempt was at first a good deal ridiculed by some of our sister Lake port towns, which have since profited by the example. Two more piers were afterwards built, and all have been constantly used during the season of navigation. All the Lake ports, and the country generally, have been greatly indebted to these substitutes for harbors.

Temperance.—Kenosha once boasted of being ahead of all places upon Lake Michigan in the temperance cause. This was in part owing to the temperance clause in the Constitution of the Emigration Company, which, of course, drew together a class of persons of habits so formed as to readily comply with this requirement of the Constitution. In the autumn of 1835, a request was made to the writer to give a temperance lecture at the house of Christopher Derbyshire, in Pleasant Prairie, on a Sunday afternoon. Mr. Higgins and Sereno Fowler were the first movers of this meeting. A good congregation was present, and at the close of the address, forty-five persons gave their names to a pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.

A few weeks after, a meeting was called at Pike Creek, and an address made by the writer, when thirty names were subscribed to the temperance pledge. From that time till about 1840, Pike Creek (or Southport) was remarkable for the temperance of its inhabitants. A change, however, came over the place by the introduction of limited temperance. One fact will illustrate the new principle. Various talents were called into requisition to present at our meetings the subject of temperance Rev. Mr. Alanson, of the Episcopal church, was requested to give his views. "O, yes," said he, "I have often lectured on temperance, and will accept

your invitation for next Tuesday evening." Meanwhile, it was ascertained, that his views favored *moderate drinking*. He was told, that such were not the principles of the Southport Temperance Society; when he concluded not to lecture, but to give his notions on the previous Sabbath evening. He did so, informing the people that he did not deny himself the privilege of wetting his lip when he chose to do so, but warned them against intoxication, as a beastly act, and unworthy of the dignity of man. He allowed that there were cases in which the principles of total abstinence might be the most proper for a society to adopt; that when a person was aware of the fact, that he could not drink without indulging to excess, such might, if they chose, unite with such a Society, and be benefitted by it, and rather advised such to join it.

When the next Tuesday evening came, no one was prepared to address the meeting; and the writer, who was then President of the Society, was pressed into the work. He stated that Southport had been acknowledged as the most noted for temperance of any place on Lake Michigan; and then remarked, that it was by total abstinence principles that this high reputation had been attained. He then warned them against the introduction of the new theory of Mr. Alanson; yet to test the practical efficacy of the two theories, he would ask the committee to circulate in the large congregation a paper for the names of such as could not drink without excess. After a careful circulation of the paper, it was found that not one had signed it. He then suggested, that as Paul had advanced the benevolent idea, that "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother is offended or is made weak," so they might act upon the same principle, and sign the total abstinence pledge, if not for their own sakes, yet for the good of others; that it was hard for those whom we love, and for whom we would even make sacrifice, to act alone, but upon this benevolent principle they would sign it in company with others. The pledge was now circulated, and about thirty

additional names obtained. This argument was not lost on the public mind.

But soon after this, the Washingtonian temperance organization becoming the fashion of the day, the old officers resigned, and, as a premium to others for becoming temperate, they were appointed. Soon after, the *Glee Club*, which thought to put down the evil of intemperance by songs and good cheer, made the experiment, and found this kind went not out by laughing and singing. Then came the Sons of Temperance, who were disposed to make the principle of secrecy subservient to the good cause of temperance. This had two objects, self protection and temperance. The first, as might have been foreseen, gained the ascendancy, and the failure has become universally obvious. Since then, little has been done to stem the torrent, except the efforts put forth to secure the aid of the Maine Law.

Education.—Early attention was given to the subject of education. In the winter and summer of 1836, a school was kept in the first framed house built in the place. On this subject, Hon. M. Frank says in his sketch of Southport: "On the approach of winter, the inhabitants, with commendable enterprise, succeeded in establishing a school; Rev. Jason Lothrop collected about thirty scholars, the larger part of which were from the surrounding country." A large log school house was built at an early day. From that time special pains have been taken to advance the interests of education, providing good houses and the best of teachers. The high standard of education now supported by the city of Kenosha, may be justly regarded as the natural consequence of these early exertions.

Religion.—It was a very appropriate remark concerning many of the professors of religion migrating from the East, that their religion would not bear transportation, but was generally lost in the passage over the Lakes. It was a lamentable fact, that very few showed any greater interest for any object, than they did for a "*good claim;*" even in the early meetings which the settlers held in 1835, the frequent allusions to making *a good claim* in

heaven, showed where the heart was. Nearly two years passed before any move was made for the organization of any church. Mr. Abner Barlow, then a Methodist preacher, residing in Pleasant Prairie, was the first person who statedly preached in what is now Kenosha. After him we had various calls from those who professed to preach the gospel. When different demoninations came to be represented by their preachers, they met usually in the old log school house on Main street. Then there was much harmony. No church was constituted till January, 1837, when the Methodists formed a society. The Congregational church was organized in June, 1838, by Rev. Mr. Crawford; their first pastor was Rev. Mr. Nichols*. The Baptist church was constituted in September, 1838; Rev. Jason Lothrop was their first pastor, and held that relation about nine years, when illness compelled him to resign the charge. The Episcopal church was organized in 1840, by Rev. Mr. Hull; their first pastor was Rev. William Alanson. No other churches were formed within the period of which I write.

First settlers of Kenosha County.—G. H. Kimball, Hudson Bacon, John Bullen, Jr., S. Resigne, Jonathan Pierce, Gardner Wilson, Jason Lothrop, William Bullen, Nelson Lay, Alfred Foster, Waters Towsley, David Crossit, may be named as early settlers at Pike River, afterwards called Southport, and still later Kenosha. Many came into the place, and remained till they could secure claims in the country back; these are not named in the above list.

Pleasant Prairie.—Horace Woodbridge and Jacob Miller were the first settlers in this town; the latter kept a tavern in a log house on the United States' road, where John Eastman, Esq., now resides. After them came Sylvester Pierce, Caleb Pierce, Robert Barnes; the first two moved into Hickory Grove, and the latter located on the United States' road, where Charles Morgan

* In Pert's History of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Wisconsin it is stated that the Kenosha church was organized June 25th, 1838, by Rev. Gilbert Crawford; and Rev. C. C. Cadwell was the first minister, from July, 1838, to July, 1839. L. C. D.

now lives. Then came John T. Cady, and soon after Owin Stevens, who afterwards left, Abner Barlow, who subsequently preached at Pike River and elsewhere. Early in 1836, Daniel Stevens, Christopher Derbyshire, and the Talcotts.

Somers.—The family of Felches were here in 1835, as early as March, and were soon followed by Montgomery, Griffin, Shuart, Allen, Bond, Willard, Stevens, Miller, and Deacon Cephas Weed.

Paris.—Hammond Marsh, the Northways, R. Marston, Fulsom, and Coffin.

Bristol.—Rev. Ira Bristol, from whom the town was named, Levi Grant, Ethridge, Wilbur, Fitch A. Higgins, his son William Higgins, and Rawlen Tuttle, were the first settlers. Joel Walker, in the spring of 1836, made his claim on what has since been known as Walker's Prairie.

Salem.—John Dodge, John Bullen, David Bullen, and Amos Gratton.

Brighton.—Dr. Johnson, and Mr. Wightman.

Wheatland.—Jenkins, the Dixons, and Powers.

Did time and space permit, we should like to present more names, with a more particular account of them; as it is, we must be content to close with some brief sketches of a few of the more noted and prominent.

G. H. Kimball was an early settler at Pike River, after purchasing a large tract south of the creek or river; and having sold out much of his interest, he still lives here. He has a fine residence, where he can spend his old age amid the beauties of nature, in a thick forest of fruit and ornamental trees.

Gen. John Bullen came in the year 1836, and located in the town of Salem, at the place still known as Bullen's Bridge. He was active and influential in labors for his town and county, and was appointed general of militia by Gov. Dodge. He died in Kenosha in 1852.

John Bullen, Jr., son of the general, was an early settler, and for awhile sole Agent of the Emigration Company, and as deeply interested in its fortunes and issue as any other man. He was for

many years engaged in mercantile business, and has been an extensive land-holder. He still lives to witness the great changes that have taken place since the days of 1835 and '36.

William Bullen, his brother, was one of the first claimants on the island, and afterwards procured a pre emption on the claim made by H. Bacon. He pursued mercantile business, and built a number of large houses, and was much engaged in promoting the interests of the town. He was a member of the Territorial Council in 1838, the two sessions of 1839, and in 1840 and '41. He was honored as a citizen and legislator. He died some years since.

Charles Durkee came from Vermont, his native State, in 1836. He purchased considerable property here, and early commenced building, which he pursued extensively to the advancement of the best interests of the place; the last of these buildings reared by him was the large hotel which will continue to bear the name of *Durkee House* while it stands. He was highly esteemed by the few he found in the place, and his friends have steadily increased with the population. Few men have done so much business, dealt with so many persons, and made so few enemies. He was engaged in every good work, and did his full share in its prosecution. He never waited to be *led*, but was forward in all plans of mercy and benevolence, even when he knew the majority would oppose him. In the cause of temperance and freedom, he was an early and earnest advocate. He was elected a member of the first Territorial Legislature in 1836, and also in 1837 and '38; in 1850, he was chosen to a seat in the lower house of Congress, where he served his two years' term; and in 1855, was elected a member of the United States' Senate. He now resides in Dane county, where he has an extensive farm.

R. H. Deming came here in the year 1836, and for a time was employed in mercantile affairs. He soon took a prominent part in public matters relating to the welfare and prosperity of the place. His early labors in the cause of freedom, temperance and education, have identified him with the history and progress of

Southport, and the then county of Racine. But all his other public positions and services, will weigh little in comparison with his influence and labors connected with the establishment and support of our public schools. He was one of the first to favor the organization of free schools, and he has uniformly given them his warm encouragement. Kenosha is much indebted to him for the success of her schools, and he has lived to see some of the fruits of these labors, and in his own family.

Michael Frank deserves to rank high as one of the most prominent and useful of our citizens. He has done much towards the growth and prosperity of Kenosha. In 1837, he exchanged his home in Virgil, Courtland county, N. Y., for Southport. Though unobtrusive in his manners, he soon became appreciated as editor, Justice of the Peace, President of the Corporation, and member of the Legislative Council—in which latter body he served from 1843 to 1846, inclusively. He has been Colonel of the regiment, and had the offer of a General's commission, but he never valued any military office, and seemed not to love the business of war. If he has taken pride in any public stations, it has been in those which enabled him to promote popular education. In our public school system, he is beginning to see the utility of his labors in a generation rising up to bless such philanthropists. His "Annals," carefully kept since he has been a citizen with us, may be of much use and value hereafter.

Charles C., and Christopher Latham Sholes did not settle so early among us as many others, but the prominent part they have taken in our affairs, demands our notice.

C. C. Sholes has been long known in Wisconsin—first at Green Bay, and since in our place. He represented Brown county in the Territorial Assembly in the six sessions from 1837 to 1840; and in 1855, represented this county in the Assembly, and was chosen Speaker of that body. Here in Kenosha, he has been known as an active citizen, engaged in all good labors. As mayor of our city, his name has been more associated with the prosperity of the place than that of any other person. In every position he

has occupied, he has exhibited a character of sterling faithfulness and honesty of purpose.

C. L. Sholes established his newspaper press here in 1840, and has sustained its credit and his reputation as editor, taking rank with the ablest in Wisconsin; its independent and liberal character is well known. He served in the State Senate in 1848 and '49, and in the Assembly in 1852 and '53, and is now serving another two years' term in the Senate. He has always been forward in every improvement and good work. If the spirits of the departed influence none to worse deeds than they do him, we shall not be very jealous of their visits.

"CLAIMANT'S UNION."

"At a meeting of the inhabitants of Pike River, at the store of Bullen & Co., on the 13th day of February, 1836, Austin Kellogg was chosen moderator, and William C. Etheridge clerk, when the following preamble and Constitution, presented by the committee appointed to draft the same, were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, a union and co operation of all the inhabitants will be indispensably necessary, in case the pre-emption law should not pass, for the securing and protecting of our claims: And whereas, we duly appreciate the benefit which may result from such an association, not only in regulating the manner of making and sustaining claims, and settling differences in regard to them, but in securing the same to the holders thereof against speculators at the land sale; and being well aware that consequences the most dangerous to the interests of settlers will follow, if such a union be not formed; and as Government has heretofore encouraged emigration by granting pre-emption to actual settlers, we are assured that our settling and cultivating the public lands is in accordance with the best wishes of Government; and knowing that in some instances our neighbors have been dealt with in an unfeeling manner, driven from their homes, their property des-

troyed, their persons attacked, and their lives jeoparded, to satisfy the malignant disposition of unprincipled and avaricious men: and looking upon such proceedings as unjust, calculated to produce anarchy, confusion and the like among us, destroy our fair prospects, subvert the good order of society, and render our homes the habitations of terror and distrust—those homes, to obtain which we have left our friends, deprived ourselves of the many blessings and privileges of society, have borne the expenses, and encountered the hardships of a perilous journey, advancing into a space beyond the bounds of civilization, and having the many difficulties and obstructions of a state of nature to overcome, and on the peaceable possession of which our all is depending: We, therefore, as well meaning inhabitants, having in view the promotion of the interest of our settlement, and knowing the many advantages derived from unity of feeling and action, do come forward this day, and solemnly pledge ourselves to render each other our mutual assistance, in the protection of our just rights, and in furtherance of these views, we adopt and agree to abide by and support, the following

CONSTITUTION:

Art. 1. The name and title of this Society shall be the '*Pike River Claimants' Union, auxiliary to the County Union*,' for the attainment and security of titles to claims on Government lands.

Art. 2. Besides a Chairman and Clerk, a board of twelve Censors shall be appointed for the purpose of deciding on all cases of dispute between claimants, coming before them, be chosen without favor to name or party; five from the twelve to constitute a quorum to act as the Board; the other seven being subject to objection, if drawn; yet none but the parties and the Clerk shall be privy to the process of drawing and objecting.

Art. 3. To constitute a claim, there shall be a house body, or frame of sufficient dimensions for a family to dwell in, or half an acre ploughed, or a piece enclosed with at least 100 rails—either

of which shall constitute a claim; and be entered on the map kept by the Clerk for that purpose, giving the name and time of making the same.

Art. 4. Any person complying with the above, shall be allowed to hold one quarter section, and as much more as the Committee shall say when the question comes before them; and shall be allowed to act as agent for others which agency shall in all cases be made satisfactory to the Censors.

Art. 5. The claimant, to secure the protection of the Union, shall, within thirty days after signing the Constitution or making the claim, have the same entered on the Clerk's map.

Art. 6. Thirty days, from the time of signing the Constitution, shall be allowed for perfecting the required labor on claims previously made under other regulations.

Art. 7. At the close of each trial, the Censors may make out a bill of all the expenses attending the same, and determine by whom it shall be paid; on the refusal of any one to pay the sum put to him for expenses, or for fines for non-attendance as witness, his name shall be recorded by the Clerk as a delinquent, and so debarred from protection and benefits of the Union.

Art. 8. A delegation of five members shall be sent to the Root River Union, for the purpose of generalizing our operations, and uniting claimants in the county, in a more extensive bond for more effectual operation, yet without interfering with each others' peculiar local concerns.

Art. 9. The Chairman, Clerk, and a quorum of Censors may, at any time, call a meeting of the Union, on application to the Chairman.

Proceeded according to the Constitution, and made the following appointments:—Waters Towsley, *Chairman;* William C. Etheridge, *Clerk;* Abner Barlow, John F. Cady, Orrin Stevens, Orrin Jerome, Cephas Weed, Chauncey Davis, Nelson Allen, Alfred Foster Joseph Cauldwell, Jared Fox, Nelson Gatlief, and Henry Miller, *Censors;* Jason Lothrop, Abner

BARLOW, JOHN F. CADY, J. M. SHERWOOD, and WATERS TOWSLEY, *Delegates.*

Resolved, should a vacancy in the above Committee occur, three of the same are allowed to appoint some one to fill that vacancy.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be printed.

AUSTIN KELLOGG, Chairman.

WM. C. ETHERIDGE, Clerk.

Printed for the Union, at Pike River, by JASON LOTHROP.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE MILWAUKEE UNION.

That we the undersigned, as settlers of public lands within the county of Milwaukee, deem it of vital importance, that there should be, for the interest of the settlers, cordiality of feeling among them. That should Congress refuse to extend the pre-emption law, our whole dependence is upon union, and our respect for each others' rights: if we go on contending and striving one against another until the day arrives when it shall be decided whether we are to have a home upon the spot that we have selected, there will be no hope of success. And now let us come forward determined to protect one another, and our success will be complete; let not the imprudence of any one destroy the fair prospects of the whole. What must be the condition of those who have expended their last farthing in reaching the spot they claim, if they are to be driven from their temporary refuge by a mob or the unfeeling speculator. To the instigator of the mob we would say, beware!—to the speculator, remember the mournful feelings of the emigrant, sobbing adieu to the tombs and temples of his fathers— his toils and sufferings in building up a new habitation, and gathering the manna of heaven, like the Israelites, from the bosom of the wilderness.

And now, as American citizens, (and there is a charm and magic in the word,) we pledge ourselves to support and protect each other in holding our just and lawful claims, against all op-

position; also to support and abide by the following resolutions: for the support of this, we solemnly avow to each other, and call upon God to witness their truth and sincerity, and invoke disgrace upon our heads, should we prove guilty of duplicity:

Art. 1. *Resolved*, That the County be divided into two districts; that the first district shall include all that part of the county, north and east of the township line of township *four*—second, all that part of the county south and west of the north line of said township.

Art. 2. That each district shall be entitled to a *Register*, who shall be a surveyor, legally appointed by the county surveyor, by the recommendation of the district in which he may reside; whose duty it shall be to make a correct plot of his district, and record the same upon a book of record, which said surveyor shall keep for the recording of claims; which shall be subject to the inspection of any person holding or wishing to make a claim, who has or may hereafter sign this Constitution. Said surveyor shall attend to all calls, to examine and survey any premises applied for, and in case there is no previous claim upon said premises, the surveyor shall make a survey of the same, and keep a record of all such surveys, and give a certificate to the said applicant for said premises to the same effect; which certificate shall be filed in the Treasurer's office of the same district; and upon application to the Treasurer, to file said certificate, the party applying for it, shall pay to the Treasurer two dollars, and it shall be the duty of the Treasurer to give a receipt for the same.

Art. 3. To constitute a claim, there shall be a house erected on the same, at least 12 feet square, with roof covered with boards or shingles; also, if in timber lands, there shall be at least one acre chopped for cultivation, and fenced 7 rails high, and if on the prairie, there shall be at least two acres fenced as above; all to be performed within forty days from the adoption of this Constitution,—the first claimant shall be the person who shall have made the first improvement without evident design of relinquishing the same, by absence, or by making other claims,—that within

forty days from this time, or forty days from the time of making the claim, shall have the same recorded by the District Recorder, and pay the sum of two dollars into the District Treasury.

Art. 4. That all male citizens over the age of eighteen, and females over the age of sixteen, shall be entitled to hold a claim by complying with the foregoing resolutions.

Art. 5. That every person wishing to make or hold a claim within this county, shall make such claim in person, and comply with the 2d and 3d resolutions, except females, who shall reside within the county, who may employ an agent in making a claim, and be protected by this Constitution, and resolutions; in case of leaving the same, they shall employ an agent to reside on said claim.

Art. 6. A Treasurer shall be appointed in each district by their own delegates in this Convention, who shall receive all money paid into the Treasury, and give a receipt for the same, a copy of which shall be filed in the office of the Recorder.

The Treasurer shall keep a true account of all monies received and expended by him, applied to the purposes ordered by this Constitution, and if the same shall not be wholly expended when the land shall be obtained by sale or pre emption, and all difficulties settled, shall refund the remainder to each person who has signed this Constitution, in proportion to the amount received from each individual. Said Treasurer shall give to the Board of Arbitrators a good and sufficient bond, amounting to two thousand dollars. Each Treasurer shall provide himself with a book sufficiently large to record all claims, and enter upon the same all testimony and decisions of the Committee, with the certificate of the presiding officer within his district, which shall be kept and subject to the inspection of all persons as specified in Article 2nd. He shall keep in his possession this Constitution and resolutions; and every person shall, before paying in his money, sign the same—any person complying with the foregoing, shall be considered a member, and equally protected by the same. Said Treasurer shall be entitled to twenty-five cents for every certifi-

cate he may legally issue; and for all recording, the same fee as the County Recorder; to be paid by each individual that may require such recording to be done.

Art. 7. *Resolved*, That a Board of Arbitrators, consisting of five, shall be elected by the people of their district. The duty of said Arbitrators, shall be to attend to all summons legally served, coming from a Judge or Justice of the Peace, to sit as a *Board of Arbitrators*, to hear and try any case brought before them, within the meaning of this Constitution. The Judge or Justice issuing the same, shall preside over said Board, and record all testimony and decisions of the same. A majority of said Arbitrators shall constitute a quorum, and proceed to business after being duly sworn according to law; and in case the whole number of Arbitrators are present, each party may have the privilege of rejecting one member of said Board; and in case that one party has no objection to any one member, the other may reject two of the same, the oldest claimant so contending shall have the preference, provided he has made a legal claim; and in all cases the decision of the Board shall be final. All the proceedings of said Board shall be made a rule of court, and the Judge or Justice shall proceed accordingly; and each member summoned and appearing to sit upon any such case, shall be entitled to two dollars.

Art. 8. *Resolved*, That each member and clerk of this Convention, shall be entitled to two dollars per day while attending, including the time of going to and returning from said Convention, to be paid equally, out of the funds of each Treasury of the districts sending the same, by the members presenting a certificate signed by the President and Clerk of this Convention.

Art. 9. That all decisions of the Board of Arbitrators, in conformity to any of the foregoing resolutions, shall be put in force and complied with, peaceably if *can be*, and forcibly if *must be*. In case forcible means should be resorted to, all reasonable expenses, so made, shall be paid out of the Treasury of the district where such expenses are made.

Art. 10. *Resolved*, That in case any difficulty should arise, in regard to claims, not comprehended in the foregoing resolutions, the Board of Arbitrators shall have universal jurisdiction over the same, and their decision shall be final, as provided in the foregoing resolutions.

Art. 11. *Resolved*, That any person who has a family of three or four children, shall be entitled to hold one claim for such children, provided, the oldest of such children does not exceed the age of eighteen or sixteen years; and that he or she shall have complied with the foregoing resolutions.

Alanson Sweet, B. W. Finch, Albert Fowler, Horace Chase, Henry C. West, *Milwaukee Delegates.*

Gilbert Knapp, Levi Mason, Walter Cooly, William Luce, *Root River Delegates.*

Jason Lothrop, Waters Towsley, G. P. Post, Geo. W. Griffin, *Pike River Delegates.*

John Fowle, John P. Haight, *Oak Creek Delegates.*

Symmes Butler, *Skunk's Grove Delegate.*

GILBERT KNAPP,
Chairman.

B. B. Cary,
J. C. Knapp, Secretaries.

By order of the Convention, printed by Jason Lothrop, Pike River, W. T."

APPENDIX No. 15.

WISCONSIN—ITS RISE AND PROGRESS, WITH NOTICES OF MINERAL POINT AND RICHLAND COUNTY.

BY STEPHEN TAYLOR.

In the year 1835, I pitched my tent at Mineral Point, one of the principal nucleuses of the early settlement of the North-west, prior to which time West Michigan was but sparsely populated. Agriculture occupied very limited attention; mining, smelting, and their requisite mechanical vocations, almost exclusively absorbed the industrial interests of the people of the Lead Mines. Subsequently, July 4th, 1836, Wisconsin Territory, covering the regions embraced by Iowa and Minnesota, merged into existence, with a total population (in 1835) of about twelve thousand, (including the Oneida, Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, some of whom enjoy the rights of civilized citizens,) nearly seven thousand of which resided east of the Mississippi river. The State, under its present limits, numbered in 1850, over three hundred and five thousand, and in 1855, it contained over five hundred and fifty-two thousand inhabitants! a respectable increase indeed, in the settlement of a new country. This rapid influx to me is not at all surprising; for as nature allotted a portion of our favored country as an earthly paradise, Wisconsin, with its fertility of soil and salubrity of climate, is eminently qualified in such distinction. Viewing the country from Milwaukee to the Mississippi, and upon a transverse line from Janesville to Green Bay, and from the latter point to the Falls of St. Anthony, in Minnesota, and from the eminences of the bluffs along the "Father of

Waters," southward, an observing tourist will find that the State, throughout its whole extent, assumes one general horizontal appearance; no mountains or hills are here to mar the beauties of the enchanting scene or disturb the harmony of its undulated surface, save a few isolated out-layers, the largest of which are the Blue, the Platte, and the Sinsiniwa Mounds. These *natural* prominences, (neither of which covers more than two hundred acres,) are of an irregular, pyramidical or conical form, and aid gracefully in embellishing the otherwise natural attractiveness of the plain. They served as guides for the roving aborigines—the red man and the warrior. They still serve as majestic "beacons" for civilization; and, elevated a few hundred feet above the gentle swells of the prairie, observable at distances of thirty miles or more, as they are, will ever remain as objects of admiration in all time to come. The diversified view from either of these natural observatories is indescribably grand.

After an absence of over twelve years from Wisconsin, I was amazed, during a recent visit, at the change time had wrought in its progress. Milwaukee was scarcely known other than prospectively; she is now rapidly acquiring importance as a great city, having a population of over thirty thousand, with immense commercial business and business capacity; her streets are spacious, well graded and paved, her public and business houses and private mansions are constructed upon magnificent scales, and of tasty architecture; the brick used for building are of a beautiful buff color and of fine texture, which gives to the whole city the pleasing aspect, as I fancy it, of a tall prim Quakeress, clothed in plain, buff colored garb.

Madison, the second in population in the State, now numbers upwards of eight thousand six hundred inhabitants.* The city, upon an isthmus, or, more properly, upon a peninsula, between Lakes Mendota and Monona, about three-fourths of a mile in

* The present population of Milwaukee (July 1, 1856,) is not less than 35,000, and Madison fully 10,000. L. C. D.

width at its narrowest point, has an irregular undulating surface, though of easy and accessible grades in all directions. The centre Park, or that one on which the Capitol stands, is an almost level plateau, elevated seventy feet above the lakes, and contains about fifteen acres. Nature has studded it with thrifty forest trees—art has tastefully adorned it with gravelled walks and gas lamps! The grounds, without the park, gradually descend, and again with gentle ascents form numerous elevations, varying in altitude from thirty to one hundred and twenty-five feet, affording many desirable sites for villas. University Park, containing over fifty acres, is the most prominent of these elevations, and from the college buildings, situate at the highest point, and from many other prominences and public and private observatories, a view of the city, its public buildings, and its numerous princely mansions, equalling in magnificence those of our eastern cities —justly entitling Madison to the provincial cognomen of *Palatial City*—the sparkling lakes, skirted with every variety of scenery, the bluffs, the capes, the coves, the prairies, the ravines, the groves, the meadows, and the vision-encompassed luxuriance of the husbandman, is sublime beyond comparison. In truth, the grandeur of the scenery of the "Four Lake Country" is equalled only by that part of Hilges' Panorama of the Creation and Deluge, representing the Garden of Eden, with its life like crystal lakes and floral verdure; and those who have feasted upon that imaginative picture only can fancy the beauties hereabouts.

In the summer of 1836, with a comrade, I camped at the head of Mendota or Fourth Lake, within six miles of the spot where the Capitol now stands, at which time there was not within twenty miles of that point a single white inhabitant, and none within the present limits of Dane county, an area of twelve hundred and forty square miles, excepting Col. E. Brigham, at the Blue Mounds, and those of his household. Contrast the present with the condition of the country nearly twenty years ago, when the Indian and the deer, unmolested, roamed the forest and the plain, and you behold the county of Dane with over thirty-seven thousand enlight-

ened and industrious people! and the flourishing city of Madison, the concentration of fashion and affluence, vieing with older cities for pre eminence as the seat of science, literature and the arts, with her University, State Historical Society, State Agricultural Society, Natural History Association, Public Libraries, and various other local institutions, respectably comparing with those of similar character in the eastern States.

"The Lake Side Water Cure," a hydropathic institute, of large dimensions, "across the waters," in the midst of a natural park of fifty acres or more, and in view from all the prominences of the city, is another object of attraction, and is fast gaining celebrity among invalids from all parts of our country.*

The buildings of the city, both public and private, also partake of the Quakeress character, though not of brick; the material generally used is a magnesian limestone, entirely destitute of fossils, susceptible of tolerably fine sculpture, and, upon penetrating the quarries beyond the influence of surface discoloration, of a beautiful buff color. I presume it to be the *lower* magnesian stratum. Are there in it indications of a lead-bearing character?

The lakes around Madison are deep and of remarkable transparency, abounding in many piscatory varieties, of large size, where disciples of Izaak, male and female, enjoy the angling pleasures with more reality than mere *nibblers*.

Prairie du Chien, on the Mississippi, at its confluence with the Wisconsin river, contains about two thousand inhabitants, though, like Rip Van Winkle, she has reposed for many years. A railroad, in progress from Milwaukee terminates here, and the prospect of the near approach of the "iron horse," with its shrill whistle, seems to have aroused her citizens from their lethargy. "The Prairie," a handsome river plain, covering an area of ten or twelve square miles, is skirted on the east by the same picturesque bluffs, which adorn the scenery of the Mississippi as far

* This institution is now under the superintendence of one of the ablest hydropathists of the Union —Dr. E. A. Kittredge, recently of Boston, so favorably known by his humorous productions over the signature of "Nogg." L. C. D.

as the Falls of St. Anthony. The superior steamboat landing and her agricultural and other advantages, warrant for this ancient frontier trading post, at no distant day, an eminent position as a populous commercial city.

Between Prairie du Chien and the Falls of St. Anthony, the country, prior to 1839, contained few inhabitants other than semi-civilized Indians; who occupied, as villages, many of the prominent locations which now flourish as populous miniature cities; the most important of which are Lansing, in Iowa, Prairie La Crosse, Prescott and Hudson, in Wisconsin, and Winona, Red Wing, Wabasha, Stillwater, St. Paul and St. Anthony, connected with Minneapolis by a wire suspension bridge, from an island above the cataract, in Minnesota. These are all eligible points, in every view, yet, as inducements to capitalists and business adventurers, (I merely throw out a suggestion) would it not tend to advantageous results, in the prosperity of these cities, were the proprietors to *reduce* the price of grounds to a grade at least as low as that of New York or Philadelphia?

To antiquaries, the most interesting feature in this region, is that of its earthwork embossments. The writer, during 1842,* devoted much labor in preparing an essay on the existence of the tumuli of Wisconsin, and was sorely perplexed, in his recent perambulations in that State, at the ruthless desecration of many of the mounds. Why should these interesting relics of antiquity be thus thoughtlessly leveled with the earth by the plough share and the hoe? Truly the patriotic agriculturalist should at least devote, in their preservation, a spark of the same veneration bestowed upon them by the uncultivated Indian. They remained undisturbed by the savage for countless years—they are now in charge of a civilized destroyer! Upon the Press of the State rests the responsibility of the protection of these labors of an ancient people—should that palladium fail in their transmission to posterity, in their pristine condition, I warn the habitant to

* Am. Jour. Science, vol. 44, p. 21.

desist in the demolition of the mounds, lest the spirits of those who revere them most, should in an unpropitious moment visit their desecrators with the vengeance such profanity merits.

MINERAL POINT IN DAYS OF YORE.

For some time prior to the settlement of the Lead Mines, the miners, under the regulations of the War Department, were licensed to explore and occupy the mineral lands in that region, though in consequence of the hostility of the Indians to the explorations and encroachments of the whites, they seldom ventured far beyond that protection which numerical strength and the defensive organizations near Galena secured.

It was in the autumn of 1827, upon the cessation of the Winnebago disturbances, that the more daring and enterprising, prompted by the hope of discovering vast mineral treasures, the existence of which over a wide extent of territory, the many flattering accounts had so truthfully pictured, banded together in well armed squads, over-run the country *prospecting** in all directions. They were usually, in those times, governed by certain surface indications, the most infallible of which were the old Indian diggings, which were found in almost every direction, and their locations were marked by the many small aspen groves or patches indigenous to the up-turned clay of the prairies in the lead region. By the rude and superficial mode of excavation by the Red men, much mineral remained in the diggings, as well as among the rubbish; mining in these old burrows, therefore, not only at once justified the labor, but frequently led to the discovery of productive mines. "Gravel mineral," carbonized so as scarcely to be distinguished from water-worn pebbles, and occasionally lumps weighing several pounds, were exciting evidences of the existence of larger bodies upon the highlands in the vicinity. The *amorpha canescens*, or "masonic weed," peculiar to the whole country, when found in a cluster of rank growth, also attracted

* A term applied by diggers to those who moved from place to place, sinking small shafts with a view of discovering mineral in unexplored regions. S. T.

the attention of the Indian as well as the more experienced miner, as it was supposed to indicate great depth of clay or the existence of crevices in the rock beneath. By such means were the mineral resources of Wisconsin explored and developed, and thus was the manner of the discovery of the productive mines at

MINERAL POINT,—

a piece of land elevated about two hundred feet, narrowing and descending to a point, situated in the midst of a valley, as it were—a ravine bounding the same both eastward and westward, through which tributaries of the Pekatonica River flow, uniting in a wider valley to the southward. It was upon *this point* that the "leads were struck," the fame of which spread, and so quickly became the centre of attraction, the miners flocking to them from every quarter. It was customary, upon the discovery of new diggings, to distinguish them by some appellation, so this locality, on account of its peculiar position and shape, was formally called " Mineral Point," and hence the name of the present village, the nucleus of which was formed by the erection of a few small log cabins, and huts built with square cut sods, covered in with poles, prairie grass and earth. These very comfortable though temporary shelters were located in the vicinity of the intersection of what are now called Commerce and High streets, at the margin of the westerly ravine, and in view from the diggings on the *point.*

Females, in consequence of the dangers and privations of those primitive times, were as rare in the diggings as snakes upon the Emerald Isle, consequently the bachelor miner, from necessity, performed the domestic duties of cook and washerman, and the preparation of meals was indicated by appending a rag to an upright pole, which, fluttering in the breeze, telegraphically conveyed the glad tidings to his hungered brethren upon the hill. Hence, this circumstance, at a very early date, gave the provincial *sobriquet* of "*Shake Rag,*" or "*Shake Rag under the Hill,*" which that part of the now flourishing village of Mineral Point, lying under the hill, has acquired, and which in all probability it

will ever retain. So much for the origin of Mineral Point. I will now venture a few remarks regarding the manners and customs of its inhabitants in days of yore.

The continued prosperity of the mines, in a comparatively brief period, increased the population of the village to several hundred, comprised as is usual in mineral regions, of representatives from every clime and country, and in such conglomeration, it is fair to presume, of every stripe of character. This increase of population, including many of those expert in the "profession," warranted the establishment of numerous gambling saloons, groceries—a refined name for groggeries—and other like places of dissipation and amusement, where the unwary, and those flushed with success in digging, could be "taken in and done for," or avail themselves of opportunities voluntarily to dispose of their accumulated means, either in drowning their sorrows in the bowl, or "fighting the tiger" in his den.

Notwithstanding such were the practices almost universally, more or less, indulged in by the denizens, yet the protracted winters in this then secluded, uncultivated and sparsely populated country, and, for that reason, the absence of those more reputable enjoyments which mellow and refine sociality in other regions, in a measure justified a moderate participation in this mode of driving *dull* cares away. These congenial customs, peculiarly western, were as firmly based as the laws which governed the Medes and Persians, and wo to those, from lands of steadier habits, who would endeavor to introduce innovations adverse to the established policy of those days! Hence the propriety and necessity of harmonizing with, and following in the trail of the popular will. But such, I am happy in the conviction, is not *now* the case—virtue, in the progress of events, has naturally succeeded profligacy, and Mineral Point, freed from contamination, stands redeemed of her former errors.

Among the most distinguished of the earliest pioneers of Mineral Point, yet upon the stage of action, are Col. Robt. C. Hoard, Col. Robert S. Black, (now of Dodgeville,) Col. Henry M. Bil-

lings, Col. Daniel M. Parkison, Col. Abner Nichols, Francis Vivian, Parley Eaton, Levi Sterling, Edward Beouchard, Josiah Tyack, James James, Samuel Thomas Mrs. Hood, Amzi W. Comfort, O. P. Williams, (now of Portage City,) M. V. B. Burris, Milton Bevans, Peter Hartman, John F. O'Neill, William Sublett, John Phillips, John Milton, George Cubbage, James Hitchins, John Caserly, Edward Coode, and William Tregay. And the following, who have since paid the debt of nature, viz: Col. John D. Ansley, Col. John McNair, Robert Dougherty, Capt. William Henry, Stephen Terrill, Mark Terrill, Dr. Edward McSherry, Dr. Richard G. Ridgley, Nicholas Uren, Richard Martin, James S. Bowden, John Hood, Lord Blaney, Joseph Sylvester, Matthew G. Fitch, Thomas McKnight, Stephen B. Thrasher, Robert W. Gray, Joseph Morrison, James Hugo, Hugh R. Hunter, Edward James, (late U. S. Marshal,) William Prideaux, Joseph James, Benjamin Salter, and "Cadwallader the keg-maker."

Mineral Point, numbers at this time, not far from three thousand inhabitants. Besides the Court House and County offices, the United States Land office is located here, which, with the lead trade, gives to the place quite a business aspect. The "new town" is well laid out with spacious streets, and improved with commodious mansions and large gardens, decorated with thrifty groves of spontaneous growth, contrasting materially with the original miners' huts and sod cabins of the old village of "*Shake Rag under the Hill.*" The increase of population and the erection of numerous Church edifices with towering spires, has, to a remarkable degree, changed the manners and customs of the people. The village is now classed among the most healthy and respectable in the State, and, upon the completion of her railroad connection with the east, bids fair to become quite an important business place. So mote it be, is the prayer of one of its early denizens.

Having thus briefly disposed of Mineral Point, perhaps it may

not be considered out of place here to introduce a brief notice of the origin of

RICHLAND COUNTY.

Therefore, as a prelude to the sketch of that county by IRA S. HASELTINE, Esq., published in the Report and Collections of the Wis. State Historical Society of last year, I offer the following: During the winter of 1841–'42, the total adult male resident population, within the bounds of what is now Richland county, numbered only *seven*—viz: Messrs. JOHN COOMBS, EDWARD COOMBS, HARDIN MOORE, MATTHEW ALEXANDER, Capt. JAMES B. ESTES, STEPHEN TAYLOR, and a trapper named KNAPP, whose secluded hermitage was situated in the vicinity of the mouth of a stream near the south-west corner of the county, which stream subsequently received his name. This section then composed part of Crawford county. Its remoteness from Prairie du Chien, the seat of justice, dictated the project of a new organization, and its consequent annexation to Iowa county for judicial and other purposes. With a view, therefore, of comparing ideas upon the utility of such an organization, notices for a meeting, to be held on a future day, at the Eagle Mill on Eagle creek, were posted, at which meeting the *entire people* assembled, and the preamble and resolutions prepared, in the form of a petition to the Legislature, then in session, by a committee appointed for that purpose, were with great unanimity approved! These proceedings (now, doubtless, on file among the archives of the State,) were appropriately referred to the representatives of Iowa, Grant and Crawford counties, upon whose favorable report the act establishing the county of Richland, was passed, defining its limits, &c., in accordance with the desires of the petitioners. In addition to which, Col. ABNER NICHOLS, JOHN RAY, and, if memory serves me, JAMES MURPHY, all of Iowa county, were commissioned to locate the future seat of justice. These gentlemen in the following summer, after partaking of a sumptuous feed (usually provided upon such occasions by parties most interested,) formally "stuck

the stake" upon section 35, town 9, range 1, at the *lower ferry*, about a mile and a half west of the meridian.

In selecting a name for the new county, some differences of opinion existed; the united object, however, was to adopt such an one as would elicit attraction, and at the same time bespeak the true character of its territory—the appellation, *Richland*, was, therefore, adopted. This cognomen being the only claim the writer possesses in the county, and which he will never surrender, has, he presumes, been justly awarded.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan., 1856.

APPENDIX No. 16.

LEGEND OF THE RED BANKS,

BY HON. CHARLES D. ROBINSON.

Upon a high bank, on the eastern shore of Green Bay about twelve miles north of the town, is an interesting earth-work, bearing a singular resemblance to military defences of modern times. Its walls, at one time, must have been some seven feet in height, or thereabouts, having a ditch or moat on the outside, and provided on its three exposed sides with regular bastions. Its fourth side fronts on a precipice of perhaps one hundred feet in height, whose base is washed by the waters of Green Bay; and leading down this steep bank impassable at any other immediate point, is what seems to have once been a protected passage of steps cut into the clay, and perhaps covered with boughs of trees. This was the communication from the fort to the water; and standing here now, it needs but little fancy to see those grim warriors of the olden time filing down their covered way, with less of the pomp, and more of the nerve of the mailed knights of feudal days, issuing from their rock-bound castles.

In, or near, the centre, are two parallel walls, about twenty-five feet long, which were probably united at the ends, as there is some appearance of it now. It is very difficult to imagine the use of this part of the structure, unless it was to protect valuables, or such inmates of the fort as were incapable of aiding in its defence. Had the place been constructed in these days, it would have made a magazine of the most approved kind. A few rods to the north, outside the walls, and on the very brink of the pre-

cipice, is what was once, apparently, a look-out—a high mound of earth, a few feet high, now half carried off by the wearing away of the cliff. To the southward and eastward of the fort, occupying some hundreds of acres, were the planting grounds of the people who inhabited the place. Large trees now over-grow the ground, yet the furrows are as distinctly marked as if made but last year, and are surprisingly regular. The whole work is admirably placed, and would do credit to the forethought and judgment so necessary in correct military positions of modern times.

This is the only ancient earth-work, it is believed, which possesses an undoubted history or tradition, and that is but the history of its fall. When and by whom it was built, there is no story—nothing but the persistent declarations of the Indians of the vicinity that it was the work of red men long, long ago. The tradition which follows, is related by O KEE-WAH, or *The Sea*, an Indian woman now living near the Red River, on the eastern shore of Green Bay, and who, beyond doubt, is upwards of one hundred years of age. She sat over a wigwam fire, only a few nights ago, and related this story, while the light of other days faintly illumined her wrinkled face as she marked out in the ashes the plan of the campaign, and as she told of the long days of disperate fighting, in which her ancestors were engaged, her withered arms seemed nerved with the strength of youth, like the old soldier, who

——"Shouldered his crutch,
And fought his battles o'er again."

"It was long ago," said O KEE-WAH *—"I was so high"—placing her hand about three feet from the ground, "when my grandfather told me the story. The Sauks and the Outagamies lived in the old fort at the Red Banks. They had lived there a long time, and had their planting ground there, and ruled the whole

* The tradition is rendered into English with the strictest possible adherence to O-KEE-WAH'S relation, though, of course, without attempting to follow the Indian idioms. She told it in her own tongue, and it was translated by a faithful interpreter. O. D. R.

country. The forests eastward were full of deer, the waters of the Bay were full of fish, and they possessed the whole We (the Menomonees) lived over the Bay, (at the Menomonee River,) and we sent down the Lakes, inviting the other tribes to come up and help us drive out the Sauks and the Outagamies. They came in canoes—the Chippewas, and Pottawattamies, and Ottawas, and many more. You see how wide this Bay is; their canoes stretched half way across; the Bay was half full of canoes, and each canoe was full of fighting men; they sent their greatest braves. They landed here at the Red River, after coming across from Menomonee, and for two miles along the beach their canoes were so thick that no more could be crowded in. From here they all went, in the night, to the Red Banks. They had bows and arrows, and the heads of the arrows were of flint. Silently they paddled along until they came to the fort, and then the canoes were stationed all along in front, out of reach of arrows from the shore. A part of the warriors staid in the canoes, and a part went on shore and formed a line around the fort, so that, with those on shore and those on the water, it was completely surrounded, and there was no escape for the people inside. So cautiously was all this done, that of all within that fated fort, but one discovered it. A young woman, whose parents lived within the walls, had that day been given, against her will, to be the wife of one of the Sauks living in the immediate vicinity. In the night she ran away from his wigwam and went home, passing on her way the lines of the besiegers. Rushing into the fort, she awakened her family, with the cry, 'We are all dead!' The father laughed at her story, and laid down to sleep again.

"Just before daylight the battle began, and it lasted many days. The besieged fought bravely, standing in the trenches within the walls, and the blood was up to their ankles. They had no water, for the supply was cut off by the party on the beach. They tried in every way to obtain it. Vessels attached to cords were let down to the water by night, but the cords were cut before they could be drawn up. 'Come down and drink!'

cried out the Menomonees; 'here is plenty of water, if you dare to come down and get it.' And they did go down many times. These taunts, and their great necessity, made that narrow way the scene of many desperate sallies, but all to no purpose. The besiegers were too strong.

"The heat of a burning sun, and the dreadful suffering for the want of water became intolerable. Some rain fell once, but it was only a partial relief for those who were perishing in sight of that sparkling water which was almost within reach. At length one of the youngest chiefs, after fasting strictly for ten days,* thus addressed his companions: 'Listen!—last night there stood by me the form of a young man clothed in white, who said, 'I was alive once—was dead, and now live forever; only trust in me, now and always, and I will deliver you. Fear not. At midnight I will cast a deep sleep upon your enemies. Then go forth boldly and silently, and you shall escape.'

"Thus encouraged, and knowing this to be a direct revelation, the besieged warriors decided to leave the fort. That night an unusual silence pervaded the entire host of their enemies, who had been before so wakeful. So in silent, stealthy lines, the wearied people passed out and fled. Only a few, who disbelieved the vision, preferred to remain, and they were massacred with fiercer barbarity than ever, when next morning the besieging tribes awoke from their strange slumbers to find that their prey was gone."

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* The Indian custom when desirous of supernatural direction. C. D. B.

APPENDIX No. 17.

THE PROGRESS, CONDITION AND PROSPECTS OF WISCONSIN.

BY HON. TOM O. EDWARDS.

If coming events cast their shadow before, Wisconsin must needs become the "Empire State." The youngest now of the five giant offsprings of the immortal Ordinance of '87, she is yet in swaddling cloths—whilst Ohio, the oldest, is now fairly decking herself in the "Toga virilis." Wisconsin, altho' the youngest of the "five," has given evidence, by her vigorous growth, her sinewy, nervous frame, and her feats of infantile prowess, of what may be expected of her adult age.

As her growth in the past has not depended upon a miracle, so her future development will result from natural causes. Other States have grown because they contained natural elements of activity and wealth. These elements exist in Wisconsin to a degree not found in any other State west or east. We have arrived at this conclusion after looking over the whole course of past increase in population and wealth in this and other States, and fearing the criticism of this opinion may be the too common expression of "humbug," or be traced to that boastful spirit which abounds in vague generalities that prove nothing and satisfy but few, we append reasons for this opinion, and challenge the severest scrutiny. Geographical position is a most important element of growth and prosperity. Wisconsin is located between 42° and 47° 50' of north latitude. This is the northern temperate region, and is the one in which man has exhibited most energy and devel-

opment. Her atmosphere is cool, clear and dry, and consequently invigorating. Bilious and miasmatic affections, the scourges of Michigan, Illinois and Iowa, are little known. Health and longevity, two most desirable blessings, are consequently attainable here. From a table of the last United States census, (an impartial report, of course,) we obtain the following facts:

This table gives the relative health, progress and deaths of the several States, and illustrates that the number of deaths in ratio to the number of living is—in the State of Maine, 1 to 77; Vermont, 1 to 100; Connecticut, 1 to 64; Illinois, 1 to 73; Iowa, 1 to 94; Wisconsin, 1 to 105;—and this is not only a fair comparison among the above named States, but exhibits the least number of deaths, proportionate to the population, in Wisconsin of any State in the Union.

Commercial Advantages can be ascertained by simply mentioning her position—on her eastern border is Lake Michigan, on the north, Lake Superior; and on these Lakes, in conjunction with Lake Erie, already floats a commerce, by the tabular statements of the census returns, greatly exceeding our entire foreign trade—on her west runs the Mississippi River, the entire length of the State, 400 miles, connecting her with St. Louis, New Orleans and foreign nations. These facts need no comment. Statistics prove that the exports of Wisconsin for last year amounted to more than sixteen millions dollars. Her soil is an element of wealth not sufficiently known to be fully appreciated. Wisconsin is pre eminently an agricultural State, and is capable of becoming as wealthy as any one of the western sisterhood. By the late census and other data, it may be safe and fair to calculate that there are about one and a half millions acres of cultivated land in the State; which, as now occupied, constitutes about 50,000 farms, more or less tilled. There were shipped from Milwaukee over two millions bushels of wheat the past season.

Besides this one and a half millions acres of improved land, there is, within the area of the State, above 30,000,000 acres of land, of which at least 20,000,000 is suitable to be converted into

productive and pleasant farms—enough land to make two millions additional farms—waiting for occupants; and may be purchased at low prices, ranging from $1,25 to $60 per acre.

In regard to the value of improved lands in the new States, the same report shows that the average value is—in Illinois, $7,99; in Iowa, $6,09; in Texas, $1,09; and in Wisconsin, it is $9,58—a very fair show for a young State.

And by looking carefully through the tables, we find that the average value of products per acre, exceeds that of the other States named, in about the same proportion that the land exceeds theirs per acre in value. Draw a line from Manitowoc to Portage, thence directly to the Falls of St. Croix, the farming lands lying south of this line, and comprising nearly one half the State, are not equalled in all respects *as farming lands*, in any State of the Union; on which an industrious farmer can raise from 30 to 50 bushels of wheat, or from 50 to 80 bushels of corn to the acre. North of this, a belt of hard timber extends east and west 150 miles on the latitude of Stevens Point—from 50 to 100 miles in width. The soil of this region is fertile, but the timber is its present wealth. Unlike the prairies, building material for fences is convenient, and no country produces better or more wheat—the staple crop. The indigenous and cultivated grasses flourihs admirably, and combined with numerous streams, afford the best facility for grazing. This peculiarity, (abundance of water,) pervades the entire State, and presents inducements for cattle growing not found in the other prairie countries, where running water is found at distances too great for cattle. The water power on the St. Croix, Black, Chippewa, Rock, Crawfish, Wisconsin and other rivers, surrounded by these agricultural regions, and every kind of raw material, and abundant lumber—without any competition in the Mississippi valley—this water power is but partially used, but in time must be most valuable. Eastern men can appreciate this important fact, and we need but designate the points to make the water power of this State an important element of wealth and greatness.

The immense Pineries at the source of these rivers are convenient to their various falls—taken into account with the scarcity of timber in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri—afford us treasures inexhaustible. They are at present demanded by these States. Most of these rivers empty into the Mississippi, and are navigable for rafts, whilst not a few are accessible at certain seasons to boats of large size.

On the south-west, the country abounds in Lead, which is extensively worked; on the north, the Copper mines have challenged the interests of eastern capitalists. These mines give employment to labor, and offer a home market for immense agricultural products, as well as foster manufacturing on a most extensive scale. With all these, we have a system of railroads traversing the State, and reaching the most desirable points above mentioned—and without this advantage, many of these sources of wealth would be lost. Her natural scenery equals any State of the Union.

We have stated facts, and from them what are our most reasonable deductions? Is not her course in accordance with her motto, "Forward?" In 1840, Wisconsin had 30,000 inhabitants; in '50, 305,000; in '55, 552,000. In population she has out-stripped all the Western States, no one having increased ten fold in ten years. In five years she has nearly doubled her population, having increased 247,000; whilst Illinois, a growing and rapidly increasing State, has added but 30 per centum to her population.

The territory of Wisconsin is larger than either New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana. The last, by the last census, had a population of 1,000,000, the next before, 2,000,000, the second, 3,000,000, and the first, in round numbers, 4,000,000. Wisconsin has a richer soil than New York, and more acres susceptible of cultivation than New York or Pennsylvania. The S. E. counties of Wisconsin are the only settled portions of the State, whilst the north and north-west are comparatively a wilderness. Taking the population of New York as 4,000,000 for our data of calculation, and taking into account that she has a larger proportion of sterile

land than Wisconsin, and that the city and environs may be regarded as national and dependent upon position, we may safely give the rural districts 3,200,000; and, moreover, were she as densely populated as Massachusetts, she would have 6,000,000; these being the data, and Wisconsin one-fourth larger, would contain 7,500,000, with the same number to the square mile. Taking the growth of Ohio and Indiana as a data for Wisconsin increase, we can safely predict, in five years, 800,000 inhabitants, in ten years, 1,100,000, in fifteeen years, 1,500,000, in twenty five years, 3,000,000, in fifty years, 5,000,000. These are subjects challenging the attention and interest of all desirous of seeking a home, and a State with special advantages.

The advantages presented in the preceding, impress every visitor to the State, and have induced greatly the improvements we have simply glanced at. The Chairman of the Board of Trade of the Chamber of Commerce of Cincinnati, visited this State last summer. We know the writer, and no man is better qualified, by travel, reading and observation, to give a correct opinion than he. The following extract, from a letter written during a summer tour, will exhibit his opinion of the present, and from it we may deduce the future greatness of the State.

In a communication to the Cincinnati Gazette of the 9th of August, 1855, he says:

"One pecularity, wherever I traveled in Wisconsin, struck me forcibly, viz: the apparent high degree of culture, cleanliness and thriftiness of the farms. There is not half so much to remind one of a *new* country as there is in Ohio and Indiana, and this is attributable *chiefly* to the fact, that almost every quarter section, in its natural state, is ready for plowing and fencing without the labor of felling trees enough to burden the navy of the world; and *partly* to the fact, that the class of settlers are off-shoots from the hardy and industrious sons of New England, or the farmers of Western New York and Northern Ohio. FIFTY YEARS' LABOR IN NEW ENGLAND, OR TWENTY YEARS' TOIL IN OHIO, ARE NOT EQUAL IN THEIR RESULT TO FIVE INDUSTRIOUS YEARS IN WISCONSIN. T."

Here is told in plain, simple and concise language, facts that could not be more forcibly or truthfully delineated in a column, and are the observations of a man whose opportunities and capabilities for judging, are equal to any man's in the Union.

The Legislature of our State has fixed the rate of interest, by contract at 12 per cent., and has repealed all laws forfeiting the *principal*, if interest beyond this sum be agreed on. Our laws now, whilst fixing the rate at 12 per cent., require a tender of the principal, before a suit can be brought to recover any excess, giving a freedom to the value of money, unknown in any other State in the Union. We doubt not this will bring the surplus capital of other States to ours, and will aid in developing our valuable resources.

Health and longevity have ever engaged the attention of the benevolent and scientific. The selection of a home has many responsibilities—none more imperative than climate. The denizen of the North must pay the penalty of acclimation in a Southern latitude. This most frequently ultimates in diseases only terminable with life. The Southerner cannot with impunity remove to a Northern climate without similar penalties. A climate without either extreme, or one approximating the 45th deg., (being equidistant from the equator and pole,) would *a priori* be a common ground of compromise and safety. The latitude of Wisconsin is between 42° and 47° 50′, and thus from geographical position, is not liable to objections existing either north or south. Individual experience confirms this fact—yet with it we have incontrovertible truths to sustain the position, that this parallel is not only the most healthful, but that business, general prosperity, and all the elements of social life we have most happily combined. One of these truths is, that no nation ever has arrived at or for any period maintained greatness or wealth, unless in the changes of climate in that nation, winter be found to exist. If the winter be even protracted or severe (not too extreme in either respect) it is better than no vicissitude. The ice-bound coast on which the May-flower landed, was as evidently the direction of Providence,

as were the principles of the Pilgrims traceable to the Being "from whom comes every good and perfect gift." The necessities of our forefathers under a rigorous climate, made them not only the most thrifty, but the most enterprising and successful of their age. We are on a parallel with Boston, with more than 20 degrees less depression in temperature, and with climatic advantages beyond conception. We have no easterly or north-eastern winds, sweeping over thousands of miles of ocean, robbed of heat and balminess, to terrify the infirm or aged.

We have winters commencing about the 10th of December—terminating in March—characterized by many peculiarities, yet noted for no inconveniences incompatible with health, comfort and business. Snows here are never deep—strong, persistent winds are unknown in winter—and rain does not fall after the middle of December, until the early rain unlocks the frost and gives life and being to vegetation; the rain guage shows a fall of but 25 inches during the year—the usual average east is about 53 inches. Our summers are cool and not variable, and the atmosphere during the entire year is remarkable for its clearness, dryness and transparency. No country can surpass the purity and clearness of the water in this. It is convenient and accessible—springs and natural lakes are the predominant characteristics.—These things are not miracles, but are dependent on natural laws, governing countries of certain geographical and topographical position. The latitude of Philadelphia is about 40° north, yet from position, the vicissitudes of climate are greater than with us. There the winter is somewhat shorter and apparently concentrated—yet its changes are destructive to comfort and health. New York is liable to similar but greater objections. With every change of wind there, the temperature changes—all from the contiguity and antagonism of large bodies of land and water, can never be averted. Our position, approximating the centre of the continent, exempts us form these changes—and this blessing is manifested in general good health and a corresponding physical development. We have no epidemics—no endemics; miasmatic

affections with their countless ills are unknown here—and the lustre of the languid eye is restored, and paleness of the faded cheek disappears when brought into our midst.

ERRATA.

Page 46, seventh line from top, "better" should be *letter*.

82, note, BLACK BIRD should be BLACK PARTRIDGE.

104, last paragraph, "four or five of the Grignons," instead of "*at* the Grignons."

109, seventeenth line from top, "*leave* in store," instead of "have in store."

121, JEAN MARIE QUEN de Lamouche, should be JEAN MARIE QUERIE dit Lamouche.

123, eight line from top, instead of St. Josephs on Lake Michigan, it was St. Josephs, a large island in the Straits of St. Mary's, between Lakes Superior and Huron, and about forty miles north-east of Mackinaw; and not only intelligence was sought, but all the help also that could possibly be obtained.

140, fifteenth line from the top, substitute the word *provisions* for "permission."

144, GRAND SINORE should be GRAND SIERURE; and page 190, SERVITEUR should also be SEIRURE.

151, SOYER should be LOYER.

155, and elsewhere, WAH-WAH-PECK-AH should be WAH-NAH-PECK-AH.

161, note giving Gov. REYNOLDS' charge that squaws had been forcibly taken on board the two keel-boats, in 1827, for corrupt purposes, Judge LOCKWOOD pronounces entirely without foundation. After the forms of Judge LOCKWOOD'S communication had been worked off and sent him at Prairie du Chien, he exhibited Gov. REYNOLD'S statement to Gen DOUSMAN, and several old French settlers who were in the country in 1827, and who were well acquainted with the French voyageurs who shipped from Prairie du Chien for this trip, and they all unite with Judge LOCKWOOD in declaring, that they never before heard such an intimation, and that it is beyond all question entirely untrue and unjust; that Gov. REYNOLDS must have been imposed upon by some one who either ignorantly or maliciously misrepresented to him the cause of the attack. The connections, associations and sympathies of the French voyageurs were invariably with the Indians, and they never would have been guilty of participating in any such atrocity.

163, thirteenth line from top, "soldier" should be *sailor*.

175, GIAPON should be GIASSON, and tenth line of same page should read, "that I had said that I would make him," &c.

186, fifth line from top, *grass* instead of "grape."

289, third line from bottom, "loose" should be *lose*.

337, ROBERT DICKSON should be JOSEPH DICKSON.

L. C. D.

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